

THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRE- CIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED

*together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiogra-
pher, Plutarke of Chæroneæ:*

Translated out of Greeke into French by JAMES AMYOT, Abbot of Bellozane,
Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuy counfel, and great Amner
of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe, by

Thomas North.

In remembrance.



Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier
and Iohn VVight.

1579.



TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESSE ELIZABETH

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND,

Fraunce, and Ireland Queene, defender of the

faith: &c.



UNDER hope of your highnes gracious and accustomed fauor, I haue presumed to present here vnto your Maiestie, Plutarkes lyues translated, as a booke fit to be protected by your highnes, and meete to be set forth in English. For vvhich is fitter to giue countenance to so many great states, than such an highe and mightie Princeesse? vvhich is fitter to reuiue the dead memorie of their fame, than she that beareth the liuely image of their vertues? vvhich is fitter to authorize a vvork of so great learning and vvisedome, than she vvhome all do honor as the Muse of the vvorld? Therefore I humbly beseech your Maiestie, to suffer the simplenes of my translation, to be couered vnder the amplexes of your highnes protection. For, most gracious Souereigne, though this booke be no booke for your Maiesties selfe, vvho are meeter to be the chiefe storie, than a student therein, and can better vnderstand it in Greeke, than any man can make it English: yet I hope the common sorte of your subiects, shall not onely profit them selues hereby, but also be animated to the better seruice of your Maiestie. For amonge all the profane bookes, that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your highnes best knowes) that teacheth so much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and deuotion to Princes, as these liues of Plutarke doe. Hovve many examples shall your subiects reade here, of severall persons, and vvhole armyes, of noble and base, of younge and olde, that both by sea & lande, at home and abroad, haue strayned their vvits, not regarded their states, ventured their persons, cast avvay their liues, not onely for the honor and safetie, but also for the pleasure of their Princes?

Then vvell may the Readers thinke, if they haue done this for heathen Kings,

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

vvhath should vve doe for Christian Princes? If they haue done this for glorye, vvhath shoulde vve doe for religion? If they haue done this vwithout hope of heauen, vvhath should vve doe that looke for immortalitie? And so adding the encouragement of these exsamples, to the forvvardnes of their ovvne dispositions: vvhath seruice is there in vvarre, vvhath honor in peace, vvhich they vvill not be ready to doe, for their vvorthy Queene?

And therefore that your highnes may giue grace to the booke, and the booke may doe his seruice to your Maiestie: I haue translated it out of French, and doe here most humbly present the same vnto your highnes, beseeching your Maiestie vwith all humilitie, not to reiect the good meaning, but to pardon the errors of your most humble and obedient subiect and seruaunt, vvho prayeth God long to multiplye all graces and blessings vpon your Maiestie. VVritten the sixteene day of Ianuary. 1579.

*Your Maiesties most humble and
obedient seruaunt,*

Thomas North.

TO



To the Reader.



HE profit of stories, and the prayse of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epistle to the Reader: So that I shall not neede to make many wordes thereof. And in deede if you will supply the defects of this translation, with your owne diligence and good vnderstanding: you shall not neede to trust him, you may proue your selues, that there is no prophane studye better then Plutarke. All other learning is priuate, suttier for Vniuersities then cities, fuller of contemplation than experience, more commedable in the students them selues, than profitable vnto others. VVheras stories are fit for every place, reache to all persons, serue for all tymes, teache the liuing, reuiue the dead, so farre excellling all other bookes, as it is better to see learning in noble mens liues, than to reade it in Philosophers writings. Nowe for the Author, I will not denye but loue may deceiue me, for I must needs loue him with whome I haue taken so much payne: but I beleue I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitablest story of all Authors. For all other were fayne to take their matter, as the fortune of the contries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath chosen the speciall actes of the best persons, of the famoslest nations of the world. But I will leaue the iudgement to your selues. My onely purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation, with your owne gentlenes, and with the opinion of my diligence and good entent. And so I wische you all the profit of the booke. Fare ye well. The foure and twenty day of Ianuary. 1579.

Thomas North.

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Amiot to the Readers.



He reading of bookes which bring but a vaine and unprofitable pleasure to the Reader is iustly misliked of wise and graue men. Again the reading of such as doe but onely bring profit, and make the Reader to be in loue therewith, and doe not ease the payne of the reading by some pleasures in the same: doe seeme somewhat harsh to diuers delicate wits, that can not tarry long upon them. But such bookes as yeeld pleasure and profit, and doe both delight and teache, haue all that a man can desire: why they should be vniuersally liked and allowed of all sortes of men, according to the common saying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth winne the price in euery poynt aright.

Either of these yeeld his effect the better, by reason the one runneth with the other, profiting the more because of the delight, and deliting the more because of the profit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to haue pleasure and profit matched together, which kind of delights and teaching meeting in this wise arme in arme, hath more allowance then any other kind of writing or inuention of man. In respect whereof it may be reasonably answered, that men are more beholding to such good wits, as by their graue and wise writing haue deserved the name of Historiographers, then they are to any other kind of writers: because an historie is an orderly register of notable things said, done, or happened in time past, to mainteyne the continuall remembrance of them, and to serue for the instruction of them to come.

And like as memorie is as a storehouse of mens conceits and deuises, without the which the actions of the other two parts should be imperfect, and vneleare unprofitable: So may it also be said, that an historie is the very treasury of mans life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, and the wonderfull adventures & strange cases (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserved from the death of forgetfulness. Hereupon it riseth, that Plato the wise sayth, that the name of historie was given to this recording of matters, to stay the fleeing of our memorie, which etherwise would be soone lost, and retaine life. And we may well perceiue how greatly we be beholding unto it, if we doe no more but consider in how horrible darkenes, and in how beastly and pestilent a quagmyre of ignorance we should be plunged: if the remembrance of all the things that haue bene done, and haue happened before we were borne, were utterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will ouerpasse the excellencie and worthines of the thing it selfe, forasmuch as it is not onely of more antiquitie then any other kind of writing that ever was in the world, but also was used among men, before there was any use of letters at all: because that men in those daies deliuered in their lifetimes the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songs, which they caused their children to learne by hart, from hand to hand, as it is to be seene yet in our dayes, by the example of the barbarous people that inhabit the new found landes in the West, who without any records of writings, haue had the knowledge of things past, vneleare eight hundred yeares afore. Likewise I leaue to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, and durablest monument that men can leaue of their doings in this world, so to consecrate their names to immortality. For there is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor arch of triumph, nor pillar, nor sumptuous sepulchre, that can match the durableness of an eloquent history, furnished with the properties which it ought to haue. Again, I mind not to stand much upon this, that it hath a certaine troth in it, in that it alwayes professeth to speake truth, & for that the proper ground thereof is to treat of the greatest & highest things that are done in the world: inasmuch that to my seeming the great profit thereof is as Horace sayth, that it is commonly called the mother of trothe & uprightnes, which commendeth it so greatly, as it needeth not else where to seeke any authority, or ornament of dignitie, but of her very selfe. For it is a certaine rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth vs to iudge of things present, & to foresee things to come: as we may knowe what to take of, & what to follow, what to mislike, and what to eschew. It is a picture, which (as it were in a table) setteth before our eyes the things worthy of remembrance that

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haue bene done in olde time by mighty nations, noble kings & Princes, wise governors, valiant Captaines, & persons renowned for some notable quality, representing vnto vs the manners of strange nations, the lawes & customes of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations & enterprises, the manner that they haue used to compass the world, all their demeaning of them selves when they were comen to the highest, or throwen downe to the lowest degree of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or warre, in publicke or private affaires, but that the person which shall haue diligently read, well conceived, & thoroughly remembered histories, shall find matter in them wherewith to take light, & counsel, wherby to resolute himselfe to take a part, or to geue aduice vnto others, how to choose in doubtful & dangerous cases that which may be for their most profit, and in time to find out to what poynt the matter will come if it be well handled, and how to moderate himselfe in prosperitie, and how to cheere up and beare him selfe in aduersitie. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacy, and speede, than the bookes of morall Philosophie doe: forasmuch as examples are of more force to moue and instruct, than are the arguments and proofes of reason, or their precise precepts, because examples be the very formes of our deedes, & accompanied with all circumstances. Where as reasons and demonstrations are general, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into understanding: and examples tend to the shewing of them in practice and execution, because they doe not only declare what is to be done, but also worke a desire to do it, as well in respect of a certaine naturall inclination which all men haue to follow examples, as also for the beautie of vertue, which is of such power, that wheresoeuer she is seene, she maketh her selfe to be loued and liked. Again, it doth things with greater weight and grauitie, than the inuentions & deuises of the Poets: because it helpeth not it selfe with any other thing than with the plaine truth, whereas Poetry doth commonly enrich things by commending them above the starrs and their deserving, because the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreover, it doth things with more grace and modestie than the euill lawes and ordinances doe: because it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, than to chastise or punish. And yet for all this, an historie also hath his manner of punishing the wicked, by the reproch of euill lasting infamie, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance, which is a great meane to withdraue them from vice, who otherwise would be lewdly and wickedly disposed. Likewise on the contrarie parte, she immortall praise and glorie wherewith it rewardeth well doers, is a very lively & sharpe spur for men of noble courage and gentlemanlike meane, to cause them to adventure vpon all manner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high courage and wisdom, who for desire to continue the remembrance of their name, by the sure and certaine recorde of histories, haue willingly yeelded their liues to the seruice of the common weale, spent their goods, sustained infinite paines both of bodie and minde in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of lawes and gouernments, and in the finding out of artes and sciences necessarie for the maintenance and ornaments of mans life: for the faithfull registering whereof, the thanke is due to histories. And although true vertue seeke no reward of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her selfe with the conscience of her well doing: yet notwithstanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to draw men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honor of their vertuous deedes, seeing that honor doth naturally accompanie vertue, as the shadow doth the bodie. For we commonly see, not to seele the sparkes of desire of honor, is an infallible signe of a base, vile, and vniuersal nature: and that such as account it an vnnesseary, needelesse, or vnseemely thing to be praised, are likewise no doers of any things worthy of praise, but are commonly men of faint courage, whose thoughtes extend no further than to their liues, wherewith also they haue no further remembrance, than is before their eyes. But if the counsel of olde men be to be gratefully esteemed, because they must needs haue seene much by reason of their long life: and if they that haue travelled long in strange countries, and haue had the managing of many affaires, and haue gotten great experience of the doings of this world, are reputed for sage, and worthy to be the eyes of great gouernments put into their handes: how greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, which is able to furnish vs with more examples in one day, than the whole course of the longest life of any man is able to doe? Inasmuch that they which exercise them selves in reading as they ought to doe, although they be but young, become such in respect of understanding of the affaires of this world, as if they were old and

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grayheaded, and of long experience. Yet though they neuer haue removed out of their houses, yet are they aduersified, informed, and satisfied of all things in the world, as well as they that haue shortened their liues by innumerable travels and infinite dangers, in running ouer the whole earth that is inhabited: whereupon the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done & come to passe before they were borne, continue still as children, though they be neuer so aged, and are but as strangers in their owne native countries. To be short, it may be truly sayd, that the reading of histories is the schole of wisdom, so far as men vnderstanding, by considering aduisely the state of the world that is past, and by marking diligently by what lawes, manners, and discipline, Empires, kingdoms, and dominions, haue in old time bene established, and after ward maintained, and increased, or contrarywise changed, diminished, and ouerthrowen. Also we reade, that whensoeuer the right sage and vertuous Emperour of Rome, Alexander Seuerus, was to consult of any matter of great importance, whether it concerned warres or government: he alwayes called such to counsell, as were reported to be well sene in histories. Notwithstanding, I know there are that will stand against me in this point, and uphold that the reading of histories can serue to small purpose, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: because skill consisteth in action, & is ingendred by the very experience & practise of things, where a man doth wel marke & thoroughly beare away the things that he hath sene with his eyes, & found true by proofe, according to the saying of the auncient Poet Afranius.

My name is skill, my Syre Experience hyght,
And memorie bred and brought me forth to lyght.

Which thing was ment like wise by the Philosopher that sayd, that the hand is the instrument of skill. By reason whereof it comes to passe (say they) that such as speake of matters of government and state, but specially of matters of warre by the booke, speake but as booke knights, as the Frenche prouerbe termeth them, after the manner of the Grecians, who call him a booke Pilot, which hath not the sure and certaine knowledge of the things that he speakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the vnderstanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that consist in the deede doing, where the hand is to be set to the worke: no more then the often hearing of men talke and reason of paynting, or the disputing vpon colors, without taking of the pensill in hand, can stand a man in any stead at all to make him a good paynter. But on the contrary part, many haue proued wise men and good Captaines, which could neither write nor reade. Besides this, they alleage further, that in matters of warre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by means whereof the slights and policies that are to be learned out of booke, will serue the turne no more than mynes that are blowen up. According whereunto Cambyse telleth his sonne Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Musicke the newest songs are commonly best liked of for once, because they were neuer heard afore: So in the warres, those policies that neuer were practised afore, are those that take best successe, & commonly haue the best effect, because the enemies doe least doubt of them. Neuerthelesse I am not he that will mainteine that a wise governor of a common weale, or a great Captaine can be made of such a person, as hath neuer travelled out of his study, and from his booke: howbeit that which Cicero writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieutenant of the Romanes, to make warre against kinge Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the warres, and yet after ward he bestowed to great diligence in the reading of histories, and in conferring vpon every point with the olde Captaines and men of long experience, whome he caried with him, that by the tyme of his coming into Asia, where he was in deede to put his masters in execution, he was found to be a very sufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: in so much that by those wayes, cleane contrary to the common order of warre, he discomfited two of the most puissant, and greatest Princes that were at that time in the East. For his vnderstanding was so quick, his care so vigilant, and his courage so great, that he needed no longe traying, nor gresse instruction by experience. And although I graunt there haue bene diuerse Generours and Captaynes, which by the onely force of nature (furthered by longe continued experience) haue done goodly and great exploit: yet can it not be denyed me, but that if they had matched the giftes of nature with the knowledge of learning, and the reading of histories, they might haue done much greater things, and they might haue become much more perfect. For like as in every other cunning & skill, wherein a man intendeth to excell, so also to become a perfect & sufficient person to gouerne

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in peace and warre, there are three things of necessitie required, namely, nature, art, and practise. Nature (in the case that we treat of) must furnishe vs with a good moother wit, with a bodie well disposed to indure all manner of trauell, and with a good wit to aduance our selues. Art must geue vs iudgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wise discourse that we haue read and double read in good histories: and practise will geue vs readinesse, assurednesse, and the ease how to put things in execution. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a waste of the minde which teacheth a man the meane point, betwene the two faultie extremities of too much and too little, wherein the commendation of all doings consisteth. And who soeuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely triall of experience, and had leuer to learne it at his owne cost, than at another mans: he may well be of the number of fooles that are touched by this auncient proverbe, which sayth, Experience is the scholemistresse of fooles: because mans life is so short, and experience is hard and dangerous, specially in matters of warre, wherein (according to the saying of Tamar-chus the Athenian Captaine) a man can not fault twice, because the faultes are so great, that most commonly they bring with them the ouerthrow of the state, or the losse of the liues of those that do them. Therefore we must not tary for this wit that is won by experience, which costeth so deere, and is so long a coming, that a man is oft times dead in the seeking of it before he haue attained it, so as he had neede of a seconde life to employ it in, because of the ouerlate coming by it. But we must make speede by our diligent and continuall reading of histories both old and new, that we may enioy this happinesse which the Poet speaketh of:

A happie wight is he that by mishappes
Of others, doth beware of afterclappes.

By the way, as concerning those that say that paper will beare all things: if there be any that unworthily take vpon them the name of historiographers, and deface the dignity of the story for hatred or fauor, by mingling any vntruth with it: that is not the fault of the historie, but of the men that are partiall, who abuse that name unworthily, to couer and cloke their owne passions withall, which thing shall neuer come to passe, if the writer of the storie haue the properties that are necessarily required in a storie writer, as these: That he set aside all affection, be voyde of enuy, hatred, and flattery: that he be a man experienced in the affaires of the world of good utterance, and a good iudgement to discern what is to be sayd, and what is to be left vn sayd: what would do more harme to haue it declared, than do good to haue it reprobued or condemned: forasmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to serue the common weale, and that he is but as a register to set downe the iudgements and definitive sentences of Gods Court, whereof some are given according to the ordinarie course and capacite of our weake naturall reason, and other some goe according to Gods infinite pouer and incomprehensible wisdom, aboue and against all discourse of mans vnderstanding, who being vnable to reach to the bottom of his iudgements, and to finde out the first motions and groundes thereof, do impute the cause of them to a certaine fortune, which is nought else but a fained deuice of mans wit, dazzled at the beholding of such brightnesse, and confounded at the gaging of so bottomlesse a deepe, howbeit nothing cometh to passe nor is done without the leaue of him that is the verie right and truth it self, with whom nothing is past or to come, and who knoweth and vnderstandeth the very originall causes of all necessitie. The consideration whereof teacheth men to humble them selues vnder his mightie hande by acknowledging that there is one first cause which ouer ruleth nature, whereof it cometh, that neither hardnesse is alwayes happie, nor wisdom alwayes sure of good successe. These so notable commodites are every where accompanied with singular delights, which proceedeth chiefly of diuersitie and novelty, wherein our nature delighteth and is greatly desirous of: because we haue an earnest inclination towards our best prosperitie and aduancement, it goeth on still, seeking it in euery thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But forasmuch as it fineth not where with to content it selfe vnder the cope of heauen, it is soone weary of the things that it had earnestly desired afore, & so goeth on vnder the cope of heauen, in the vnkindnes of her likings, whereof she neuer ceaseth to make a continuall changing, until she haue fully satisfied her desires, by attaining to the last end, which is to be knit to her chiefe felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodlines and goodnes. This liking of varietie can not be better releued, than by that which is the finder out and the preseruer of time, the father of all neweltes, and messenger of antiquitie. For if we finde

Three things
necessary for
a Magistrate,
or Captaine.

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a certaine singular pleasure, in hearkening to such as be returned from some long voyage, and doe report things which they haue seene in fraunge contries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of liues, differing from ours: And if we be sometime so raiued with delight and pleasure at the hearing of the talke of some wise, discrete, and well spoken old man, from whose mouth there floweth a streame of speech so sweete than bonnie, in rehearsing the adventures which he hath had in his greene and youthful yeares, the paines that he hath indured, and the perills that he hath overpassed, so as we perceiue not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we be raiued with delight and wondering, to behold the state of mankind, and the true successe of things, which antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the setting up of Empires, the ouerthrow of Monarchies, the rising and falling of Kingdoms, and all things else worthy admiration, and the same lively set forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that so lively, as in the very reading of them we feele our mindes to be so touched by them, not as though the things were already done and past, but as though they were even then presently in doing, and we finde our selues caried away with gladnesse and griefe through feare or hope, weell neere as though we were then at the doing of them: where as notwithstanding we be not in any paine or danger, we only conceiue in our mindes the aduersities that other folkes haue indured, our selues sitting safe with our contentation and ease, according to these verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease
Vpon the land, and safely thence to see
How other folkes are tossed on the seas,
That with the blustering windes turmoyled be.
Not that the sight of others miseries
Doth any way the honest hart delight,
But for because it liketh well our eyes,
To see harmes free that on our selues might light.

Also it is seene that the reading of histories doth so bolde and allure good wits, that diuers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serueth very fitly to turne away their griefes, and sometimes also to remedie their diseases. As for example, we finde it written of Alphonsus King of Naples, that Prince so greatly renoumed in Chronicles for his wisdom and goodnesse, that being sore sick in the citie of Capua, when his Physicians had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he saw that nothing preuailed: he determined with him selfe to take no more medicines, but for his recreation caused the storie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke so wonderful pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and ouercame the waywardnes of his disease. Whereupon having soone recovered his helth, he discharged his Physicians with such words as these: Feast me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, for they can no skill to helpe me to recover my belth: but weell fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to helpe me to recover my belth. Now if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke, say it is much more for great Princes and Kings, because they haue to do with charges of greatest weight and difficultie, to be best stored with giftes and knowledge for the discharge of their duties: seeing the ground of stories is to treat of all manner of high matters of state, as warres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more fit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: because they being bred and brought up tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons, (as meete is for so great states to haue) they take not so great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth those to take which will learne the noble ancient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philosophie. Again, when they come to mans state, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, so as there remaineth no exercise of wit more comenient for the, than the reading of histories in their owne tongue, which without paine is able to teache them euery great pleasure and ease, whatsoeuer the painfull workes of the Philosophers concerning the government of common weales can shew them, to make them skilful in the well ruling and gouerning of the people and contries that God hath put vnder their subiection. But the worst is, that they euer (or for the most part) haue such manner of persons

about

To the Readers.

about them as seeke nothing els but to please them by all the wayes they can, and there are very few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas on the contrary part, an history flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of such as were like them in greatness of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalerus (a man renoumed for well for his skill in the good government of a common weale, as for his excellent knowledge of other wise) counsell'd Ptolemy, first king of Aegypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he should often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the government of kingdoms, because (sayd he) thou shalt finde many things there, which thy seruants and familiar friends are not tell thee. Moreover, this is another thing, that such great personages can not easily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions, to see other fraunge contries as private persons doe: because the ielousie of their estate, and the regarde of their dignitie, requires that they should neuer be in place where another man might commaund them. And often times for want of hauing seene the contries, and knowen the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they haue aduentured vpon attempts without good ground: to auoide the which, the instruction they may haue by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause than only this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of histories, wherein are written the heroicall deedes of wise and valiant men, specially of kings that haue bene before them, the considering whereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage: because the feedes of princely vertues that are bred with them selues, doe then quicken them with an emulation towards those that haue bene or are equal in degree with them, as well in respect of noblenes of bloud, as of greatnes of state, so as they be loth to giue place to any person, and much lesse can find in their hearts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing were not so well known of it self, that it were much more against the discretion of the matter that it treateth of, for the order and manner of writing that it useth, it hath sondry names giuen vnto it: But yet among the rest there are two chiefe kinds. The one which setteth downe mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other which declareth their natures, sayings, and maners, is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both doe close very neare in one, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceede from within: the one is the events, the other the consultations: betwene the which there is oftentimes great odds, according to this answer of the Persian Siramnes, to such as marvelled how it came to passe, that he denieth being so politike had so unhappy successe: It is (quod he) because my denieth is wholly from my own invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king: And surely amongst all those that euer haue taken vpon them to write the liues of famous men, the chiefe prerogative, by the indgement of such as are clearest sighted, is iustly giuen to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarke, borne in the citie of Chaeronea in the contry of Boeotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt, if they list to read them through, with all his life long he to his old age, had to deale in assayes of the common weale, as he him selfe witnesseth in diuers places, specially in the treatise which he intitled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the government of a common weale or not: and who had the hap & honor to be scholemaster to the Emperour Traian, as is commonly beleued, and as is expressly pretended by a certaine Epistle set before the Latin translation of his matters of state, which (to say the truth) seemeth in my iudgement to be somewhat suspitious, because I find it not among his workes in Greeke, besides that it speaketh as though the booke were dedicated to Traian, which thing is manifestly disproved by the beginning of the booke, and by diuers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding, because he shewes it to be truly & greatly written, and well befitting him: I haue set it downe here in this place. Plutarke vnto Traian sendeth greeting, I knowe well that the mode of your nature was not desirous of someritie, though you haue alwayes indured to desirue it by your honorable comersation: by reason

To the Readers.

a certaine singular pleasure, in hearkening to such as be returned from some long voyage, and doe report things which they haue seen in strange contries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of liues, differing from ours: and if we be sometime so raiued with delight and pleasure as the hearing of the talke of some wise, discrete, and well spoken old man, from whose mouth there floweth a streame of speech sweeter than honnie, in rehearsing the adventures which he hath had in his greene and youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath indured, and the perills that he hath overpassed, so as we perceiue not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we be raiued with delight and wondering to behold the state of mankind, and the true successe of things, which antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the setting up of Empires, the ouerthrow of Monarchies, the rising and falling of Kingdoms, and all things else worthy admiration, and the same lively set forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that so lively, as in the very reading of them we feele our mindes to be so touched by them, not as though the things were already done and past, but as though they were euen then presently in doing, and we finde our selues caried away with gladnesse and griefe through feare or hope, well neere as though we were then at the doing of them: where as notwithstanding we be not in any paine or danger, but only conceiue in our mindes the aduersities that other folkes haue indured, our felues sitting safe with our contentation and ease, according to these verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease
Vpon the land, and safely thence to see
How other folkes are tossed on the seas,
That with the blustering windes turmoyled be.
Not that the sight of others miseries
Doth any way the honest hart delight,
But for because it liketh well our eyes,
To see harmes free that on our selues might light.

Also it is seeme that the reading of histories doth so holde and allure good wits, that diuers times it not only maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serueth very fitly to turne away their griefes, and sometimes also to remedie their diseases. As for example, we finde it written of Alphonsus King of Naples, that Prince so greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wisdom and goodnesse, that being for sicke in the citie of Capua, when his Physicians had spent all the cunning that they had to recouer him his health, and he saw that nothing presuaild: he determined with him selfe to take no more medicines, but for his recreation caused the storie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deedes of Alexander the great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke so wonderfull pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and ouercame the waywardnes of his disease. Whereupon hauing soone recouered his helth, he discharged his Physicians with such words as these: Feast me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, for they can no skill to helpe me to recouer my helth: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to helpe me to recouer my helth. Now if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I say it is much more for great Princes and Kings, because they haue to do with charges of great weight and difficultie, to be best stored with gifts and knowledge for the discharge of their duties: seeing the ground of stories is, to treat of all manner of high matters of state, as warres, battells, cities, contries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more fit for them, than for any other kinde of degrees of men: because they being bred and brought up tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons, (as meete is for so great states to haue) they take not so great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth those to take which will learne the noble ancient languages, and the painfull doctrine comprehended in Philosophie. Again, when they come to mans state, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, so as there remaineth no exercise of wit more conuenient for the, than the reading of histories in their owne tongue, which without paine is able to teache them euen with great pleasure and ease, whatsoeuer the painfull workes of the Philosophers concerning the government of common weales can shew them, to make them skilful in the well ruling and gouerning of the people and contries that God hath put vnder their subiection. But the worst is, that they euer (or for the most part) haue such manner of persons

about

To the Readers.

about them as seeke nothing els but to please them by all the wayes they can, and there are very few which dare tell them the truth freely in all things: where as on the contrary part, an history flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of such as were like them in greatness of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalerus (a man renowned for well for his skill in the good government of a common weale, as for his excellent knowledge of other wise) counsell'd Ptolemy, first king of Aegypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he should often and diligently read the bookes that treated of the government of kingdoms, because (sayd he) thou shalt finde many things there, which thy seruants and familiar friends dare not tell thee. Moreover, this is another thing, that such great personages can not easily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions, to see other strange contries as private persons doe: because the ielousie of their estate, and the regard of their dignitie, requires that they should neuer be in place where another man might commaund them. And often times for want of hauing seene the contries, and knowen the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they haue adventured vpon attempts without good ground: to auoide the which, the instruction they may haue by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and surest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause then only this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of histories, wherein are written the heroicall deedes of wise and valiant men, specially of kings that haue bene before them, the considering whereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage: because the seedes of Princely vertues that are bred with them selues, doe then quicken them up with an emulation towards those that haue bene or are equal in degree with them, as well in respect of noblenes of blood, as of greatnes of state, so as they be loth to giue place to any person, and much lesse can find in their hearts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing were not so well known of it self, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needfull to proue it. Therefore a man may truly conclude, that an historie is the scholemestre of Princes, at whose hand they may without payne, in way of pastyme, and with singular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belonge to their office. Now, according to the diuersitie of the matter that it treateth of, for the order and manner of writing that it useth, it hath sondry names giuen vnto it: But yet among the rest there are two chiefe kinds: The one which setteth downe mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other which declareth their natures, sayings, and maners, is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both doe cloze very neare in one, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceede from within: the one the euents, the other the consultations: betwene the which there is oftentimes great odds, according to this answer of the Persian Sirannes, to such as marvelled how it came to passe, that his desires being so politike had so unhappy successe: It is (quod he) because my desires are wholly from my own inuention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the king. And surely amongst all those that euer haue taken vpon them to write the liues of famous men, the chiefe prerogative, by the iudgement of such as are clearest sighted, is iustly giuen to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarch borne in the citie of Cheronea in the contry of Bœotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt if they list to read them through, who all his life long endeued to his old age, had to deale in affaires of the common weale, as he him selfe witnesseth in diuers places, specially in the treatise which he intituled, Whether an olde man ought to meddle with the government of a common weale or not: and who had the hap & honor to be scholemaster to the Emperour Traian, as is commonly beleued, and as is expressly pretended by a certaine Epistle set before the Latin translation of his matters of state, which (to say the truth) seemeth in my iudgement to be somewhat suspitious, because I find it not among his workes in Greeke, besides that it speaketh although the booke were dedicated to Traian, which thing is manifestly disproved by the beginning of the booke, and by diuers other reasons: yet notwithstanding because he thinkes it is wisely & graciously written, and well becomming him: I haue (as it were) here in this place. Plutarch who Traian sendeth greeting, I know well that the modestie of your nature will not desire of some reuerencie, though you haue alwayes indured to desire it by your honorable conuersation: by reason

To the Readers.

"whereof you haue bene thought so much the worthier of it, as you haue bene founde the further of
 "from all ambition. And therefore I do now reioice in your vertue & my fortune, if it be so great as to
 "cause you to administer that thing without iustice, which you haue obtained by desert. For otherwise
 "I am sure you haue put your selfe in hazard of great dangers, and me in perill of slanderous tongues,
 "because Rome can not away with a wicked Emperour, and the common voice of the people is al-
 "waies vnto to cast the fautes of the schollers in the teeth of their schoolemaisters: as for example:
 "Seneca is railed vpon by slanderous tongues, for the fautes of his scholler Nero: the scapes of Quinti-
 "lians young schollers are imputed to Quintilian him selfe: and Socrates is blamed, for being too myld
 "to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall doe all things well enough, so you keepe you as you
 "are. If you first set your selfe in order, and then dispose all other things according to vertue, all things
 "shall fallow according to your desire. I haue set you downe the meanes in writing, which you must
 "observe for the well governing of your common weale, and haue shew'd you of how great force
 "your behaviour may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follow those things, you haue Plutarke
 "for the director and guider of your life: if not, I protest vnto you by this Epistle, that your falling into
 "danger to the overthrow of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke. This Epistle witnesseth
 "plainly that he was as the schoolemaister of Traian, which thing seemeth to be auouched by this writing
 "of Suidas: Plutarke being borne in the citie of Cheronca in Beotia, was in the time of the Em-
 "perour Traian, and somewhat affore. But Traian honored him with the dignitie of Consulship, and
 "commaunded the officers and Magistrates that were throughout all the contrie of Illyria, that they
 "should not do any thing without his counsell and authoritie. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am
 "of opinion, that Traian being so wise an Emperour, would neuer haue done him so great honor, if he
 "had not thought him selfe greatly beholding to him for some speciall cause. But the thing that maketh
 "me most to beleue it true, is, that the same goodnesse and iustice appeared to be naturally imprinted in
 "most of Traians sayings and doings, wherof the paterne and mould (as a man might terme it) is
 "cast and set downe in Plutarke's Morals, so as men may perceiue expressly, that the one could well
 "skill to performe rightly, that which the other had taught wisely. For Dion writeth, that among
 "other honors which the Senate of Rome gaue by decree vnto Traian, they gaue him the title of the
 "Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that euen vnto his time, when a new Emperour came to
 "be receiued of the Senate, among the cries of good hanfell, and the wishes of good lucke that were
 "made vnto him, one was: happier be thou than Augustus, and better than Traian. Howsoever the
 "case stood, it is very certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes vnto him. But
 "when he had liued a long time at Rome, and was come home againe to his owne house, he fell to
 "writing of this excellent worke of Lines, which he calleth Parallellon, as much to say, as a coupling
 "or matching together, because he matcheth a Grecian with a Romane, setting downe their liues ech
 "after other, and comparing them together, as he founde any likenesse of nature, condicions, or aduon-
 "tures betwext them, and examining what the one of them had better or worse, greater or lesser
 "than the other: which things he doth with so goodly and graue discourse euery where, taken out of
 "the deepest & most hidden secrets of morall and naturall Philosophie, with so sage precepts and frute-
 "full instructions, with so effectfull commendation of vertues, and desolation of vice, with so many
 "goodly allegacions of other authors, with so many fit comparisons, & with so many high inuentions:
 "that the booke may better be called by the name of the Tresorie of all rare and perfect learning, than
 "by any other name. Also it is sayd, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of singular learning, and a wor-
 "thie of the ancient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar frendes (which saw him so ear-
 "nestly giuen to his studie, that he forgate all other things) what author he had leuest to choofe, if he
 "were at that point that he must needs choofe some one to holde him to alone, did answer that he
 "would choofe Plutarke: because that if they were all put together, there was no one both so pro-
 "fitable, and so pleasant to read, as he. Sotius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his worke, was a Sena-
 "tor of Rome, as witnesseth Dion, who writeth that the three persons whom Traian most loued
 "and honored, were Sotius, Parma, and Celsus, inasmuch that he caused images of them to be set vp.
 "True it is that he wrote the liues of many other men, which the busines of time hath bereft vs
 "of, among which he himselfe maketh mention of the liues of Scipio Africanus, & Metellus Numidi-
 "cus. And I haue red a litle Epistle of a Sonne of his, whose name is not expressed, copied out of an olde
 copie

To the Readers.

copie in the Library of S. Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a frende of his, a register of all
 the booke that his father made: and there among the cupples of lines, he setteth downe the liues of
 Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly the liues of Augustus Caesar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius,
 of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But hauing used all the diligence that I could in searching
 the chiefe Libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could neuer find them out. Onely I drew out certaine di-
 uersities of readings, and many corrections by conferring the old written copies with the printed
 bookes: which haue stood in great stead to the understanding of many hard places: and therefore
 a great number of them which I haue restored, cometh by the iudgement & helpe of such men
 of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine some
 places unamended, howbeit very few, because some lines were wanting in the originall copies,
 wherof (to my seeming) it was better for me to writtess the want by marking it with some
 starre: than to gesse at it with all aduantage, or to adde anything to it. Now finally, if I haue over-
 shot my selfe in any thing, as it is verie easie to do in so hard and long a worke, specially to a man of so
 small abilitie as I am: I beseeche the Readers to vouchsafe for my discharge, to admit the excuse
 which the Poet Horace giueth me, where he sayth:

A man may well be ouerseen

In workes that long and tedious bene.

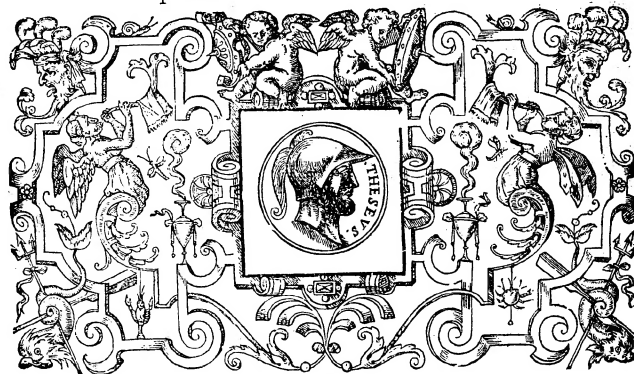
Specially sith that of so many good men, & men of skill as haue heretofore set hand to the translating
 of it, there was neuer yet any one found that went through with it in any language, at least wise
 that I haue seene or heard of: and that such as haue enterprised to translate it, specially into Latin, haue
 evidently writtess the hardnesse thereof, as they may easely perceiue which list to conferre their
 translations with mine. Neuertheless if it so fortune that men find not the speech of this translation
 so flowing, as they haue found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I beseech the rea-
 ders to consider, that the office of a fit translator, consisteth not onely in the faithfull expressing of his
 authors meaning, but also in a certaine resembling and shadowing out of the forme of his stile and
 the manner of his speaking: vnto which he will commit the error of some painters, who haue taken
 vpon them to draw a man liuely, do paint him long where he should be short, and grosse where he
 should be slender, and yet set out the resemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harsh or rude
 soener my speech be, yet am I sure that my translation will be much easier to my contriemen, than the
 Greeke copie is, euen to such as are best practised in the Greeke tongue, by reason of Plutarke's peculiar
 manner of inditing, which is rather sharpe, learned, and short than plaine, polished, and easie. As the
 hardest, although I haue not compassed my matters so happily as ye could haue wished and desired:
 yet do I hope that your Lordships in reading it will hold the parties good will excused, which hath
 taken such paines in doing of it to profit you. And if my labor be so happie, as to content you: God be
 praised for it, which hath giuen me the grace to finish it.

THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS
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THE LIVES OF THE
NOBLE GRECIANS AND RO-
MANES, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT
graue learned Philoſopher and Hiſtoriogra-
pher, Plutarke of Chæronea.



Theſeus.

A LIKE as hiſtoriographers deſcribing the world (frende *Soſius Senecio*) doe of purpoſe referre to the vttermoſt partes of their mappes the farre diſtant regions whereof they be ignoraunt, with this note: theſe contries are by meanes of ſandes and drowthes vnauigable, rude, full of venimous beaſtes, SCYTHIAN ſile, and froſen ſeas. Euen ſo may I (which in comparing noble mens liues haue already gone ſo farre into antiquitie, as the true and certaine hiſtorie could lead me) of the reſt, being thinges paſt all prooſe or chalenge, very well ſay: that beyonde this time all is full of ſuſpicion and dout, being deliue- red vs by Poets and Tragedy makers, ſometimes without trueth and likelihoode, and alwayes without certainty. Howbeit, hauing heretofore ſet forth the liues of *Lycurgus* (which eſta- bliſhed the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS) and of king *Numa Pompilius*: me thought I might go a litle further to the life of *Romulus*, ſence I was come ſo nere him. But conſidering my ſelte as the Poet *Æſchilus* did:

*What champion may with ſuch a man compare?
or who (thinke I) ſhalbe againſt him ſet?
Who is ſo bold? or who is he that dare
deſend his force, in ſuch encounter mee?*

A

In the end I resolued to match him which did fer vp the noble & famous city of ATHENS, A with him which founded the glorious and inuincible city of ROME. Wherein I would wishe that the inuentions of Poets, and the traditions of fabulous antiquite, would suffer them selues to be purged and reduced to the forme of a true and historiall reporte: but when they square too much from likelyhode, and can not be made credible, the readers will of curtesie take in good parte that, which I could with most probability wryte of such antiquities. Now surely me thinkes, that *Theſeus* in many thinges was much like vnto *Romulus*. For being both begotten by stealth, and out of lawfull matrimony: both were reputed to be borne of the seede of the goddes.

Theſeus and Romulus very like.

Both valiant were, as all the world doth know.

Both ioynd valiancy with gouernment. The one of them built ROME, and the other, by gathering into one disperſed people, erected the cite of ATHENS: two of the most noble cities of the worlde. The one and the other were rauishers of women: and neither thone nor thother coulde auoyde the mischiefe of quarrell and contention with their frendes, nor the reproch of staining them selues with the blood of their nearest kinsmen. Moreouer, they say that both the one and the other in the end did get the hate and ill will of their citizens: at the least if we will beleue that reporte of *Theſeus*, which carieth greatest show of truth. *Theſeus* of his fathers side, was descended of the right lineage of *Erichon* the great, and of the first inhabitants which occupied the contrie of ATTICA, the which since were called *Autochthones*, as much to say, as borne of them selues. For there is no memorie, or other mention made, that they came out of any other contrie than that. And of his mothers side he came of *Pelops*, who was in his time the mightiest king of all the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, not so much for his goodes and richesse, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many in number, he bestowed on the greatest Lordes of all the contrie: his sonnes also, which likewise were many, he disperſed into diuerſe cities and free townes, findinge meanes to make them gouernors and heades of the same. *Pithes*, grandfather to *Theſeus* on the mothers side, was one of his sonnes, and founded the litle city of TROEZEN, and was reputed to be one of the wisest men of his time. But the knowledge and wisdom, which onely caried estimation at that time, consisted altogether in graue sentences, and morall sayings. As those are which wanne the Poet *Hesiodus* such fame for his booke intituled, *The workes and dayes*: in the which is read euen at this present, this goodly sentence, which they father D vpon *Pithes*.

The image of Theſeus.

Pelops, king of Peloponnesus.

Pithes the grandfather of Theſeus. The wisdom of Pithes.

Thou shalt performe, thy promise and thy pay: to hyred men, and that without delay.

And this doth *Aristotle* the Philosopher himselfe testifie: and the Poet *Euripides* also, calling *Hippolytus* the scholler of the holy *Pithes*, doth sufficiently declare of what estimation he was. But *Aegens* desiring (as they say) to know how he might haue children, went vnto the city of DELPHES to the oracle of *Apollo*: where by *Apollos* Nunne that notable prophecy was geuen him for an answer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, untill he was returned againe to ATHENS. And because the words of this prophecy were somewhat darke, & hard: he tooke his way by the city of TROEZEN, to tell it vnto *Pithes*. The wordes of the prophecy were theſe.

Aegens the father of Theſeus.

O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace, plucke not the tappe, out of thy trusty ioune: Before thou do, returne vnto thy place, in Athens to come from whence thy race doth rooſe.

Pithes vnderstanding the meaning, perswaded him, or rather cunningly by some deuise deceiued him in such sorte, that he made him to lye with his daughter called *AEthra*. *Aegens* after he had accompanied with her, knowing that she was *Pithes* daughter with whom he had lye, and douting that he had gotten her with child: left her a sword and a payer of shoes, the which he hidde vnder a great hollow stone, the hollownes whereof serued iust to receiue those things which he layed vnder it, and made no liuing creature priuy to it but her alone, straightly charging her, that if she happened to haue a sonne, when he were come to mans state, & of strength

AEthra the daughter of king Pithes: & the mother of Theſeus.

A strength to remoue the stone, and to take those things from vnder it which he left there: that she should then sende him vnto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body els might knowe of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called *Pallas*, the which laye in wayte and spyall by all the meanes they could to kill him, only of despight because he had no children, they being fiftie brethren, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And *AEthra* within fewe monethes after was deliuered of a goodly sonne, the which from that time was called *Theſeus*: and as some say, so called, because of the tokens of knowledge his father had layed vnder the stone. Yet some others write, that it was after wardes at ATHENS when his father knewe him, and auowed him to his sonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie & childehood, he was brought vp in the house of his grandfather *Pithes*, vnder the gouernment & teaching of one called *Comidas*, his schoolemaster: in honour of whom the ATHENIANS to this daye doe sacrifice a weather, the daye before the great feast of *Theſeus*, hauing more reason to honour the memorie of this gouernour, then of a *Silanon* and of a *Parrhasius*, to whom they doe honour all, because they paynted and caste mouldes of the images of *Theſeus*. Now there was a custome at that time in GREECE, that the yong men after their infancie and growth to mans state, went vnto the citie of DELPHES, to offer parte of their heares in the temple of *Apollo*. *Theſeus* also went thither as other did: and some saye that the place where the ceremonie of this offering was made, hath euer since kept the olde name, (and yet continueth) *Theſeia*. Howbeit he dyd not shau his head but before only, as *Homer* sayeth, like the facion of the ABANTES in olde time: and this manner of shauing of heares, was called for C his sake, *Theſeida*. And as concerning the ABANTES, in trothe they were the very first that shaued them selues after this facion: neuertheles they learned it not of the ARABIANS as it was thought of some, neither dyd they it after the imitation of the MESSIANS. But because they were warlike and valliant men, which did ioyne neere vnto their enemy in battell, and aboue all men of the worlde were skillfullest in fight hande to hande, and woulde keepe their groundes: as the Poet *Archilochus* witnesseth in these verses.

The Pallantides.

Pallas had fiftie sonnes.

Why Theſeus was so called.

Comidas Theſeus schoole-master.

A custome to offer heares at Delphes.

Theſeia. Theſeus was called of shauing. The Abantes.

They vse no synges in foughten fields to haue, nor bended bowes: but swordes and trenchant blades. For when fierce Mars beginneth for to rane, in bloody field: then every man inuades His fierce foe, and fighteth hand to hand. then doe they decide: right cruell to recount. For in this wise she braue and warlike bande Doe she vse their force which come from Negrepoint.

D

The cause why they were thus shauen before, was, for that their enemies should not haue the vantage to take them by the heares of the head while they were fighting. And for this selfe same consideration, *Alexander* the great commaunded his captaines to cause all the MACEDONIANS to shau their beards: because it is the easiest holde (and readiest for the hande) a man can haue of his enemy in fighting, to holde him fast by the same. But to returne to *Theſeus*. *AEthra* his mother had euer vnto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true father. And *Pithes* also had geuen it out abroade, that he was begotten of *Neptune*, because the TROEZIENS haue this god in great veneration, and doe worshippe him as patron and protector of their citie, making offerings to him of their first frutes: and they haue for the marke and stampe of their money, the three picked mace, which is the signe of *Neptune*, called his *Trident*. But after he was come to the prime and lustines of his youth, and that with the strength of his bodie he shewed a great courage, ioynd with a naturall wisdom, and stayndes of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollowe stone laye, and telling him truly the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers tokens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, & gaue him counsell to goe by sea to ATHENS vnto him. *Theſeus* easily lyft vp the stone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: Howbeit he answered playnely, that he would not goe by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the safer waye, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, because the waye by lande from TROEZEN to ATHENS was very dangerous, all the wayes A ij.

The cause of shauing their heares before. Alexander.

Magnus made the Macedonians shau their beards.

Theſeus said to be Neptune's sonne.

The Troezenians coine stamped with Neptune's three picked mace.

Theſeus ioynt.

Overrob-
bing in
the time
of Theseus.
lib. 1.

Hercules a
destroyer of
villenes.

Hercules fer-
ueth Om-
phale.

Theseus fo-
loweth Her-
cules.

Desire of
fame pricketh
him forward
to great en-
terprizes.

Theseus and
Hercules were
kynsmen.

Periphetes
Corymbes, a
famous rob-
ber, slayne
of Theseus.

being beset by robbers and murderers. For the world at that time brought forth men, which A
for strongnesse in their armes, for swyftnesse of feete, and for a generall strength of the whole
bodye, dyd farre passe the common force of others, and were neuer wearie for any labour or
trauell they tooke in hande. But for all this, they neuer employed these giftes of nature to any
honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanously to hurte and wronge others: as if
all the fruite and profit of their extraordinary strength had consisted in crueltye, & violence
only, and to be able to keepe others vnder and in subiection, and to force, destroye, and spoyle
all that came to their handes. Thinking that the more parte of those which thincke it a
shame to doe ill, and commend iustice, equitie, and humanitie, doe it of fainte cowardly
heartes, because they dare not wronge others, for feare they should receyue wronge them
selues: and therefore, that they which by might could haue vantage ouer others, had no-
thing to doe with suche quiet qualities. Nowe Hercules, traueillling abroade in the worlde, B
draue away many of those wicked theuif murderers, and some of them he slewe and put
to death, other as he passed through those places where they kept, dyd hide them selues for
feare of him, and gaue place: in so much as Hercules, perceyuing they were well tamed and
brought lowe, made no further reckoning to pursue them any more. But after that by fortune
he had slayne Iphitus with his owne handes, and that he was passed ouer the seas into the
countrie of LYDIA, where he serued Queene Omphale a long time, condemning him selfe
vnto that voluntarie payne, for the murder he had committed. All the Realme of LYDIA dur-
ing his abode there, remained in great peace and securitie from such kynde of people. How-
beit in GRECE, and all thereabouts, these olde mischiefs beganne againe to renue, grow-
ing hotter and violenter then before: because there was no man that punished them, nor that
durst take vpon him to destroye them. By which occasion, the waye to goe from PELOPON-
NESVS to ATHENS by lande was very perillous. And therefore Pitheus declaring vnto The-
seus, what manner of theues there were that laye in the waye, and the outrages and villanies
they dyd to all trauellers and wayefaring men, sought the rather to perswade him thereby to
take his voyage alonge the seas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glorie of Hercules
noble dedes, had long before secretly sett his hearte on fire, so that he made reckoning of
none other but of him, and louingly hearkened vnto those which would seeme to describe
him what manner of man he was, but chiefly vnto those which had seene him, and bene in
his companye, when he had sayed or done any thing worthy of memorye. For then he dyd D
manifestly open him selfe, that he felt the like passion in his hearte, which Themistocles long
time afterwards endured, when he sayed: that the victorie and triumphe of Miltiades would
not lett him sleepe. For euen so, the wonderfull admiration which Theseus had of Hercules
corage, made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and
in the daye time, pricked forwardes with emulation and enuie of his glorie, he determined
with him selfe one daye to doe the like, and the rather, because they were neere kynsmen,
being cosins remoued by the mothers side. For Alcmena was the daughter of Pitheus, and
Alcmena (the mother of Hercules) was the daughter of Lyfides, the which was halfe sister
to Pitheus, bothe children of Pelops and of his wife Hippodamia. So he thought he should be
utterly shamed and disgraced, that Hercules trauellling through the worlde in that sorte, dyd E
seeke out those wicked theues to rydde both sea & lande of them: & that he, farre otherwise,
should fynd occasion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he should meete on
his waye. Moreouer, he was of opinion he should greatly shame and dishonour him, whom
fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in shunning occasion to
fight, he should conuey him selfe by sea, and should carie to his true father also a paire of
shoes, (to make him knowne of him) and a sword not yet bathed in bloude. Where he
should rather seeke cause, by manifest token of his worthe dedes, to make knowne to the
worlde, of what noble bloude he came, and from whence he was descended. With this de-
termination, Theseus holdeth on his purposed iorney, with intent to hurte no man, yet to de-
fende him selfe, & to be reuenged of those which would take vpon them to assault him. F
The first therefore whom he slewe within the territories of the citie of EPIDAVRYM, was a
robber called Periphetes. This robber vied for his ordinarie weapon to carie a clubbe, and
for

A for that cause he was commonly furnamed Corymbes, that is to saye, a clubbe caryer. So he first
strake at Theseus to make him stande: but Theseus fought so lustely with him, that he killed
him. Whereof he was so glad, and chiefly for that he had wonne his clubbe, that euer after
he caryed it him selfe about with him, as Hercules dyd the lyons skynne. And like as this
spoyle of the lyon dyd witness the greatnesse of the beast which Hercules had slayne: euen lo
Theseus went all about, shewing that this clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers handes,
was in his owne handes inuincible. And lo going on further, in the streights of PELOPON-
NESVS he killed another, called Sinus furnamed Pityocamtes, that is to saye, a wreather, or
bower of pyne apple trees: whom he put to death in that selfe cruell manner that Sinus had
slayne many other trauellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former
B practise or exercise: but only to shewe, that cleane strength could doe more, then either
arte or exercise. This Sinus had a goodly fayer daughter called Perigouna, which fled awaye,
when he sawe her father slayne: whom he followed and fought all about. But she had hyde-
den her selfe in a groue full of certen kyndes of wilde pricking rushes called Stabe, and wilde
sparage, which the simplye like a childe intreated to hyde her, as if they had heard and had
sense to vnderstand her: promising them with an othe, that if they faued her from being
founde, she would neuer cutt them downe, nor burne them. But Theseus fynding her, called
her, and sware by his faith he would vse her gently, and doe her no hurte, nor displeasure at
all. Vpon which promise she came out of the bush, and laye with him, by whom she was
conceyued of a goodly boye, which was called Menalippus. Afterwards Theseus married
C her vnto one Deionus, the sonne of Eurisus the Oechalian. Of this Menalippus, the sonne of
Theseus, came Ioxus: the which with Ornyus brought men into the countrie of CARIA,
where he buylte the citie of IOXIDES. And hereof cometh that olde auncient ceremonie,
observed yet vnto this daye by those of IOXIDES, neuer to burne the bryars of wilde spa-
rage, nor the Stabe, but they haue them in some honour and reuerence. Touching the wilde
sauage fowe of Crommyon, otherwise furnamed Phas, that is to saye, ouergrowen with agge,
the was not a beast to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kylle.
Theseus notwithstanding taryed for her, and kylled her in his iorney, to the ende it shoulde
not appeare to the worlde, that all the valliant dedes he dyd, were done by compulsion,
and of necessity: adding thereto his opinion also, that a valliant man should not onely fight
D with men, to defend him selfe from the wicked: but that he should be the first, to assaulte
and slaye wilde hurtefull beastes. Neuertheles others haue written, that this Phas was a wo-
man robber, a murderer, and naught of her bodye, which spoyled those that passed by the
place called CROMMYONIA, where she dwelt: and that she was furnamed a fowe, for her
beastly brutish behauiour, and wicked life, for the which in the ende she was also slayne by
Theseus. After her he kylled Sciron, entering into the territories of MEGARA, because he robbed
all trauellers by the waye, as the common report goeth: or as others saye, for that of a cruell,
wicked, and sauage pleasure, he put forth his feete to those that passed by the sea side, and
compelled them to washe them. And then when they thought to stowe to doe it, he still
spurned them with his feete, till he thrust them hedlong into the sea: so Theseus threw him
E hedlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common
reporte, and desirous (as Simonides sayeth) to ouerthrowe it that had continued by pre-
scription of time: dyd mainteine that this Sciron was neuer any robber, nor wicked per-
sonne, but rather a pursuer and punisher of the wicked, and a friend and a kynsmen of the most
honest, and iustest men of GRECE. For there is no man but will confesse, that Aeacus was
the most vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that Cythereus the SALA-
MINIAN is honoured and reuerenced as a god at ATHENS: and there is no man also but
knoweth, that Peleus and Telamon were men of singular vertue. Nowe it is certaine, that this
Sciron was the sonne in lawe of Cythereus, father in lawe of Aeacus, and grandfather of Peleus
and of Telamon, the which two were the children of Endeida, the daughter of the fayed
F Sciron, and of his wife Chariclo. Also it is not very likely, that so many good men would
haue had affinitie with so naughty and wicked a man: in taking of him, and geuing him
that, which men loue best of all things in the worlde. And therefore the Historiographers
A ii.

Theseus car-
ried the
clubbe he
wonne of Pe-
riphetes, as
Hercules did
the Lyons skin.
Sinus Pityo-
camtes, a
cruell wreath-
er slaine.

Perigouna
Sinus daughter.

Theseus be-
gayne Men-
alippe sonne
of Perigouna.
Ioxus, Men-
alippe sonne.
Ioxides.

Phas the
wilde fowe of
Crommyon
slaine.

Phas a wo-
man thefe.

Sciron a no-
table robber,
thrust downe
the rocke by
Theseus.

Aeacus.
Cythereus.

The Laberintus a prison in Creta.

Taurus one of Minos captaines.

Of the Bottians. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 2.

King Minos defeated by the Poets in the theatres at Athens.

Radamanthus.

The third time of payment of the tribute.

The Athenians are griev'd to depart with their children.

Theseus offers to go with the children into Creta.

Letts drawn for the children should goe.

But *Philochorus* writeth, that the *CRETANS* doe not confesse that, but saye that this *Laberintus* was a gayle or prison, in the which they had no other hurte, saving that they which were kept there vnder locke and keye, coule not flye nor starre awaye: and that *Minos* had, in the memorye of his sonne *Androgeus*, instituted games and playes of prife, where he gaue vnto them that wanne the victorie, those younge children of *ATHENS*, the which in the meane time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the prison of the *Laberintus*: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines called *Taurus*, who was in best credit with his master, wanne the prife. This *Taurus* was a churlish, and naughtie natured man of condition, and very harden'd cruell to these children of *ATHENS*. And to verifie the same, the philosopher *Aristotle* him selfe, speaking of the common wealth of the *BOTTIANS*, declareth very well, that he neuer thought that *Minos* dyd at any time cause the children of *ATHENS* to be put to death: but sayeth, that they poorly toyld in *Creta* euen to crooked age, earning their liuing by true and painefull seruice. For it is written, that the *CRETANS* (to satisfie an olde vowe of theirs which they had made of auncient time) sent sometimes the first borne of their children, vnto *Apollo* in the citie of *DELPHES*: and that amongst them they also mingled those, which were descended of the auncient prisoners of *ATHENS*, and they went with them. But because they coule not lue there, they directed their iorney first into *ITALIE*, where for a time they remained in the realme of *PYGLIA*, and afterwards from thence went into the confines of *THRACIA*, where they had this name of *BOTTIANS*. In memory whereof, the daughters of the *BOTTIANS* in a solemne sacrifice they make, doe vie to singe the foote of this songe: Let vs to *ATHENS* goe. But thereby we maye see howe perillous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmitie with a citie, which can speake well, and where learning and eloquence dothe florithe. For euer fince that time, *Minos* was alwayes blased and disgraced through out all the Theaters of *ATHENS*. The testimonie of *Hesiodus*, who calleth him the most worthe King, dothe nothing helpe him at all, nor the prayse of *Homer*, who nameth him *Iupiters* famillier friende: because the tragical Poets gott the vpper hand in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these. And vpon their stages where all the tragedies were played, they still gaue forth many ill fauored wordes, and fowle speeches of him: as against a man that had bene most cruell and vnaturall. Yet most men thincke, that *Minos* was the King which established the lawes: and *Radamanthus* the iudge and preferuer of them, who caused the same also to be kept and obserued. The time now being comen about for payment of the thirde tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet married, to geue them to be put forth to take their chaunce and lotte: the citizens of *ATHENS* beganne to murmure against *Aegesus*, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cause of all this euill, was onely alone exempted from this grieue. And that to bring the government of the Realme, to fall into the handes of a stranger his bastard: he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vnaturally compelled to leaue and forsake them. These iust forrowes and complaints of the fathers, whose children were taken from them, dyd pearce the harte of *Theseus*, who willing to yelde to reason, and to ronne the selfe same fortune as the citizens dyd: willingly offered him selfe to be sent thither, without regarde taking to his happe or aduenture. For which, the citizens greatly esteemed of his corage and honorable disposition, and dearely loued him for the good affection, he seemed to beare vnto the comunalitie. But *Aegesus* hauing vied many reasons and perswasions, to cause him to turne, and staye from his purpose, and perceyuing in the ende there was no remedie but he would goe: he then drew lottes for the children which should goe with him. *Hellanicus* notwithstanding dothe write, that they were not those of the citie which drew lottes for the children they should sende, but that *Minos* him selfe went thither in person and dyd chuse them, as he chose *Theseus* the first, vpon conditions agreed betwene them: that is to wit, that the *ATHENIANS* should furnishe them with a shippe, and that the children should hippe and imbarke with him, carying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the *Minotaur*, this tribute should cease. Nowe before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of safetie of their children: therefore the *ATHENIANS* all-ways

wayes sent a shippe to conuey their children with a blacke fayle, in token of assured losse. Neuertheles *Theseus* putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good corage, and promising boldly that he would sett vpon this *Minotaur*: *Aegesus* gaue vnto the master of the shippe a white fayle, commaunding him that at his returne he should put out the white fayle if his sonne had elcaped, if not, that then he should sett vp the blacke fayle, to shew him a farre of his vnclucky and vnfortunate chaunce. *Simonides* notwithstanding doeth saye, that this fayle which *Aegesus* gaue to the master, was not white, but redde, dyed in graine, and of the culler of scarlett: and that he gaue it him to signifie a farre, of their deliguerie and safetie. This master was called *Phereclus Amasias*, as *Simonides* sayeth. But *Philochorus* writeth, that *Scirus* the *SALAMINIAN* gaue to *Theseus* a master called *Nausithemus*, and another marriner to tackle the fayles, who was called *Phaas*: because the *ATHENIANS* at that time were not greatly practised to the sea. And this did *Scirus*, for that one of the children on whom the lott fell was his nephewe: and thus muche the chappells doe of the children who the lott fell was in honour of *Nausithemus*, and of *Phaas*, in the village of *Phalerus*: ioyning to the temple of *Scirus*. And it is sayed moreover, that the feast which they call *Cybernesia*, that is to saye, the feast of Patrons of the (hippes), is celebrated in honour of them. Nowe after the lotts were drawn, *Theseus* taking with him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called *Delphinion*, to offer vp to *Apollo* for him and for them, an offering of supplication which they call *Hiceteria*: which was an olyue bough hallowed, wreathed about with white wolles. After he had made his prayer, he went downe to the sea side to imbarke, the fixt daye of the moneth of Marche: on which daye at this present time they doe sende their younge girles to the same temple of *Delphinion*, there to make their prayers and petitions to the goddesses. But some saye, that the oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of *DELPHES* had answered him, that he should take *Venus* for his gyde, and that he should call vpon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he dyd sacrifice a goate vnto her vpon the sea side, which was founde sodainly turned into a ramme, and that herefore they furnishe this goddess *Epitragia*, as one would saye, the goddess of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arriued in *Creta*, he slew there the *Minotaur* (as the most parte of auncient authors doe write) by the meanes and helpe of *Ariadne*: who being fallen in fauour with him, dyd geue him a clue of threede, by the helpe whereof he taught him, howe he might easely winde out of the turnings and crankes of the *Labyrinth*. And they saye, that hauing killed this *Minotaur*, he returned backe againe the same waye he went, bringing with him those other younge children of *ATHENS*, whom with *Ariadne* also he caried afterwards awaye. *Phereclus* sayeth moreover, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the shippes of *Creta*, because they should not sodainly sett out after them. And *Demon* writeth, that *Taurus* (the captaine of *Minos*) was killed in a fight by *Theseus*, euen in the very hauen mowthe as they were readye to shippe awaye, and hoyle vp fayle. Yet *Philochorus* reporteth, that king *Minos* hauing sett vp the games, as he was wont to doe yerely in the honour and memorye of his sonne, euery one beganne to enuy captaine *Taurus*, because they euer looked that he should carie awaye the game and victorie, as he had done other yeres before: ouer and that, his authoritie got him much ill will and enuy, because he was proude and stately, and had in suphorition that he was great with Queene *Pasiphae*. Wherefore when *Theseus* required he might encounter with *Taurus*, *Minos* easely graunted it. And being a solemne cutoime in *Creta* that the women should be present, to see these open sportes and fights: *Ariadne* being at these games amongst the rest, fell further in loue with *Theseus*, seeing him so goodly a person, so stronge, and inuincible in wrestling, that he farre exceeded all that wrestled there that daye. King *Minos* was so glad that he had taken awaye the honour from captaine *Taurus*, that he sent him home francke and free into his countrye, rendering to him all the other prisoners of *ATHENS*: and for his sake, clearly releafed and forgave the citie of *ATHENS* the tribute, which they should haue payed him yerely. Howbeit *Clidemus* searcing out the beginning of these things to thutmost, reciteth them very particularly, and after another sorte. For he sayeth, about that time there was a generall restraint through out all

The Athenians sent their children into Creta in a shippe with a blacke fayle.

Aegesus giveth the master of the shippe a white fayle, to signifie the safetie of returne of Theseus.

Cybernesia games.

Hiceteria offering.

Theseus taketh shippe with the tribute children, the fixt of Marche, and flyeth into Creta.

Venus Epitragia.

Theseus slew the Minotaur by means of Ariadne, king Minos daughter.

Theseus returned out of Creta.

Taurus captaine of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Theseus returned out of Creta.

Taurus captaine of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

Taurus overcame of Theseus, was a man.

GRECE, refrayning all manner of people to beare sayle in any vessell or bottome, wherein
there were aboute fiew perſones, except only *Iafon*, who was chofen captaine of the great
ſhippe *Argus*, and had commiſſion to ſayle euery where, to chafe and driue awaye rōuers
and pyrates, and to ſcoure the ſeas through out. About this time, *Dadalus* being fled from
CRETA to ATHENS in a litle bark: *Minos* contrarie to this refraint, woulde needes followe
him with a fleet of diuers ſhalp with owers, who being by force of weather driuen with the
coafte of SICILE, forturned to dye there. Afterwardes his ſonne *Deucalion*, being marci-
louſly offended with the ATHENIANS, ſent to ſummon them to deliuer *Dadalus* vnto him,
or els he woulde put the children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hoſtages.
But *Theſeus* excuſed him ſelfe, and ſayed he coulde not forſake *Dadalus*, conſidering he was
his neere kynſleman, being his cofin germaine, for he was the ſonne of *Merope*, the daughter
of *Erichonides*. Howbeit by and by he cauſed many veſſels ſecretly to be made, parte of them
within ATTICA ſelfe in the village of *Thymetades*, farre from any high wayes: and parte
of them in the citie of TROEZEN, by the ſufferance of *Pitheus* his grandfather, to the ende
his purpoſe ſhoulde be kept ſecretly. Afterwardes when all his ſhippes were ready, and
rygged out, he tooke ſea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: in ſo much as when
they ſawe them a ſarre, of they dyd take them for the barkes of their friends. *Theſeus* landed
without reſiſtance, and tooke the hauen. Then hauing *Dadalus*, and other baniſhed CRE-
TANS for guydes, he entred the citie ſelfe of GNOSVS, where he ſlewe *Deucalion* in a fight
before the gates of the *Labyrinth*, with all his garde and officers about him. By this meanes
the kingdom of CRETA fell by inheritance into the hands of his ſiſter *Ariadne*. *Theſeus*
made league with her, and carryed away the yong children of ATHENS, which were kept as
hoſtages, and concluded peace and amytie betwene the ATHENIANS and the CRETANS:
who promiſed, and ſware, they woulde neuer make warres againſt them. They reporte many
other things alſo touching this matter, and ſpecially of *Ariadne*: but there is no trothe nor
certeinie in it. For ſome ſaye, that *Ariadne* hongre her ſelfe for ſorowe, when the ſawe that
Theſeus had caſte her of. Other write, that ſhe was tranſported by mariners into the Ile of
NAXOS, where ſhe was married vnto *Oenarbus*, the prieſt of *Bacchus*: and they thincke that *The-*
ſeus leſte her, becauſe he was in loue with another, as by theſe verſes ſhoulde appeare.

*Aegles the Nymphe, vv as loued of Theseus,
vvhich vv as the daughter of Panopew.*

Hereas the *Megarian* sayeth, that these two verses in olde time were among the verses of the Poet *Hesiodus*, howbeit *Pisistratus* tooke them awaye: as he dyd in like manner as these other here in the description of the helles in *Homer*, to gratifie the *ATHENIANS*.

*Bolde Theseus, and Pirithous stovvte,
descended both from godds immortall race,
Triumphing still, this vvearie vvorlde aboute
in feats of armes, and many a comly grace.*

Other holde opinion, that *Ariadne* had two children by *Theſeus*: the one of them was named *OEnopion*, and the other *Staphylus*. Thus amongst others the Poet *Ion* writeth it, who was borne in the Ile of *CHEOS*, and ſpeaking of his citty, he ſayeth thus:

*OEnopion which was the sonne, of worthy Theseus
did cause men buylde, this stately towne which now we triumpheth thus.*

Nowe what things are founde feemly in Poets fables, there is none but dothe in manner
fynge them. But one *Paenon* borne in the citie of *A MATHYNIA*, reciteth this cleane after
another forte, and contrarie to all other: faying, that *Thesus* by tempest was driuen with the
lle of *CYPRVS*, hauing with him *Ariadne*, which was great with childe, and so fore fate fycke,
that she was not able to abide it. In so muche as he was forced to put her a lande, and him
selfe afterwards returning abourde hoping to faue his shippe againt the storme, was forth-
with compelled to loofe into the sea. The women of the cuntry dyd courteously receyue and
intreate *Ariadne*: and to comforte her againe, (for she was maruiculously oute of hart, to

A see the was thus forsaken) they counterfeited letters, as if *Theseus* had written them to her. And when her groning time was come, and she to be layed, they did their best by all possible meanes to faue her: but she dyed notwithstanding in labour, and could neuer be deliuered. So she was honorably buried by the Ladies of *CYPRVS*. *Theseus* not long after returned thither againe, who tooke her death maruelous heauily, and left money with the inhabitants of the countrie, to sacrifice vnto her yearly: and for memorie of her, he caused two litle images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of siluer, which he dedicated vnto her. This sacrifice is done the seconde day of September, on which they doe yet obserue this ceremonie: they doe lay a young childe vpon a bed, which pitiefully cryeth and lamenteth, as women trauellinge with childe. They saye also, that the *AMATHYIANS* doe yet call the

B where of her tombe is sette vp, the wodde of *Venus Adriadne*. And yet there are of the *NAXIANS*, that reporte this otherwise: saying, there were two *Amores*, and two *Adriadnes*, whereof the one was married to *Bacchus* in the Ile of *NAXOS*, of whome *Staphylus* was borne: and the other the youngelt, was rauished and caried away by *Theseus*, who afterwards forsooke her, and she came into the Ile of *NAXOS* with her nyce, called *Corycna*, whose graue honour doth to her after her death, as to the first was geuen. For they celebrate the feast of the first with all ioye and mirth: where the sacrifices done in memorie of the seconde, be mingled with mourning and sorowe. *Theseus* then departing from the Ile of *CRETA*, arriued in the Ile of *DELOS*, where he did sacrifice in the temple of *Apollo*, and gaue there a litle image of *Venus*, which he had gotten of *Adriadne*. Then with the other young boyes that he had deliuered, he daunced a kinde of daunce, which the *DELIANS* keepe to this day, as they say: in which there are many turnes and returns, much after the turnings of the *Labyrinth*. And the *DELIANS* call this manner of daunce, the crane, as *Dicaeareus* sayeth. And *Theseus* daunced it first about the altar, which is called *Ceraton*, that is to saye, hornestaffe: because it is made and builded of hornes onely, all on the left hand well and curiously sette together without any other bindinge. It is sayed also that he made a game in this Ile of *DELOS*, in which at the first was geuen to him that ouercame, a branche of palme for reward of victorie. But when they drew neere the coast of *ATTICA*, they were loyfull, he and his master, that they forgoate to set vp their white sayle, by which they shoulde haue

D iuen knowledge of their healtie and safetie vnto *AEGEUS*. Who seeinge the blacke sayle a farre off, being out of all hope euenmore to see his sonne againe, tooke such a grieue at his harte, that he threw him selfe headlong from the top of a clyffe, and killed him selfe. So soone as *Theseus* was arriued at the porte named *Phalerus*, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the goddess at his departure: and sent an Herald of his before vnto the city, to carie newes of his late arriuall. The Herald founde many of the cite mourning the death of king *AEGEUS*. Many other receiued him with great ioy, as may be supposed. They would haue crowned him also with a garlande of flowers, for that he had brought fo good tidings, that the children of the cite were returned in safetie. The Herald was content to take the garlande, yet would he not in any wise put it on his head, but did winde it about his Heraults

E rodde he bare in his hande, and so returneth forthwith to the sea, where *Theseus* made his sacrifices. Who perceiuing they were not yett done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and stayed without for troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwards all ceremonies finished, he went in and told him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for sorowe, halted with the speedes towards the cite. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called *Oscophoria* (as who would say at the feast of boughes) the Herald hath not his heade but his rod onely crowned with flowers, and why the assistants also after the sacrifice done, doe make such cryes and exclamations: *Ele, leuf, ion, ion*: whereof the first is the crye and voyce they commonly vse one to an other to make haste, or else it is the soote of some songe of triumphe: and the other is the crye and voyce of men as it were in feare and trouble. After he had ended the obsequies and funeralls for his father, he performed also his sacrifices vnto *Apollo*, which he had vowed the seventh day of the moneth of *OCTOBER*, on which they argued at their returne into the cite of *ATHENS*. Euen so the custome which

Adriadne dieth with childe in Cyprus.

The ceremony of this sacrifice is done to Adriadne in Cyprus.

Venus Adriadne.

Two *Amores* about whose *Adriadnes* were.

Corycna.

Adriadne nurse.

Theseus remembreth out of *Creta* into the Ile of *Delos*.

Theseus daunce called the Crane.

Palme a token of victory.

Theseus made his shippe forget to set out the white sayle.

AEGEUS death.

Theseus arriued safely with the children in the haven of *Phalerus*.

The Herald bare a rodde in his hand.

The feast of *Oscophoria*.

Oscophoria is a sacrifice in the Attic can brought.

they vse at this day, to seech all manner of pulse, commeth of this: that those which then returned with *Theseus*, did seech in a great brasse potte all the remaine of their prouision, and therewith made good chere together. Euen in such sorte as this, came vpon the custome to carie a branch of olyue, wreathed about with wolfe, which they call *Iresione*: bicause at that time they caried boughes of supplication, as we haue told ye before. About which they hang all sortes of fruites: for then barrenesse did cease, as the verses they sang afterwards did witnesse.

*Hered. firste
sings in the
life of Homer,
and Suidas.*

*Bring him good bread, that is of savy tast,
with pleasum figges, and dropes of dulcet mell,
Then soverle oyle, his body fur to baste,
and pure good wine, to make him sleepe full & well.*

*Theseus went
into Creta
with the mi-
dow children,
in the galles
of 10. years.
Disputation
about in-
crease.
The galles
alleged for a
doubt.*

Howbeit there are some which will say, that these veries were made for the *Heraclides*, that is to say, those that descended from *Hercules*: which flying for their safety and succour vnto the *Athenians*, were entertained & much made of by them for a time. But the most parte holde returned, was a galliot of thirtie owes, which the *Athenians* kept vntill the time of *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, alwayes taking away the olde peeces of wodde that were rotten, and euer renewing them with new in their places. So that euer since, in the disputations of the *Philosophers*, touching things that increase, to wit, whether they remaine alwayes one, or else they be made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for an example of doubt. For some maintained, that it was still one vessell: others to the contrary defended it was not so. And they holde opinion also, that the feast of boughes which is celebrated at *Athenes* at this time, was then first of all instituted by *Theseus*. It is sayed moreover, that he did not carie all the wenchies vpon whom the lots did fall, but chose two fayre young boyes, whose faces were swete and delicate as maydens be, that otherwise were hardie, and quicke sighted. But he made them so oft bathe them selues in whote bathes, and kepe them in from the heate of the sunne, and so many times to washe, anointe, and rubbe them selues with oyles which serue to supple and smoothe their skinned, to keepe freshe and fayer their colour, to make yellowe and bright their heates: and withall did teache them so to counterfeate their speache, countenance and facion of young maydes, that they seemed to be like them, rather then young boyes. For there was no manner of difference to be perceived outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, in which both he and the other young boyes, were apparelled then as they be now, which carie boughes on the day of the feast in their hands. They carie them in the honor of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, following the fable that is tolde of them: or rather bicause they returned home iust at the time and season, when they gather the fruite of those trees. There are women which they call *Deipnophores*, that is to say, supper cariers, which are assistants to the sacrifice done that day, in representing the mothers of those, vpon whom the lottes did fall, bicause they in like sorte brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children, to comforte and encourage them. All these particularities were written by *Demon* the historiographer. There was moreover a place chosen out to build him a temple in, and he him self ordained, that those houses which had payed tribute before vnto the king of *Creta*, should now yearly thenceforth become contributories towards the charges of a solemne sacrifice, which should be done in the honor of him: and he did assigne the order and administration of the same, vnto the house of the *Phyalides*, in recompence of the curtesie which they showed him when he arriued. Furthermore, after the death of his father *AEgeus*, prouince of *Attica*, to be within the citie of *Athenes*, and made them all one corporation, which were before disperled into diuerse villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the common state. Many times also they were at variance together, & by the eares, making warres one vpon another. But *Theseus* tooke the paines to goe from village to village, and from family, to familie, to let them vnderstand the reasons why they should consent vnto it. So he found the poore people

*Theseus
shooke fallers
as the Phya-
lides who
were the first
that fraight
him in their
horses.
Theseus
be-ought the
inhabitants of
the countie of
Attica into
one city.*

A people and priuate men, ready to obey and followe his will: but the riche, and such as had authority in euery village, all against it. Neuertheles he wanne them, promising that it should be a common wealth, and not subiect to the power of any sole prince, but rather a populer state. In which he woulde only referue to him selfe the charge of the warres, and the preteration of the lawes: for the rest, he was content that euery citizen in all and for all should beare a like sway and authority. So there were some that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yielded notwithstanding for feare of his displeasure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to consent with good will, vnto that he required: then to tary his forcible compulsion. Then he caused all the places where iustice was ministred, and all their halles of assembly to be ouerthrowen and pulled downe. He remoued straight allindges and officers, and built a towne house, and a counsaill hall, in the place where the citie now standeth, which the *Athenians* call *Asty*, but he called the whole corporation of them, *Athenes*. Afterwardes he instituted the greatesse feast and common sacrifice for all of the countrey of *Attica*, which they call *Panathenea*. Then he ordained another feast also vpon the sixteenth day of the moneth of Iune, for all strangers which should come to dwell in *Athenes*, which was called *Metacia*, & is kept euen to this day. That done, he gaue ouer his regall power according to his promise, and beganne to sett vpon an estate, or policie of a common wealth, beginning first with the seruice of the goddes. To knowe the good successe of his enterprife, he sent at the very beginning to the oracle of *Apollo* in *Dalphe*s, to enquire of the fortune of this citie: from whence this aunswer was brought vnto him.

*Atty, the
was no benef
of the Athe-
nians.
The feast
Metacia, and
Metacia.
Theseus re-
gall his
regall, & so
metach, which
a common
wealth.*

*O then which arte, the sonne of AEgeus,
begott by him on Pitheus daughter deare.
The mightie Ioue, my father glorious,
by his decree, hath sayed there shall appeare,
a fatal end, of every citie here.
VVhich ende he will, shall also come adovvne,
VVithin the wualles of this thy statly towne.*

*Therefore sheerue thou, a valliant constant minde,
and let no care, nor carke shy harte displease.
For like vnto a bladder blowen with wind
thou shalt be toft, upon the surging seas.
Yet lett no dynte of dolours the disface.
For vwhy? thou shalt, nor perishe nor decaye,
nor be overcome, nor yet be cast awaye.*

*The oracle of
Apollo at
Dalphe.*

It is founde written also that *Sibylla* afterwardes gaue out suche a like oracle ouer the citie of *Athenes*.

*The bladder blowen maye flete vpon the fludde,
but cannot synke, nor sicke in filthy mudde.*

Moreover, bicause he woulde further yet augment his people, and enlarge his citie, he entiled many to come and dwell there, by offering them the selfe same freedome and priuiledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many iudge, that these wordes which are in vse at this daye in *Athenes*, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Come ye hither be the selfe same which *Theseus* then caused to be proclaimed, when he in that sorte dyd gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he suffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without distinction of degrees & orders. For he first diuided the noble men, from husbandmen and artificers, appointing the noble men as iudges & magistrates to iudge vpon matters of Religiō, & touching the seruice of the godds: & of them also he dyd chuse rulers, to beare ciuill office in the common weale, to determine the lawe, and to tell all holy and diuine things. By this meanes he made the noble men and the two other estates equal in voyce. And as the noblemen dyd passe the other in honour: euen so the artificers exceeded them in number, & the husbandmen them in profit. Nowe that *Theseus* was the first who of all others yielded to haue a common weale or populer estate (as *Aristotle* sayeth) and dyd geue ouer his regall power: *Homer* selfe semeth to testifie it, in numbering the shippes which were in the *Gracians* armie before the citie of *Troia*. For amongst all the *Gracians*, he only calleth the *Athenians* people. Moreover *Theseus* coyned money, which he marked with the stampe of an oxe, in memory of the bulle of *Marathon*, or of *Taurus* the captaine of *Minos*, or els to prouoke his citizens to geue them selues to labour. They saye also that of this money they were since called *Hecatombæon*, & *Decabæon*, which signifieth worth a hundred oxen, and worth tenne oxen. Furthermore hauing ioyned all the territorie of the citie of *Megara*, vnto

*Theseus ma-
keth diffirence
of states and
degrees in his
common weale.*

*Theseus the
first that gaue
ouer regall
power, & fra-
med a popu-
lar state.
An oxe stam-
ped in The-
seus coine.
Hecatombæon,
Decabæon.*

the countie of **ATTICA**, he caused that notable foure square pillar to be sett vp for their confines within the straight of **PELOPONNESVS**, and engraue thereuppon this superscription, that declareth the separation of both the countiees which confine there together. The superscription is this:

Where Titan doth beginne, his beames for to dispaye
euen that waye stands Ionia, in fertile wife all waye:
And where againe he goeth a downe to take his rest,
there stands Peloponnesus lande, for there I comst it wrest.

Olympia.

Theseus
 Etched the
 games Iff
 nia, in the
 honour of
 Neptune.

Theseus is
mye into m.
Major.

Antiope in
Amazon
wished by
Theseus.

Solois fell
lone with A.
tiopa.

Solois drowned himself for love.

Pythopolis
built by The
Seue.
Solois R.

It was he also which made the games called *Isthmia*, after the imitation of *Hercules*, to the
 end that as the *Grecians* dyd celebrate the feast of games called *Olympia*, in the honour
 of *Imptyr*, by *Hercules* ordinance: so, that they should also celebrate the games called *Isthmia*,
 by his order and institution, in the honour of *Neptune*. For those that were done in the *Isthraits*
 in the honour of *Melicerta*, were done in the night, & had rather game of faincice or of a my-
 sterie, then of games & open feast. Yet some will saye, that these games of *Isthmia* were instituted
 in the honour & memorie of *Sciron*, & that *Theſeus* ordained them in satisfaction of his death:
 because he was his coſin germaine, being the sonne of *Canethus*, and of *Heniocha* the daughter
 of *Pitheus*. Other saye that it was *Sinnis* and not *Sciron*, and that for him *Theſeus* made these
 games, and not for the memorie of the other. Howsoever it was, he specially willed the *CORIN-
 THIANs*, that they should geue vnto those that came from *Athenes* to see their games of *Isth-
 mia*, so much place to sit downe before them (in the most honorable parte of the feast place) as
 the aile of their shippes should couer, in the which they came from *Athenes*: thus doe *Hell-
 nicus* & *Andron Halicarnassens* write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the sea *Mell-
 philochorus*, & some other holde opinion, that he went thither with *Hercules* against the *AMA-
 ZONES*: and that to honour his valianties, *Hercules* gaue him *Antiopea* the *AMAZONE*. But
 the more parte of the other Historiographers, namely *Hellanicus*, *Pherecides*, & *Herodotus*, doe
 write, that *Theſeus* went thither alone, after *Hercules* voyage, & that he tooke this *AMAZONE*
 prisoner, which is likeliest to be true. For we doe not finde that any other who went this iorney
 with him, had taken any *AMAZONE* prisoner besides him selfe. *Bion* also the Historiographer,
 this notwithstanding sayeth, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the *AMAZO-
 NES* (sayeth he) naturally louing men, dyd not die at all when they sawe them lide in their coun-
 trey, but sent them presents, & that *Theſeus* enticed her to come into his shippe, who brought
 him a present: & so lone as she was aborde, he hoided his sayle, & so caried her away. Another
 Historiographer *Meneceates*, who wrote the historie of the citie of *Nicea*, in the countrye of
Bythinia, sayeth: that *Theſeus* hauing this *AMAZONE* *Antiope* with him, remained a cer-
 taine time vpon those coasts, & that amongst other he had in his companie three yonge bre-
 thern of *Athenes*, *Enneus*, *Thois*, & *Solois*. This last, *Solois*, was maruellously in loue with *Ant-
 iopea*, and neuer bewrayed it to any of his other companions, fauing vnto one with whom
 he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter vnto *Ant-
 iopea*. But the vterly reiected his sute, though otherwise he handled it wifely and cur-
 teously, and dyd not complaine to *Theſeus* of him. Howbeit the younge man despairing to
 enioye his loue, tooke it so inwardly, that desperately he leapt into the riuier, and drowned him
 selfe. Whiche when *Theſeus* vnderstoode, and the cause also that brought him to this despera-
 tion and ende: he was very forye, and angrie also. Whereupon he remembered a certein or-
 dle of *Pythia*, by whom he was commaunded to buyld a citie in that place in a straunge coun-
 trey, where he should be most forye, and that he should leaue some that were about him at
 that time, to gouerne the same. For this cause therefore he built a citie in that place, which
 he named *Pythopolis*, because he had built it only by the commaundement of the *Nunne*
Pythia. He called the riuier in the which the younge man was drowned, *Solois*, in memorie of
 him: and left his two brethren for his deputies and as gouernours of this newe citie, with an-
 other gentleman of *Athenes*, called *Hermus*. Hereof it cometh, that at this daye the *Py-
 thopolitans* call a certain place of their citie, *Hermus* houle. But they sayle in the accent, *F*
 by putting it vpon the last syllable: for in pronouncing it so, *Hermus* signifieth *Mercurie*. By this
 meanes they doe transferre the honour due to the memorie of *Hermus*, vnto the god *Mercurie*.

Nowe

A Now heare what was the occasion of the warres of the *AMAZONS*, which me thinckes was not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprife of a woman. For they had not place their campe within the very citie of *ATHENS*, nor had not fought in the very place it selfe (called *Pnyce*) adioyning to the temple of the *Muses*, if they had not first conquered or lubbud all the countrye thereabouts: neither had they all comen at the first, so valiantly to assaile the citie of *ATHENS*. Now, whether they came by lande from so farrea countrye, or that they passed ouer an arme of the sea, which is called *Bosphorus Cimmericus*, being frolen as *Hellenicus* sayeth: it is hardly to be credited. But that they campt within the precinct of the very citie it selfe, the names of the places which cōtinue yet to this present daye doe witness it, & the graues also of the women which dyed there. But fo is it, that both armies laye a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length *Theseus* hauing first made sacrifice vnto *Fear* the goddesse, according to the counsaill of a prophetic he had receyued, he gaue them battell in the moneth of August, on the same daye, in the which the *ATHENIANS* doe euen at this present Iolemnise the feast, which they call *Boedromia*. But *Clidemus* the Historiographer, desirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encounter, sayeth that the left poynte of their battell bent towards the place which they call *AMAZONION*: and that the right poynte marched by the side of *CHRYSA*, euen to the place which is called *PNYCE*, vpon which, the *ATHENIANS* cōming towards the temple of the *Muses*, dyd first geue their charge. And for prooe that this is true, the graues of the women which dyed in this first encounter, are founde yet in the great streete, which goeth towards the gate *Piraica*, neere vnto the chappell of the litle god *Chalcodius*. And the *ATHENIANS* s (sayeth he) were in this place repulged by the *AMAZONS*, euen to the place where the images of *Eumenides* are, that is to saye, of the furies. But on thother side also, the *ATHENIANS* cōming towards the quarters of *Palladium*, *Arcturus*, & *Lucium*, draue backe their right poynte euen to within their campe, & slewe a great number of them. Afterwards, at the ende of foure months, peace was taken betweene them by meane of one of the women called *Hippolyta*. For this Historiographer calleth the *AMAZONS* which *Theseus* married, *Hippolyta*, and not *Antiope*. Neuertheles, some saye that he was slayne (fighting on *Theseus* side) with a dart, by another called *Molpadia*. In memorie whereof, the piller which is ioyning to the temple of the *Olympian* ground, was set vp in her honour. We are not to maruell, if the historie of things so auncient, be founde so diuersely written. For there are also that

D write, that *Queene Antiope* lent those secretly which were hurte then into the citie of *CALCIDES*, where loone of them recovered, & were healed: and others also dyed, which were buried neere to the place called *AMAZONION*. Howlouer it was, it is most certain that this warre was ended by agreement. For a cause adioyning to the temple of *Theseus*, dothe beare recorde of it being called *Oromosium*: because the peace was there by solemn othe concluded. And the sacrifice also dothe the truly verifie it, which they haue made to the *AMAZONS*, before the feast of *Theseus*, long time out of minde. They of *Megara* also doe shewe a tūmbe of the *AMAZONS* in their citie, which is as they goe fro the market place, to the place they call *Rhus*: where they finde an auncient tūmbe, cut in facion & forme of a losenge. They saye that there died other of the *AMAZONS* also, neere vnto the citie of *CHARONEA*, which were buried all alongst the

E litle broke passing by the same, which in the olde time, (in mine opinion) was called *Thermodia*. & is now named *Hamon*, as we haue in other places written in the life of *Demothenes*. And semeth also, that they dyd not passe through *Thessalia*, without fighting: for there are legēdies of yether tribes allabout the citie of *Scotysa*, hard by the rocks, which be called the dog head. And this is that which is worthy memorie (in mine opinion) touching the warres of the *AMAZONS*. Howe the Poet telleth that the *AMAZONS* made warres with *Theseus* to reuē the iniurie he dyd to their *Queene Antiope*, refusing her, to marye with *Phadra*: & as for the murder which he telleth that *Hercules* dyd, that me thinckes is altogether but deuise of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of *Antiope*, *Theseus* married *Phadra*, hauing had before of *Antiope* sonne called *Hippolytus*, or as the Poet *Pindarus* writeth, *Demophon*. And for that the Historiographers doe not in any thing speake against the tragical Poets, in that which concerneth it, I will hope that chaunced to him, in the persones of this his wife & of his sonne: we must neede take it to be so, as we finde it written in the tragedies. And yet we finde many other reports

B ii.

The cause of
the wars of
the Amazo-
nes against
the Athenians.

Bosphorus
Cimmerius,
an arm of
the sea.

Theſeu fighteth a battell with the Amazones. The order of the Amazones battell.

Peace concluded at
four months
ende by me
nes of Hyy

of Orcemoston
the name of
place.

*Ancient
bes of lose
facion.
Thermodo
nowe calle
Hamon fl*

Hippolytus
Theseus
sonne by
siopa.
Thadra
seus wife.
Minos
daughter
of Creta.

touching the mariages of *Theſeus*, whose beginnings had no great good honest ground, neither fell out their endes very fortunate: & yet for all that they haue made no tragedies of them, neither haue they bene played in the Theaters. For we read that he tooke away *Anaxo* the *Thracian*; & that after he had killed *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he tooke their daughters perforce: & that he dyd also marry *Peribaea*, the mother of *Aias*, & afterwards *Pherebaa*, & *Ioppa* the daughter of *Iphicles*. And they blame him much also, for that he so lightly tooke his wife *Ariadne*, for the loue of *Aegles* the daughter of *Panopaeus*, as we haue recited before. Lastly, he tooke away *Hellen*: which rauishment filled all the Realme of *Attica* with warres, & finally was the very occasion that forced him to forsake his country, and brought him at the length to his ende, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of *Greece* had done many goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet *Herodotus* is of opinion, that *Theſeus* was neuer B
in any one of them: sauing that he was at the battell of the *Lapithae* against the *Centauri*. Others saye to the contrarie, that he was at the iorney of *Cholchide* with *Iason*, & that he dyd helpe *Meleager* to kill the wilde bore of *Calydonia*: from whence (as they saye) this prouerbe came: *Not without Theſeus*. Meaning that such a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certaine that *Theſeus* self dyd many famous actes, without ayde of any man, and that for his valianties this prouerbe came in vs, which is spoken: *This is another Theſeus*. Also he dyd helpe *Adrastus* king of the *Argiues*, to recouer the bodies of those that were slayne in the battell, before the citie of *Thebes*. Howbeit it was not, as the poet *Euripides* sayeth, by force of armes, after he had ouercome the *Thebans* in battell: but it was by composition. And thus the greatest number of the most auncient writers doe declare it. Furthermore, *Philochorus* C
writeth, that this was the first treatie that euer was made to recouer the dead bodies slayne in battell: neuertheless we doe read in the histories and gestes of *Hercules*, that he was the first that euer suffered his enemies to carye away their dead bodies, after they had bene put to the sword. But whoeouer he was, at this daye in the village of *Eleutheres*, they doe shewe the place where the people were buried, and where princes tumbe are seene about the citie of *Eleusyn*, which he made at the request of *Adrastus*. And for testimonie hereof, the tragedie *Aeschilus* made of the *Eleusynians*, where he causeth it to be spoken euen thus to *Theſeus* him self, dothe clerely ouerthrowe the petitioners in *Euripides*. Touching the friendshippe betwixt *Pirithous* and him, it is sayed it beganne thus. The renowne of his valliancy was maru-
lously blowne abroad through all *Greece*, & *Pirithous* desirous to knowe it by experience, D
went euen of purpose to inuade his country, and brought away a certaine boote of oxen of his taken out of the country of *Marathon*. *Theſeus* being aduertised thereof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. *Pirithous* hearing of his comming, fled not at all, but returned backe so-
dainly to mete him. And so sone as they came to see one another, they both wondered at eche others beawtie and corage, and so had they no desire to fight. But *Pirithous* reaching out his hande first to *Theſeus*, sayed vnto him. I make you selfe iudge of the damage you haue susteined by my inuasion, and with all my harte I will make suche satisfaction, as it shall please you to aslesse it at. *Theſeus* then dyd not only releafe him, of all the damages he had done, but also re-
quested him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were present-
ly sworne brethren in the fildes: after which othe betwixt them, *Pirithous* married *Deidamia*, E
sent to praye *Theſeus* to cometo his marriage, to visite his country, & to make merye with the *Lapithae*. He had bidden also the *Centauri* to the feast: who being drunke, committed many lewde parties, euen to the forcing of women. Howbeit the *Lapithae* chafited them so well, that they slewe some of them presently in the place, & draue the rest afterwards out of all the coun-
trye by the helpe of *Theſeus*, who armed him selfe, and fought on their side. Yet *Herodotus* writeth the matter somewhat contrarie, saying that *Theſeus* went not at all vntill the warre was well begonne: & that it was the first time that he sawe *Hercules*, & spake with him neere vnto the citie of *Trachina*, when he was then quiet, hauing ended all his farre voyages, & great-
test troubles. They report that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnes, and honorable entertainment betwene them, and howe great curtesie was offred to eache o-
ther. Nethertheless he thincks we should geue better credit to those writers that saye they mett many times together, and that *Hercules* was accepted and receyued into the brotherhood of the

*Theſeus mar-
riages.*

*Theſeus bat-
tles.*

*Practise.
Not without
Theſeus.
Practise.
This is ano-
ther Theſeus.*

*Theſeus val-
liancies the
cause of *Piri-
thous* friend-
shippe with
him.*

*Pirithous &
Theſeus
sworne bre-
thren in the
fild.
Pirithous
married *Dei-
damia*.
The *Lapithae*
ouercome
the *Centauri*.
Theſeus and
Hercules mett
at *Trachina*.*

A the mysteries of *Eleusyn*, by the meanes of the countenance and fauour which *Theſeus* showed vnto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessitye of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the companie of those holy mysteries. Furthermore, *Theſeus* was fiftie yeres olde when he tooke away *Hellen* those holy mysteries. And rauished her, which was very young, and not of age to be married, as *Hellenicus* sayeth. By reason whereof, some seeking to hyde the rauishment of her as a hainous facte, doe report it was not he, but one *Idas* and *Lyncus* that caryed her away, who left her in his custodie and keeping: and that *Theſeus* would haue kept her from them, and would not haue deliuered her to her brethren *Castor* and *Pollux*, which afterwards dyd demaunde her againe of him. Others againe saye it was her owne father *Tyndarus*, who gaue her him to keepe, for that he was as-
frayed of *Enxiphorus* the sonne of *Hippocoon*, who would haue had her away by force. But that which cometh nearest to the trothe in this case, and which in deede by many authors is testi-
fied, was in this sorte. *Theſeus* & *Pirithous* went together to the citie of *Lacedaemon*, where they tooke away *Hellen* (being yet very younge) euen as she was dauncing in the temple of *Diana* surnamed *Orthis*: & they fled for life. They of *Lacedaemon* sent after her, but those that fol-
lowed wet no further then the citie of *Tegaea*. Now when they were escaped out of the coun-
trye of *Peloponnesus*, they agreed to drawe lots together, which of them two should haue her, with condition that whose lot it were to haue her, he should take her to his wife, & should be bound also to helpe his companion to get him another. It was *Theſeus* hadde to light upon her, who caryed her to the citie of *Aphidnes*, because she was yet to younge to be married.
C Whether he cauled his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called *Aphidnus* the charge of them both, recommending her to his good care, & to keepe it so secretly, that no body should knowe what was become of her. Because he would doe the like for *Pirithous* (according to th'agrement made betwixt the) he went into *Epirus* with him to steale the daughter of *Adioneus*, king of the *Molossians*, who had surnamed his wife *Proserpina*, his daughter *Proserpina*, & his dogge *Cerberus*: with whom he made them fight which came to aske his daughter in marriage, promising to geue her to him that should ouercome his *Cerberus*. But the King vnderstand-
ing that *Pirithous* was come, not to request his daughter in marriage, but to steale her away, he tooke him prisoner with *Theſeus*: & as for *Pirithous*, he cauled him presently to be torne in peeces with his dogge, & shut *Theſeus* vp in close prison. In this meane time there was one at *Athens* D
called *Meneſtheus*, the sonne of *Peteus*: which *Peteus* was the sonne of *Orneus*, & *Orneus* was the sonne of *Erichtheus*. This *Meneſtheus* was the first that beganne to flatter the people, & did seeke to winne the fauour of the commonaltie, by swete enticing words: by which deuise he stirred vp the chieftest of the citie against *Theſeus* (who in deede long before beganne to be wearie of him) by declaring vnto them howe *Theſeus* had taken from them their royalties & signiorities, & had shut them vp in suche sorte within the walles of a citie, that he might the better keepe them in subiection & obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferior sorte of people, he dyd stirre vp also to rebellion, perswading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promised them: & howe contrariwise they were clearly dispossest & throuen out of their own houses, of their temples, & from their naturall places where they were borne, to thend only, E
that in lieu of many good & louing lordes which they were wont to haue before, they should now be compelled to serue one only hedde, & a straunge lorde. Euen as *Meneſtheus* was very hotte about this practise, the warre of the *Tyndarides* fell out at that instant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For these *Tyndarides* (to wit the children of *Tyndarus*) *Castor* & *Pollux*, came downe with a great armie, against the citie of *Athens*: & some suspecte for that *Meneſtheus* was cause of their comming thither. Howbeit at the first entrie they dyd no hurte at all in the country, but only demaunded restitution of their sister. To whom the citizens made answer, that they knewe not where she was left: & then the brethren beganne to make spoyle, & offer warre in deede. Howbeit there was one called *Academos*, who hauing knowledge (I can not tell by what meane) that he was secretly hidden in the citie of *Aphidnes*, recaled it vnto them.
F By reason whereof the *Tyndarides* did alwayes honour him very much, so long as he liued, & afterwards the *Lacedaemonians*, hauing ofte burnt & destroyed the whole countrye of *Attica* throughout, they would yet neuer touch the Academy of *Athens* for *Academos* sake.

*Theſeus fiftie
yeres olde whē
he rauished
Hellen.*

*The manner
of *Hellen*'s ra-
uishment.
Diana Orthis.*

*Theſeus leste
Hellen in the
citie of *A-
phidnes*.*

*Theſeus went
with *Piri-
thous* into *E-
pirus*, to steale
Proserpina.
Adioneus
daughter.
Pirithous
torne in peeces
with *Cerberus*.
Theſeus close
prisoner.*

*The warre of
the *Tyndari-
des* against
the *Athenians*.*

Academia
why so called.

Marathon.

Aphidnes
wonne & re-
ced by the
Tyndarides.
Alycus sonne
Hellen, at the
battel of A-
phidnes.

Yet *Dicæarchus* sayeth, that in the armie of the *Tyndarides* there were two *Arcadians*, *Echedemus*, & *Marathus*, and howe of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of *Echedemie*, which fithence hath bene called *Academia*: & after the name of the other, there was a village called *MARATHON*, because he willingly offered him self to be sacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order & comādemēt of a prophēcie. So they went & pitched their campe before the citie of *APHIDNES*, & hauing wōne the battell, & taken the citie by assault, they raced the place. They saye that *Alycus*, the sonne of *Sciron* was slaine at this field, who was in the hoste of the *Tyndarides*, & that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of *MEGARA* was called *Alycus*, in the which his bodye was buried. Howbeit *Hecæus* writeth that *Theſeus* self dyd kill him before *Aphidnes*: In wittnes whereof he alledgeth certain verses which speake of *Alycus*.

*VVhile as he fought vvvith all his might anā mayne
(in thy defence, fayer Hellen for to fight)*

*In Aphidnes, vpon the pleasaunt playne,
bold Theſeus to cruell deathe him dight.*

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that *Theſeus* being there, the citie of *Aphidnes*, & his mother also were taken. But when it was wonne, they of *ATHENS* beganne to quake for feare, and *Menestheus* counsellēd them to receyue the *Tyndarides* into the citie, and to make them good chere, so they would make no warres but vpon *Theſeus*, which was the first that had done them the wrōg & iniurie: & that to all others they should shewe fauour & good will. And so it fell out. For when the *Tyndarides* had all in their power to doe as they listed, they demanded nothing els but that they might be receiued into their corporatiō, & not to be reckoned for straungers, no more then *Hercules* was: the which was graunted the *Tyndarides*, & *Aphidnes* dyd adopt them for his childrē, as *Pylius* had adopted *Hercules*. Moreover they dyd honour them as if they had bene gods, calling them *Anaces*. Either because they ceased the warres, or for that they ordered them selues so well, that their whole armie being lodged within the citie, there was not any hurte or displeasure done to any persone: but as it became those that haue the charge of any thing, they did carefully watche to perserue the good quiet thereof. All which this Greke word *Anacos* doth signifie, whereof perchance it comes that they call the kings *Anactes*. There are others also who holde opinion that they were called *Anaces*, because of their starres which appeared in the ayer. For the *Attican* tongue sayeth, *Anacæ*, & *Anecæthen*: where the comon people saye *Ano*, & *Another*, that is to saye, aboue. Neuertheles *Æthra*, *Theſeus* mother, was carried prisoner to *LACEDÆMON*, & from thence to *TROIA* with *Hellen*, as some saye: & as *Hommer* him self doth witnesse in his verses, where he speake of the women that followed *Hellen*.

*Æthra the daughter deare of Pirithus aged Syre,
and vvvith her fayer Clymene she, vvhoſe eyes moſt men desire.*

Divers opi-
nions of Ho-
mers verses.

Sperchium fl.

Theſeus deli-
uered one of
prison by Her-
cules meates.

Yet there are other who alwell reiect these two verses, & mainteine they are not *Homers*: as also they reprove all that is reported of *Manichus*. To wit, that *Laodice* being priuily coceiued of him by *Demophon*, he was brought vp secretly by *Æthra* within *TROIA*. But *Hittor* the historien in his thirteenth of his histories of *ATTICA*, maketh a recital farre cōtrary to other, saying: that some holde opinion, that *Paris Alexander* was slaine in battell by *Achilles*, & *Patroclus* in the countrey of *THESSALIE*, neere to the riuer of *Sperchium*, & that his brother *Hektor* tooke the citie of *TROEZEN*, from whence he brought away *Æthra*: in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihood. But *Ædonæus* king of the *MOLOSSIANS*, seeing *Hercules* one daye as he passed through his realme, descended by chaunce into talke of *Theſeus* & of *Pirithous*, howe they came to steale away his daughter secretly: & after told how they were also punished. *Hercules* was maruailous forye to vnderstand that one of them was now dead, & the other in daunger to dye, & thought with him self that to make his mone to *Ædonæus*, it would not helpe the matter: he besought him only that he would deliuer *Theſeus* for his sake. And he graunted him. Thus *Theſeus* being deliuered of this captiuitie, returned to *ATHENS*, where his friends were not altogether kept vnder by his enemies: & at his returne he dyd dedicate to *Hercules* all the temples, which the citie had before caused to be built in his owne honour. And where first of all they were called *Theſea*, he did now surname the all *Hercules*, excepting foure, as *Philochorus* writeth. Nowe when he was arrived at *ATHENS*, he would immediately haue comāded and ordered

A ordered things as he was wont to doe: but he found him self troubled much with feditiō, because those who had hated him of long time, had added also to their old cankered hate, a disdaine & contempt to feare him any more. And the comō people now were become so stubborn, that where before they would haue done all that they were comāded, & haue spoken nothing to the contrary: now they looked to be borne with, & flattered. Whereupon *Theſeus* thought at the first to haue vfed force, but he was forced by the faction & cōtēdiō of his enemies to let all alone, & in the end, despairing he should euer bring his matters to passe to his desire, he secretly sent away his children into the Ile of *EVBOEA*, to *Elphenor* the sonne of *Chalcodon*. And him self, after he had made many wittnes & curses against the *Athenians*, in the village of *Gargettus*, in a place which for that cause to this daye is called *Araterion*: (that is to saye, the place of cursings) he did take the seas, & wēt into the Ile of *SCIRO*, where he had goods, & thought also to haue founde friends. *Lycomedes* reigned at that time, & was king of the Ile, vnto whom he made request for some lande, as intending to dwell there: albeit some saye that he required him to giue him ayde against the *Athenians*. *Lycomedes* were it that he douted to entertaine so greata perlonage, or that he dyd it to gratifie *Menestheus*: caried him vp to the high rocks, faining as though he would from thence haue shewed him all his countrey round about. But when he had him there, he threw him downe hedlong from the toppe of the rocks to the botto, & put him thus vnfortunatly to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of him self by tome, & put him thus vnfortunatly to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of him self by tome, & put him thus vnfortunatly to death. Yet other write, that he fell down of him self by tome, & put him thus vnfortunatly to death.

The Athe-
nians disdaine
to obey The-
ſeus.

Theſeus fled
from Athens
into the Ile of
Scirus.

Theſeus
cruelly slayne
by Lycome-
des.

Menestheus
king of A-
thens.
Theſeus
sonner.

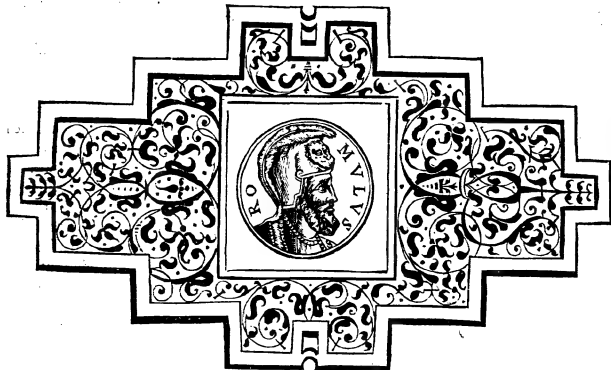
C *ATHENS*: and the children of *Theſeus*, as priuate fouldiers followed *Elphenor* in the warres of *TROIA*. But after the death of *Menestheus*, who died in the iorney to *TROIA*, *Theſeus* sonnes returned vnto *ATHENS*, where they recouered their state. Sithence there were many occasiōs which moued the *Athenians* to reuerence & honour him as a demy god. For in the battell of *Marathon*, many thought they sawe his shadow & image in armes, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the warres of the *Medes* (the yere wherein *Phedon* was gouernour of *ATHENS*) the nunne *Pithia* answered the *Athenians*, who had sent to the oracle of *Apollo*: that they should bring backe the bones of *Theſeus*, & putting them in some honorable place, they should preferue & honour them deuoutely. But it was a harde matter to finde his graue: & if they had founde it, yet had it bene a harder thing to haue brought his bones away, for the malice of those barbarous people which inhabited that Ile, which were so wild & fierce, that none could trade or liue with them. Norvvithstanding *Cimon* hauing taken the lland (as we haue written in his life) & seeking his graue: perceived by good happe an eagle pecking with her beake, & scrapping with her claws in a place of some prety height. Straight it came into his minde (as by diuine inspiration) to searche & digge the place: where was founde the tūmbe of a great bodye, with the head of a speare which was of brasie, & a sword with it. All which things were brought to *ATHENS* by *Cimon* in the admirall gallie. The *Athenians* receiued them with great ioye, with processions & goodly sacrifices, as if *Theſeus* him self had bene a liue, & had returned into the citie againe. At this daye all these relics lye yet in the middelt of the citie, neere to the place where the young men doe vse all their exercises of bodye. There is free libertie of access for all slaues & poore men, (that are afflicted & pursued, by any mightier then themselves) to pray & sacrifice in remembrance of *Theſeus*: who while he liued was protectour of the oppressed, & dyd currently receiue their request & petitiōs that prayed to haue ayde of him. The greatest & most solemne sacrifice they doe vnto him, is on the eight daye of October, in which he returned from *CRETA*, with the other younge children of *ATHENS*. Howbeit they doe not leaue to honour him euery eight daye of all other moneths, either because he arrived to *TROEZEN* at *ATHENS* the eight daye of Iune, as *Diodorus* the Cosmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meetest for him, because the brute ranne he was begotten of *Neptune*. They doe sacrifice also to *Neptune*, the eight daye of euery moneth, because the nūber of it is the first cube made of euen number, & the double of the first square: which dothe represent a steadfastnes immouable, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*, whom for this cause we surname *Asphalius*, and *Gaiochus*, which by interpretation dothe signifie the safe keeper, & the staye of the earth.

Cimon se-
keth the lile
of Scirus and
bringeth
Theſeus
bones to A-
thens.

Theſeus
moneth.

Neptune why
called Aspha-
lius and Ga-
iochus.

The ende of Theſeus life.



THE LIFE OF *Romulus.*

Diuers opinions about the name of Rome.



Tyberis fl.

The breiuing of lifting their kinfolkes in the mouthes, came from the Troian women.

THE Historiographers doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause, the great name of the citie of ROME (the glorie whereof is blown abroad through all the worlde) was first geuen vnto it. For some thincke that the Pelasgians, after they had overcome the greatest parte of the world, and had inhabited and subdued many nations, in the ende dyd slaye them selues in that place where it was newe buylde: and for their great strength and power in armes, they gaue the name of ROME vnto the citie, as signifying power in the Greeke tongue. Other saye, that after the taking and destruction of TROYA, there were certaine TROYANS which sauing them selues from the sworde, tooke suche vessels as they founde at aduenture in the hauen, and were by winds put with the THYSCANE shore, where they anckred neere vnto the riuer of Tyber. There their wiues being so sore sea sicke, that possibly they could not any more endure the boisterous surges of the seas: it happened one of them among the rest (the noblest and wisest of the companie) called ROMA, to counsaill the other women of her copanions to set their hippes afire, which they dyd accordingly. Wherewith their husbonds at the first were maruelously offended. But afterwards, being compelled of necessitie to plant them selues neere vnto the citie of PALLANTIVM, they were appeased when they sawe things prosper better then they hoped for, finding the soyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours ciuill and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore amongst other honours they dyd to requite this lady Roma, they called their citie after her name, as from whom came the originall cause of the building and foundation thereof. They saye that from thence came this custome continuing yet to this daye at ROME, that the women saluting their kinfolkes and husbonds doe kisse them in the mouthes, for so dyd these TROYAN ladies to please their husbonds, and to winne them againe, after they had lost their fauours, and procured their displeasures with burning of their hippes. Other saye that Roma was the daughter of Italus, and of Lucaria, or els of Telephus the sonne of Hercules, and of the wife of AENEAS: other saye of Ascanius, the sonne of AENEAS, who named the citie after her name. Other holde opinion that it was ROMANUS (the sonne of Vlysses and of Circe) that first founded ROME: other will saye that it was ROMUS the sonne of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thither from TROYA. Other write that it was one ROMUS a tyranne of the LATINES, who draue the THYSCANS out of those

parts

A partes: which departing out of THESSALY went first of all into LYDIA; and afterwards from LYDIA into ITALIE. And furthermore, they who thincke that Romulus (as in deede he carieth some of them write, that he was the sonne of AENEAS and of DEXIBEA the daughter of Phorbus, and that he was brought into ITALIE of a litle childe with his brother REMUS: and that at that time the riuer of Tyber being ouerflowen, all other shippes were cast awaye, saving the shippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to a laye vpon a very plaine euen grounde on the bancke, and bicause the children beyond all hope were saued by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwards called ROME. Other saye that Roma was the daughter of the first Troian ladye was maried vnto Latinus the sonne of Telemachus, by whom she had Romulus. Other write, that it was AEMILIA, the daughter of AENEAS and of Lavinia, which was gotten with childe by the god Mars. Other tell a tale of Romulus birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is sayed that there was sometime a king of ALBA named Tarchetius, a very wicked and cruell man, in whose house through the permission of the goddess appeared such a like vision: that there rose vp in the hearthe of his chymney the forme & facion of a mans priuie member, which continued there many dayes. And they saye, that at that time there was in THYSCANE an oracle of Thetis, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king Tarchetius suche an aunswer: that he should cause his daughter yet vnmarried to haue carnall companie with the straunge thing, for the should beare a sonne, that should be famous for his valliance, for strength of bodye, and his happie succeffe wherein he should exceede all men of his time. Tarchetius tolde this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this straunge thing: but she disdaining to doe it, sent one of her waiting women to vndertake the entertainment. But Tarchetius was so mad at this, that he caused them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddesse Vesta appeared to him in his sleepe in the night, and charged him he should not doe it. Whereupon he dyd commaund them to make him a peece of clothe in the prison, with promise that they should be maried when they had finished it. These poore maydes toyled at it all the lile long daye, but in the night there came other (by Tarchetius commaundement) that dyd vndoe all they had done the daye before. In the meane time, this waiting woman that was gott with childe by this straunge thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twynnes: whom Tarchetius gaue vnto one Teratius, with D expresse commaundement he should cast them awaye. This Teratius caryed them vnto the bancke of the riuer: thither came a shee woulfe and gaue them sucke, and certaine byrdes that brought litle crommes and put them in their mouthes, vntill a swyneheard perceyuing them, and wondering at the sight, dyd boldly goe to the children, andooke them awaye with him. These infants being thus preferred after they were come to mans state, dyd set vpon Tarchetius and slewe him. One Promathion an Italian writer deliuereth this storie thus. But the reporte that carieth best credit of all, and is allowed of by many writers: cometh from Diocles Peparethian, (whome Fabius Pictor followeth in many things) who was the first that put forth this storie among the GRECIANS, and specially the chieftest poynts of it. Though this matter be somewhat diuersely taken, yet in effect the storie is thus. The E right line and bloude of the kings of ALBA descended from AENEAS by succession from the father to the sonne, and the Kingdome fell in the ende betweene two brethern, Numitor and Amulius. They agreed by lotte to make diuision betweene them, whereof the one to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the golde, syluer, readye money, goodes, and iuells brought from TROYA. Numitor by his lotte chose the Realme for his portion: Amulius hauing all the golde and treasure in his handes, dyd finde him selfe thereby the stronger, and so dyd easely take his Realme from him. And fearing least his brothers daughter, and so dyd easely take his Realme from him. And fearing least his brothers daughter might haue children which one day might thrust him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the might haue children which one day might thrust him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddesse Vesta, there to passe her dayes in virginitee, & neuer to be maried: (some call her Rhea, other Sylvia, and other Ilia) neuertheles not longe after she was founde with childe, against the rule and profession of the Vestaall Nunnes. So nothing had faued her from present death, but the petition of Antho the daughter of king Amulius, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithstanding she was straightly locked vp, that no body could see her, nor speake with her, least

An oracle of Thetis in Thyscane.

See the fragments of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato. See also Hacternus, de T. Livius. Romulus killed.

Romulus married.

the should be brought a bedde without *Amulius* knowledge. In the ende she was deliuered of two fayre boyes and marueilous great twynnes: which made *Amulius* more affrayed then before. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throwe them awaye, and destroye them. Some saye that this seruants name was *Fausulus*: other thinke it was he that brought them vp. But whosoeuer he was, he that had the charge to throwe them awaye, put them in a trowge, and went towards the riuer with intention to throwe them in. Howbeit he found it risen so highe, and running so swiftly, that he durst not come nere the waters side, & so they being in the trowge, he layed them on the bancke. In the meane time the riuer swelling still, and ouerflowing the bancke, in such sorte that it came vnder the trowge: dyd gently liue vp the trowge, & caried it vnto a great playne, called at this present *Cermann*, and in the olde time *Germanum*, (as I take it) because the Romaines called the brothers of father & mother, *B Germani*. Nowe there was nere vnto this place a wilde figge tree which they called *Ruminalis*, of the name of *Romulus* as the most parte thought: or els because the beasts feeding there were wont to come vnder the same in the extreame heate of the daye, and there dyd *Ruminare*, that is, chewe their cudde in the shadowe: or perhaps because the two children dyd sucke the teate of the woulfe, which the ancient *LATINES* call *Ruma*, and they at this day doe yet call the goddesse on whom they crye out to geue their children sucke, *Rumilia*. And in their sacrifices to her they vse no wine, but offer vp milke and water mingled with honye. To these two children lying there in this sorte, they write, there came a the woulfe & gaue them sucke: and a hitvaw also which dyd helpe to nourish and keepe them. These two beastes are thought to be consecrated to the god *Mars*, & the *LATINES* doe singularly honour & reuerence the hitvaw. This dyd much helpe to geue credit to the wordes of the mother, who affirmed the hitvaw to be conceyued of those two children, by the god *Mars*. Howbeit some thinke she was deceyued in her opinion: for *Amulius* that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce dyd rauish her. Other holde opinion that the name of the nurce which gaue the two children sucke with her breastes, gaue occasion to comon reporte to erre much in this tale, by reason of the double signification thereof. For the *LATINES* doe call with one selfe name these woulfes *Lupas*, & women that geue their bodies to all comers: as this nurce the wife of *Fausulus* (that brought these children home to her house) dyd vse to doe. By her right name she was called *Acca Laurentia*, vnto whom the *ROMAINES* doe sacrifice yet vnto this daye: and the priest of *Mars* doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the sheading of wine and milke accustomed at burials, and the feast it selfe is called *Larentia*. It is true that they honour also another *Larentia*, for like occasion. The clerke or sexten of *Hercules* temple, not knowing one daye howe to driue awaye the time as it should seeme: of a certaine liuelines and boldnes, dyd desire the god *Hercules* to playe at dyce with him, with condition that if he dyd winne, *Hercules* should be bounde to send him some good fortune: and if it were his lucke to lose, then he promised *Hercules* he would prouide him a very good supper, and would besides bring him a fayre gentlewoman to lye with all. The conditions of the playe thus rehearsed, the sexten first cast the dyce for *Hercules*, and afterwards for him selfe. It fell out that *Hercules* wanne, and the sexten meaning good fayth, and thincking it very mete to performe the bargain that him selfe had made, prepared a good supper, and hyered this *Laurentia* the courtesan, which was very fayre, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus hauing feasted her within the temple, and prepared a bedde ready there, after supper he locked her into the temple, as if *Hercules* should haue comen in dede & layen with her. And it is said for trothe, that *Hercules* came thither: & commaunded her in the morning the should geue into the market place, & salute the first man the met, & kepe him euer for her friend. Which thing he performed, & the first man the met was called *Tarrutius*, a man of great yeres, & one that had gathered together marueilous wealth & riches. He had no children at all, neither was he euer married. He fell acquainted with this *Laurentia*, & loued her so dearly, that shortly after chauncing to dye, he made her heire of all he had: whereof the disposed afterwards by her last will and testament, the best and greatest parte vnto the people of Rome. Moreouer it is reported also, that she now being grown to be famous & of great honour (as thought to be the leman of a god) dyd vanishe away sodainly in the selfe same place, where the first *Laurentia* was buried. The place at this day is called *Velabrum*: because

Fausulus.

Cermann.

Ruminalis.

The goddesse Rumilia.

Acca Laurentia Fausulus wife, first nurce of the twins. The Greekes call her Larentia. Larentia first. Laurentia a courtesan.

Tarrutius.

Velabrum wherof Livius dect. lib. 7.

A bicause the riuer being ouerflowen, they were oftentimes compelled to passe by bote to goe to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying ouer, *Velatura*. Other saye, that those tomblers & common players, which shewed fundeye games and pastimes to winne the fauour of the people, were wont to couer that passage ouer with canuas clothes and veyles, by which they goe from the market place to the lyfles or shewe place where they ronne their horses, beginning their race euen at the place: and they call a veyle in their tongue, *Velum*. This is the cause why the seconde *Laurentia* is honored at Rome. *Fausulus*, chief neaheard to *Amulius*, tooke vp the two children and no bodye knewe it, as some saye: or as other reporte, (and likeliest to be true) with the priuite & knowledge of *Numitor*, *Amulius* brother, who secretly furnished them with money that brought vp the two young children. It is layed also they were both comeynted vnto the citie of the *ABYANS*, where they were brought vp at schole, & taught all other honest things, which they vse to teache the sonnes & childre of good & noble me. Further they saye they were named *Remus* and *Romulus*, because they were founde sucking on the teates of a woulfe. Nowe the beawtie of their bodies dyd presently shewe, beholding onely but their stature and manner of their countenances, of what nature and linadge they were: and as they grewe in yeres, their manly corage increased maruelously, so as they became stowte and hardy men, in so much as they were neuer troubled or astonied at any daunger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that *Romulus* had more wit & vnderstanding then his brother *Remus*. For in all things wherein they were to deale with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the boundes and limites of their pastures: it was easely discerned in him, that he was borne to commaund, and not to obeie. For this cause they were both exceedingly beloued of their companions, and of those which were their inferiours. As for the kings heardmen, they passed not much for them, saying that they were euen like them selues, and so seemed not to care a Pyne for their anger or displeasure, but wholy gaue them selues to all gentlemanly exercises and trades, thincking to liue idely & at ease without trauell, was neither comly nor conuenient: but to exercise and harden their bodies with hunting, running, pursuing murderers and theues, and to helpe those which were oppressed with wronge and violence, I shoulde be credit and commendation to them. By reason whereof, in very thortime they grewe to great fame and renowne, And it fell out by chaunce there rose some stryfe and variance betwene the heardmen of *Amulius*, and the heardmen of *Numitor*: in so muche as those that were *Numitors*, caryed awaye by force some cattell of the others. Thother side would not beare that, but pursued fast after, and beating them well fauouredly, they made them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greatest parte of the cattell they had caried away with them. Whereat *Numitor* stormed maruelously, but yet his men seemed to make but little accompt of it, and purposing reuenge, they gathered about them a good companie of vacabonds (that had neither home, nor resting place) and certaine fugitiue bonde men which they intified ill fauoredly, incoring them to steale awaye from their masters. Thus one daye whilst *Romulus* was busie about some sacrifice, (being a deuoute man and religious, and well geuen to serue the goddes, and to learne to diuine and tell before hande what things should happen and come to passe) it happened the heard men of *Numitor* to meete *Remus* very slenderly accompanied: so they fell E vpon him sodainly, blowes were deltrouedly on bothe sides, and men were hurte on either parte. Howbeit *Numitors* men in the ende proued the stronger parte, and dyd take *Remus* by force, and caryed him straight before *Numitor*, alledging many complaints and matters against him. *Numitor* durst not punish him of his owne authoritie, because he feared his brother, *Amulius*, who was somewhat terrible: but went vnto him, and earnestly besought him to doe him iustice, and not to suffer him being his owne brother, to receyue such iniurie of his men. There was not a man in the citie of *ALBA*, but dyd greatly mislike the iniurie done to *Numitor*: and (pake it openly, that he was no persone to be offered such a wronge. In so muche as *Amulius* moued herewith, dyd deliuer *Remus* into his handes, to punish him as he thought good. Whereupon *Numitor* caried him home with him. But when he had him in his house, he F beganne to consider better of him, with admiration howe goodly a younge man he was, howe in height and strength of bodye he passed all the rest of his people: and perceyuing in his face, an assured constancie, and bolde stedfast corage that yielded not, nor was abashed for any

Romulus and Remus education.

Remus a godly man.

Remus taken of Numitors heardmen.

Gods prou-
den.

Remus ora-
tion, declar-
ing the birth
of him self
& his brother
Romulus.

Numerus
wisdom.

Faustulus
care to save
Remus.

Amulius per-
plexed in his
minds.

daunger he sawe toward him : and hearing also the reporte of his actes & manhod to be awn-
swerable to that he sawe: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion by some secret inspiration of
the goddess, which ordaine the depthe of great matters) beganne partly by coniecture , and
partly by chance to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, & who was his fa-
ther and mother : speaking to him in a more gentle wise , and with a friendlier countenance
then before, to make him the bolder to answer, & be of better hope. *Remus* boldly answered
him. Truly I will not hide the trothe from thee , for thou seemest to me more worthie to be
King, then thy brother *Amulius*. For thou enquierest, and hearest first before thou condem-
nest : and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vnill now, we thought we
had bene the children of two of the Kings seruants, to wit of *Faustulus* and of *Laurentia* : I saye
we, bicause my brother and I are two twynnes. But seeing we are nowe falsely accused vnto
thee, and by malicious furnished tales are wrongfully brought in daunger of our liues : we in-
tend to discouer our selues, and to declare straunge things vnto thee, whereof the present pe-
rill we stande nowe in, shall plainly proue the trothe . Men saye that we haue bene begotten
miraculously, fostered and geuen sucke more straungely, and in our tender yerres were fedd by
birdes and wilde beastes, to whom we were cast out as a praye. For a woulfe gaue vs sucke with
her teates, and an hitwaw (they saye) brought vs litle crömes, and put them in our mouthes, as
we laye vpon the bancke by the riuier, where we were put in a troughe that at this daye remain-
neth whole, bounde about with plates of copper, vpon the which are some letters engrauen
halfe worne out, which peraduenture one daye will serue for some tokens of knowledge (vn-
profitable for our parents) when it shalbe late, and after weare dead and gone. *Numerus* then
comparing these wordes, with the age the younge man seemed to be of, and considering well
his face: dyd not reiect the hope of his imagination that smiled on him, but handled the mat-
ter so, that he found meanes to speake secretly with his daughter, notwithstanding at that time
she was kept very straightly. *Faustulus* in the meane time hearing that *Remus* was prisoner, and
that the King had deliuered him already into the hands of his brother *Numerus* to doe iustice,
went to praye *Romulus* to helpe him, and tolde him then whose children they were: for before
he had neuer opened it to them but in darcke speaches, and glawnsingwise, and so muche as
sufficed to put them in some hope . So *Faustulus* taking the troughe with him at that time,
went vnto *Numerus* in great haste, as marueilously affrayed for the present daunger he thought
Remus in. The Kings souldiers which warded at the gates of the cittie, beganne to gather some
suspition of *Faustulus* manner of comming: and he made him selfe to be the more suspected,
being questioned with about the cause of his repaire thither, that he faltered in his wordes: be-
sides, they espied his troughe which he caried vnder his cloke . Nowe amongst the warders,
there was by chance one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be cast
awaye, and was present when they were left on the bancke of the riuier to the mercie of for-
tune. This man knewe the troughe by & by, as well by the facion, as by the letters grauen vpon
it: who mistrusted straight that which was true in deede. So he dyd not neglect the thing, but
went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led *Faustulus* with him to haue him con-
fesse the trothe. *Faustulus* being in this perplexitie, could not kepe all close vpon examination,
but dyd vtter our somewhat of the matter, and yet he tolde not all. For he plainly iustified the
children were alieue: yet he sayed they were farse from the cittie of *ALBA*, where they kept
beastes in the fields. And as for the troughe, he was going to carye it to *Ilia*, bicause he had di-
uers times prayed him to let her see and feele it: to the ende the might be the more assured of
her hope, who promised her that one daye she should see her children againe. So it chaunced
vnto *Amulius* at that time, as it commonly dothe vnto those that are troubled, and doe any
thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereto, to send one presently (who in all other things
was a very honest man, but a great friende of his brother *Numerus*) to aske him if he had heard
any thing that his daughters children were alieue. This person being come to *Numerus* house,
founde him ready to embrace *Remus*, who fell to be wimes thereof, and of the good happe
discouered vnto *Numerus*: whereupon he perswaded him howe to set vpon his brother, and to
dispatche the matter with spede. So from that time forwards, he tooke their parte. On thother
side also the matter gaue them no leasure to deferre their enterpryse, although they had bene
willing:

A willing: for the whole case was somewhat blowne abroad. So *Romulus* then got straight a po-
wer, and drewe very nere the cittie, and many of the citizens of *ALBA* went out to ioyne with
him, who either feared or hated *Amulius*. Nowe *Romulus* power which he brought (ouer and
besides those citizens) was a good number of fighting men , and they were diuided by hun-
dreds, and euery hundred had his captaine who marched before his bande , carying litle bun-
dells of grasse or of boughes tyed to the ende of their poles. The *LATINES* call these bundells
Manipulos, whereof it cometh that yet at this daye in an armie of the *Romaines*, the souldiers
which are all vnder one ensigne, are called Manipulares. So *Remus* stirring vp those that were
within the cittie, and *Romulus* bringing in men from without, the tyranne *Amulius* fell in such
feare and agonie, that without providing any thing for his safety, they came vpon him fodayn-
ly in his palace , and slewe him . Thus you heare howe nere *Fabius Piclor* and *Dioles* *Pepare-*
thian doe agree in reciting the storie, who was the first in mine opinion that wrote the founda-
tion of the cittie of *ROME*: howbeit there are that thincke they are all but fables & tales deuised
of pleasure. But me thincks for all that, they are not altogether to be reiecte or discredited, if
we will consider fortunes straunge effects vpon times, and of the greatnes also of the *Romaine*
empire: which had neuer atchieued to her present possessed power & authoritie, if the goddess
had not frö the beginning bene workers of the same, & if there had not also bene some straunge
cause, and wonderfull foundation. *Amulius* being nowe slayne as before, & scatter that all things
were appeald, and reduced to good order againe: *Remus* and *Romulus* would not dwell in the
cittie of *ALBA*, being no lordes thereof, nor also would be lords of it, so long as their grandfa-
ther by the mothers side was alieue. Wherefore after they had restored him to his estate , and
had done the honour and duety they ought vnto their mother: they purposed to goe & build
a cittie in those places where they had bene first brought vp, for this was the honestest culler
they could pretend for their departing from *ALBA*. Peraduenture they were enforced to
doe whether they would or not, for the great number of banished men, and fugitive slaues
which were gathered together by them for their strength, who had bene vtterly lost and cast
away, if they had bene once discharged by them. Therefore it was of necessitye that they should
dwell by them selues, separated in some place, to kepe this number together and in some or-
der. For it is true that the inhabitants of the cittie of *ALBA* would not suffer such banished
perones and runnagates to be mingled amongst them , nor would receaue them into their
cittie to be free among them. All which appeareth sufficiently: first, bicause they tooke awaye
women by force: and so not of inolenecie, but of necessitye, when they founde no man that
would bestow any of them. It is manifest also they dyd greatlye honour and make much of the
women they had taken away before . Furthermore, when their cittie beganne a litle to be set-
tled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitives and afflicted perones, which they called the
temple of the god *Asylenus*. Where there was sanctuarie and safetye for all sortes of people that
repaiied thither, and could get into the temple, for whom it was alledged they could not
deliuiet any bonde man to his master, nor detter to his creditor, nor murderet to the iustice that
was fled thither for succor, bicause the oracle of *Apollo* the *Delphian* had expresslye enioyned
them to graunte sanctuary to all those that would come thither for it . So by this meanes in
E thorte space their cittie florished, & was replenisht, where at the first foundation of it, they
saye there was not above one thousand houses, as more at large hereafter shalbe declared.
When they came nowe to the building of their cittie, *Romulus* & *Remus* the two brethren fell
fodainely at a strife together about the place where the cittie should be builded . For *Romulus*
built *ROME*, which is called foure square, and would needes it should remaine in the place
which he had chosen . *Remus* his brother chose another place very strong of situation, vpon
mounte *Auentine*, which was called after his name *Remonium*, and nowe is called *Rignarium*.
Notwithstanding, in the ende they agreed betwene them selues this controuerisie should be
decided, by the flying of birds, which doe geue a happy diuination of things to come. So being
set in diuers places by them selues to make obseruation, some saye that there appeared vnto
F *Remus* fixe, and to *Romulus* twelue vultures. Other saye that *Remus* truly sawe fixe, and *Romulus*
feigned from the beginning that he sawe twife as many : but when *Remus* came to him, then
there appeared twelue in deede vnto *Romulus*, and this is the cause why the *Romaines* at this
C

Manipulæ
whereof so
called.

Amulius
slayne.

The building
of Rome.

Asylenus tem-
ple, a sanctua-
rie for all ba-
nished per-
sones and fu-
gitiues.

Swift beneit
Remonium
Remus.

Remonium,
Rignarium.

The Romans observe the flying of vultures.
 daye in their diuinations and soothsayings of the flying of birds, doe maruelously obserue the A flying of the vultures. It is true which the historiographer *Herodotus Ponticus* writeth: that *Heracles* reioyced much when there appeared a vulture to him, & being readie to beginne any enterprise. For it is the foule of the worlde that dothe least hurte, and neuer marreth nor destroyeth any thing that man dothe sowe, plante, or set: considering that the feedeth on carion only, and dothe neuer hurte nor kill any liuing thing. Also the dothe nor praye vpon dead fowle, for the likenes that is betwene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the fakers doe murder, kill, and eate those which are of their owne kynde. And yet as *Æschylus* sayeth,

Needs must that fowle accompted be most vile,
 Most rauening, and full of filthie minde,
 Which doth him self continually defile,
 By praying still vpon his propre kinde.

Moreover, other birds are allwayes (as a man would saye) before our eyes, and doe daylie shewe them selues vnto vs: where the vulture is a very rare byrde, and hardly to be seene, and men doe not easily finde their aeries. Which hath geuen some occasion to holde a false opinion, that the vultures are passagers, and come into these partes out of straunge countreys. The prognosticators also thincke, that suche things which are not ordinarie, and but feldome seene, be not naturall, but miraculously sent by the goddes to prognosticate something. When *Remus* knewe howe his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when *Romulus* had cast a dytche, as it were for the wall about his citie, *Remus* dyd not only scorne it, but hindered also his worke, and in the ende for a mockerie leapt ouer his wall. To conclude, he dyd so much, that at the last he was slayne there by *Romulus* owne handes as some saye: or as other holde opinion, by the handes of one of his men which was called *Celer*. In this fight they slewe *Faustulus*, and *Plutinus* also his brother, who had holpen him to bring vp *Romulus*. Howsoever the matter fell out, this *Celer* abated him selfe from *Rome*, and went into the countrey of *Thyscane*. And they saye, that men which are quicke, and readye vpon a foa-dine,ooke their names euer after vpon him, and were called *Celeres*. As amongst other,

Quintus Metellus, after the death of his father, hauing in very fewe dayes made the people of *Rome* to see a combat of fencers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the sharpe, they fumamed him *Celer*, for that the *Romaines* marueiled howe he could prepare his things in so shorte a time. Furthermore, *Romulus* hauing neuer buried his brother, and his other two bringers vp (called foster fathers) in the place they call *Remonia*: beganne then to buyld and laye the foundation of his citie, sending for men out of *Thyscane*, who dyd name and teache him particularly all the ceremonies he had to obserue there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy myserie. And first of all they made a rounde dytche in the place called at this daye Comitium, into which they dyd cast their chiefest and best things, which men vse lawfully for good, and naturally as most necessarie. After that they dyd throwe also into it, a litle of the earth, from whence euery man came, and mingled these all together.

This dytche in their ceremonies is called the worlde, in Latine *Mundus*, euen the selfe same name the Latines call the *Vniuersall*. About this dytche they dyd trace the compasse of the citie they would buyld, euen as one would drawe a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the citie taketh a plough, to which he fastened a culter or ploughe share of brass, and so yoked in the ploughe an oxe and a cowe, he him selfe holding the ploughe dyd make rounde about the compasse of the citie a deepe furrowe. Those which followed him, had the charge to throwe the turues of earthe inward into the citie, which the ploughe share raised vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The furrowe thus cast vp was the whole compasse of their wall, which they call in Latine *Pomarium*, by shortning of the syllables, for *post murum*: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they dyd take of the ploughe share, and drawe the ploughe, with leauing a certain space of earthe vnbroken vp: whereupon the *Romaines* thincke all the compasse of their walles holy and sacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and sanctified, they would haue had a conscience through them to haue brought in, or caried out of the citie, any things necessarie for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Nowe they be-

leue

A leene certainly, that this ceremonie of the foundation of their citie was made the one and twentie of Aprill: because the *Romaines* doe yet keepe that daye holy daye, and call it the feast of the natiuite of their countrey. On which daye they dyd not in olde time sacrifice any thing that had life, as esteeming that daye (which was the natiuite of their citie) to be most mete to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloude. Notwithstanding before *Rome* was buylded, they had another feast called the sheapeheards or heard-mens holy daye, which they dyd celebrate vpon the same daye, and called it *Palilia*. Nowe at this daye the beginnings of the moneths with the *Romaines* is cleane contrarie to the *Grecians*: yet for all this, they holde opinion for certaintie that the daye on which *Romulus* founded his citie, was assuredly that which the *Grecians* call *Triacada*: that is to saye, the

B thirty daye. On which there was seene an eclipse of the moone, which they suppose was obserued by the Poet *Antimachus* (borne in the citie of *Trois*) in the thirteenth yere of the sixt *Olympiade*. Likewise in the time of *Marcus Varro* (as a man learned, and one that had redde as much of auncient stories as any *Romaine*) there was a friend of his called *Tarutius*, a great philosopher and mathematician. Who being geuen to the calculation of astronomie for the delight of speculation only, wherein he was thought most excellent: it dyd fall out that *Varro* gaue him this question, to seache out what howe and daye the natiuite of *Romulus* was, who gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they doe in the resolutions of certaine geometrical questions. For they saye, that by the selfe same science, one maye tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainly the howe of his natiuite: and howe one maye tell also the howe of his natiuite, when by accidents they knowe what hath happened to him all his life. *Tarutius* dyd the question that *Varro* gaue him. And hauing thoroughly considered the aduentures, dedes, and gestes of *Romulus*, howe long he liued, and howe he dyed: all which being gathered and conferred together, he dyd boldly iudge for a certaintie, that he was conceyued in his mothers wombe, in the first yere of the seconde *Olympiade*, the three and twentie daye of the moneth which the *Egyptians* call *Chaat*, and now is called December, about three of the clocke in the morning, in which howe there was a whole eclipse of the sunne: And that he was borne into the worlde, the one and twenteth of the moneth of *Thoth*, which is the moneth of September, about the rising of the sunne. And that *Rome* was begonne by him on the ninth daye of the moneth which the *Egyptians* call *Pharmuthi*, and aunswereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betwene two and three of the

C clocke in the morning. For they will saye that a citie hath his reuolution and his time of continuance appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knewe by the situation of the starres, the daye of her beginning and foundation. These things and suche other like, peradventure will please the readers better, for their straungenes and curiositie, then offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Nowe after he had founded his citie, he first and foremost dyd diuide in two copanies, all those that were of age to carie armour. In euery one of these companies there were three thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, because they were sorted of the chosen men that were pyckt out amongst all the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called *Populus*, which significeth the people.

E After this, he made a hundred counsellors of the best and honestest men of the citie, which he called *Patricians*: and the whole company of them together he called *Senatus*, as one would saye, the counsell of the auncients. So they were called *Patricians*, as some will saye, the counsell of the fathers lawfull children, which fewe of the first inhabitants could shewe. It maye be, some will saye this name was geuen them of *Patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the sanctuarie of their citie, which worde they vse at this daye in the selfe same signification: as one that followed *Enander* into *TALIS*, was called *Patron*, because he was pitiefull, and relieued the poore and litle children, and so got him selfe a name for his pitie and humanity. But methinckes it were more like the trothe to saye, that *Romulus* dyd call them so, because he thought the chiefest men should haue a fatherly care of the meener forte: considering also it was to teache the meener forte that they should not feare th'authoritie of the greater, nor enuie at their honours they had, but rather in all their causes should vse their fauour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For euen at this present, straungers call

C ij

Patres Con-
scripti.

Patroni,
Clientes.

The name of
the Romaines
to take gifts
of poore men.

The rauish-
ment of the
Sabyne wo-
men.

Romulus
craue about
the rauish-
ment of the
Sabyne
daughters.
Confus a god.
Depose the
god of house-
men.

The exorcis-
ment of the rauish-
ment.

those of the Senate, lordes or capitaines: but the naturall ROMAINES call them, *Patres Conscripti*, which is a name of fatherhood and dignitie without enuie. It is true that at the beginning they were only called *Patres*, but sithence, because they were many ioyned vnto the first, they haue bene named *Patres Conscripti*, as a man should saye, fathers of recorde together: which is the honorablest name he could haue deuised to make a difference betweene the *Senators*, and the people. Furthermore, he made a difference betweene the chiefe citizens, and the baser people, by calling the better sorte *Patroni*, as muche to saye, as defenders: and the meaner sorte *Clientes*, as you would saye, followers, or men protected. This dyd breede a marueilous great loue and good wil among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutual curtesies and pleasures: for the Patrons dyd helpe the clients to their right, defended their causes in iudgement, dyd geue vnto them counsaill, and dyd take all their matters in hande. The clients againe enterchaungeably humbled them selues to their patrons, not onely in outward honour and reuerence towards them, but otherwise dyd helpe them with money to marrie and aduance their daughters, or els to paye their dettes and credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was no lawe nor magistrate that could compell the patron to be a witness against his client: nor yet the client to witness against his patron. So they increased, and continued, all other rights and offices of amitie and friendship together, fauour afterwards they thought it a great shame and reproache for the better, and richer, to take rewarde of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we haue spoken sufficiently. Moreouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the cittie was layed, *Fabius* writeth, there was a great rauishment of women. There are some which laye it vpon *Romulus*, who being then of nature warlike, and geuen to prophesies and aunswers of the goddess, foretolde that his cittie should become very great and mightie, so as he rayed it by warres, and increased it by armes: and he sought out this culler to doe mischief, and to make warre vpon the Sabyne. To proue this true, some saye he caused certaine of their maydes by force to be taken awaye, but not past thirtie in number, as one that rather sought cause of warres, then dyd it for neede of mariages: which me thinckes was not likely to be true, but rather I iudge the contrarie. For seeing his cittie was incontinently replenished with people of all sortes, whereof there were very fewe that had wiues, and that they were men gathered out of all countreys, and the most parte of them poore and needye, so as their neighbours disdayned them much, and dyd not looke they would longe dwell together: *Romulus* hoping by this violent taking of their maydes and rauishing them, to haue an entrie into alliance with the Sabyne, and to entice them further to ioine with them in marriage, if they dyd gently intreate these wiues they had gotten, enterprised this violent taking of their maydes, and rauishing of them in such a sorte. First he made it to be commonly bruited abroad in euery place, that he had founde the altar of a god hidden in the grounde, and he called the name of the god, *Confus*: either because he was a god of counsaill, whereupon the ROMAINES at this daye in their tongue call *Consilium*, which we call counsell: and the chiefe magistrates of their cittie *Consules*, as we saye counsellors. Other saye it was the altar of the god *Neptune*, surnamed the patron of horses. For this altar is yet at this daye within the great lilles of the cittie, and euer couered and hidden, but when they vse the running games of their horse race. Other saye because counsell euer must be kept close and secret, they had good reason to kepe the altar of this god *Confus* hidden in the grounde. Nowe other write when it was opened, *Romulus* made a sacrifice of wonderfull ioye, and afterwards proclaimed it openly in diuers places, that at such a daye there should be common playes in Rome, and a solemne feast kept of the god *Confus*, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all partes. He him selfe was set in the chiefe seate of the shewe place, apparelled fayer in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his cittie about him. And there hauing purposed this rauishment you haue heard of, he had geuen the signe before: that the same should beginne, when he should rise vp and folde a playte of his gowne, and vnfolde the same againe. Hereupon his men stoode attending with their swordes: who so fone as they perceyued the signe was geuen, with their swordes drawn in hande, and with great shoutes and cryes ranne violently on the maydes and daughters of the Sabyne to take them awaye and rauish them, and suffered the men to runne awaye,

A awaye, without doing them any hurte or violence. So some saye, there were but thirtie rauished, after whose names were called the thirtie linages of the people of Rome. Howbeit *Plinius* writeth, that there were five hundred and seuen and twentie; and *Julius*, fixe hundred and foure score and three. In the which is singularly to be noted for the commendation of *Romulus*, that he him selfe dyd take then but only one of the maydes, named *Herfilla*: that after, *Romulus* was the only cause & mediation of peace betweene the Sabyne and the ROMAINES. Which argueth plainly, that it was not to doe the Sabyne any hurte, nor to satisfie any disordinate lust, that they had so forcibly vnderaken this rauishment: but to ioine two peoples together, with the straightest bondes that could be betweene men. This *Herfilla* as some saye, was married vnto one *Hostilius*, the noblest man at that time amongest the ROMAINES: or as others write, vnto *Romulus* him selfe, which had two children by her. The first was a daughter, and her name was *Prima*, because she was the first: the other was a sonne, whom he named *Asellus*, because of the multitude of people he had assembled together in his cittie, and afterwards he was surnamed *Asellinus*. Thus *Zenodotus* the TROEZENIAN writeth, wherein note withstanding there be diuers that doe contrarie him. Among those which rauished then the daughters of the Sabyne, it is sayed there were founde certaine meane men carying awaye, a marueilous passing fayer one. These met by chaunce on the waye, certaine of the chiefe of the cittie, who would haue taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they beganne to crye they caried her vnto *Talasius*, who was a yong man marueilously well beloued of euery bodye. Which when the others vnderstoode, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: in so much as there were some which sodainly turned backe againe, and dyd accompanie them for *Talasius* sake, crying out a lowde, and often on his name. From whence the custome came, which to this daye the ROMAINES synge at their marriages, *Talasius*, like as the GRECIANS synge *Hymeneus*. For it is sayed he was compered very happye that he met with this woman. But *Sextius Sylla* a CARTHAGINIAN borne, a man very wife, and well learned, tolde me once it was the crye and signe which *Romulus* gaue to his men to beginne the rauishment: whereupon those which caried them awaye, went crying this worde *Talasius*, and that from thence the custome hath continued, that they synge it yet at their marriages. Neuertheles the most parte of authors, specially *Julius*, thinckes it is a warning to remember the newe married women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the GRECIANS call *Talasius*, the Italian words at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the ROMAINES vsed this terme of *Talasius*, as we of GRECE doe vse: we might by coniecture yeld another reason for it, which should carie a better likelyhoode and prooffe. For when the Sabyne after the battell had made peace with the ROMAINES, they put in an article in fauour of the women in the treatie, that they should not be bounde to serue their husbands in any other worke, but in spinning of wolle. Euer since this custome hath growen, that those which geue their daughters in marriage, and those who leade the bryde, and such as are present at the wedding, speake in sporte to the newe married wife, laughing, *Talasius*: in token that they doe not leade the bryde for any other worke or seruice, but to spinne wolle. Thereof this hath bene the vse to this daye, that the bryde dothe not of her selfe come ouer the threshold of her husbands dore, but she is hoied preety into the house: because the Sabyne women at that time were to lift vp, & caried awaye by force. They saye also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded wiues heare, with the Iro head of a laueling, came vp then likewise: this storie being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the swordes point: as we haue written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and shewe the causes of the ROMAINES factions and customes. This rauishment was put in execution about the eighteenth daye of the moneth then called *Septilis*, and now named August: on which daye they yet celebrate the feast they call *Consilia*. Nowe the Sabyne were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within inclosed walles: being a thing fit for their noble courages that dyd feare nothing, and as those who were defended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheles, they seeing them selues bound & tyed to peace by pledges & hostages, that were very neere allyed vnto them, and fearing their daughters should be ill intreated: sent ambassadours

to *Romulus*, by whom they made reasonable offers and perfutations, that their daughters might be deliuered vnto them againe, without any force or violence, and then afterwarde, that he would cause them to be asked in marriage of their parents, as bothe reason and lawe would require. To tend that with good will and consent of all parties, both peoples might contract amitie and alliance together. Wherevnto *Romulus* made answer, he could not restore the maydes which his people had taken away and married: but most friendly he prayed the *SABINES* to be contented with their alliance. This answer being returned, and not liked, whilst the princes and communalitie of the *SABINES* were occupied in consultation, and about the arming of their felues: *Acron* king of the *CENINENSES* (a man exceeding courageous and skilfull in the warres, and one that from the beginning mistrusted the ouer bolde & flowte enterprises that *Romulus* was likely to attempt, considering the late raiunfment of the *SABINES* daughters, and howe he was already greatly dreading of his neighbours, and somewhat vntolerable, if he were not chafficed and brought lower) first beganne to invade him with a puissant armie, and to make hotte and violent warres vpon him. *Romulus* on the other side prepared also, and went forth to meete him. When they were come so neere together that they might see one another, they sent defiance to each other, & prayed that they two might fight man to man amidst their armies, & neither of theirs to stirre a foote. Bothe of them accepted of it, and *Romulus* making his prayervnto *Iupiter*, dyd promise, and made a vowe: that if he dyd geue him the victorie to ouercome, he would offer vnto him the armour of his enemy, which he dyd. For first he slew *Acron* in the field, & afterwards gaue battell to his men, & overthrew them also. Lastly he tooke his citie, where he did no hurte nor yet displeasure to any, sauing that he dyd commaunde them to pull downe their howles, & destroy them, and to goe dwell with him at *Rome*: where they should haue the selfe same rightes & priuileiges which the first inhabitants did enioye. There was nothing more enlarged the citie of *Rome*, then this manner of policie, to ioyn all wayes vnto it thole the had ouercome & vanquished. *Romulus* now to discharge his vowe, & in fuche force that his offering might be acceptable to *Iupiter*, and pleasaunt to his citizens to beholde: did cut downe a goodly straight growen young oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lye. The same he trimmed & dyd let forth after the manner of victorie, hanging and tying all about in fayer order, the armour and weapons of king *Acron*. Then he girding his gowne to him, and putting vpon his long bulbe of heare, a garland of lawrell, layed the young oke vpon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his citie, & longe a royall fonge of victorie, all his armie following him in armes vnto the citie in order of battell: where his citizens receyued him in all passinge wise & triumphe. This noble & stately entrie euer since hath geuen them minds in such sort, & in staterly wise to make their triumphe. The offering of this triumphe was dedicated to *Iupiter* surnamed *Feretrius*: because the Latine worde *Ferire*, signifieth to hurt & kill: & the prayer *Spolia opima*: therefore sayeth *Varro*, that *opes* signifie riches. Howbeit me thinckes it were more likely to fayde, that they were so named of this worde *Opus*, which betokeneth a dede, because he must needs be the chief of the armie, that hath layne with his owne hands the generall of his enemies, & that must offer the spoyle called *Spolia opima*, as you would fayde, his principal spoyle & dedes. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captaines onely: of the which *Romulus* was the first, who slew *Acron*, king of the *CENINENSES*. *Cornelius Cossus* was the second, who killed *Tolumnius*, the generall of the *THYSCANS*. *Clodius Marcellus* was the third, who slew *Britomartius*, king of the *GAULES*, with his owne hands. And for the two last, *Cossus* & *Marcellus*, they made their entrie into the citie, carying their triumphes vpon charets triumphant: but *Romulus* dyd not so. Therefore in this poynt *Dionysius* the historiographer hath erred, writing that *Romulus* dyd enter into *Rome* vpon a charet triumphant. For it was *Tarquinius Priscus* the sonne of *Demaratus*, who first dyd set out triumphes in so stately and magnificent howe. Other holde opinion it was *Valerius Publicola*, who was the first that euer entered vpon triumphant charet. Concerning *Romulus*, his statues are yet to be seene in *Rome*, carying his triumphe a foote. After this ouerthrowe & taking of the *CENINENSES*, the inhabitants of the cities of *Fidenæ*, *CRYSTVMERIVM*, & *ANTEBANA*, rose altogether against the *ROMAINES*, whiles

Acron king of
the Ceninen-
ses maketh
warre with
Romulus.

*Acron flaine
in the field.*

Romulus tri-
umphs:

The begin-
ning of tri-
umphe.
Iupiter Fere-

Spolia opima.

Three Re-
mains onely
obtained spo-
lia opima.
Tarquinus
Priscus the
first that tri-
umphed in
chariots.
Valerius Pa-
blicola
The cities of
Fidenæ, Cru-
sternum, &
of Antenna
rose all against
Romulus.

A whiles the other **SABYNES** also were a preparing the felues. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the ouerthrowe: & left their cities to the poyle of **Romulus**, their lands to be geuen where he thought good, and them selues to be caried to **ROME**. **Romulus** then did geue their lands among his citizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maydens that they had taken away & rauished. For he was contented that the fathers of them should kepe still their lads. By & by the other **SABYNES** fromaking thereat, did chuse them a generall called **Tatius**, & so went with a puyfant army toward the citie of **ROME**, whereunto to appoche at that time it was very harde, the castell or keepe of their citie being leared, where at this daye the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great garrison, whereof **Tarpeius** was capitaine, & not his daughter **Tarpeia**, as some will saye, who let out **Romulus** as a foole. But **Tarpeia** the captaines daughter, for the desire he had to haue all the golde bracelets which they did weare about their armes, solde the forte to the **SABYNES**, and asked for reward of her treason, all they did weare on their left armes. **Tatius** promised them vnto her: & the opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the **SABYNES** into the castell. **Antigonus** then was not alone, who sayed, he loued those which did betraye, & hated thoe that had betrayed: nor yet **Cesar Augustus**, who told **Rymitaldes** the **THRACIAN**, that he loued treason, but he hated traitors. And it is a common affliction which we beare to wicked persons, whilst we stand in neede of them: nor vnlke for all the world to those which haue neede of the gall & poyson of venomous beasts. For when they finde it, they are glad, & take it to serue their turne: but after their turne is serued, & they haue that they sought, they hate the crueltie of such beasts. So played **Tatius** at that time.

C For when he was gotten into the castell, he comanded the **SABYNES** (for performance of his promise he had made to **Tarpeia**) they should not sticke to geue her all they weare on their left armes, & to doe as he did: who taking from his owne arme first, the bracelet which he ware, did cast it to her, and his target after. And so did all the rest in like sorte, in so much as being borne downe to the ground by the weight of bracelets & targets, he dyed as pressed to deathe vnder her burden. Neuertheles **Tarpeius** self was atteinted, & condemned also of treason, by **Romulus** order, as **Iuba** sayeth, it is set forth by **Sulpitius Galba**. They that write nowe otherwise of **Tarpeia**, saying the was the daughter of **Tatius**, generall of the **SABYNES**, & was forced by **Romulus** to lie with him, & how she was punished in this sorte by her own father after her said treason committed: those I saye, amongest whom **Antigonus** is one, are not to be credited. And the poet **Similius** also dothe dore most, who sayeth **Tarpeia** solde the Capitoll not to the **SABYNES**, but to the king of **GAYLES**, with whom she was in loue: as in their verses dothe appeare.

Tarpeia, that mayde of foolish mynde,
which were unto the Capitoll did drvell
(In feruent flames, of beaſtly loue bebynde,
whereer with the king of Gaules did make her ſeuell)
Caſt ſtately Rome ſurprized for to be
by enemies, as every man may ſee.
And ſo through the hope of his fidelitie
betrayed her ſyre, with all his familie.
Her, in ſpeaking of the manner of her death, he ſayeth alſo:
Yet lo: the Gaules, thoſe worthe men of might
threw her not downe, into the ruines of Ro,
But from their armes, whereer with they vrote to fight
they caſt their ſhields vnder her body fo,
That ſhe ſurpreſt with ſuch an heauy weight,
(Ah vooſfull mayde) to death was ſmoothed ſtraight.

E And a lide after, in speaking of the manner of her death, he sayeth also:
 Tet lo: the Gaules, thofe vortithe men of might
 thevve her not darvne into the vvaues of Po,
 But from their ames, vvhether vwith they vvwonte to fight
 they cast their shields vpon her body fo,
 That she fuppreft vwith fuch an heauy vvaight,
 (Ah vvwofull mayde) to death vvas fmootherd ftraight.

This mayden therefore being buried in the same place, the whole hill was called afterwards *Tarpēia* after her name, which continued vntill *Tarquinius* the King dyd dedicate all the place to *Iupiter*: for then they carryed her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Onles it be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call *Rupes Tarpēia*, from the topp whereof they were wonte in olde time to throwe downe hedlong all wicked offenders. When the *SABYNES* now had gotten this holde, *Romulus* being exceeding wrathe, sent them

The Sabynes
led by Ta-
tius, went to
besiege the
cittie of
Rome.

*Tarpeia be-
trayeth the
castell, and
leteth in the
Sabiners.
Antigonus
& Angustina
Cæsars words
of traytours.
A fit simili-
tude.*

er Note the re-
ward of trea-
son.
ia, Tarpeia pres-
ie sed to death.

Tatius and
Romulus pa-
lacers.
The holy cor-
nell tree.

them dyd first counsell alone with his hundred Senators, and afterwards they dyd all assemble together. *Tatius* dwelt in the place where now is the temple of *Iuno Moneta*: *Romulus* in the place called at this present, the stayers of the fayer bäck, then the descent of mount *Palatine*, as they goe to the shewe place or great listes, where they faye was sometime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make fo great accompt. *Romulus* one daye desirous to proue his strength, threwe (as it is layed) a dart from mount *Auentine* toward mount *Palatine*. The staffe whereof was of a cornell tree: & the Iron of it entred so deepe into the ground being a lustye fattlefoyle, that no man could pul it out, although many proued it, and did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did so nourish the ende of this staffe, that it tooke roote, and beganne to spread branches: so that in time it became a fayer great cornell tree, which the successours of *Romulus* did inclose with a walle, & dyd kepe and worshipped it as a very holy thing. If by chance any went to see it, and found it looked not freshe and grene, but like a tree withered and dried awaye for lacke of moysture: he went awaye straight as one affrayed, crying to all he met (& they with him went crying fill) in euery place, water, water, as it had bene to haue quenched a fyre. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with vessels of water, to water and moyste the tree. In the time of *Caesar*, who caused the stayers about it to be payed: they faye the labourers raying the place, and digging about this cornell tree, dyd by negligence hurte the rootes of the fame in fuche sorte, as afterwards it dyed vp altogether. Nowe the *SABYNES* receyued the moneths after the manner of the *Romaines*, whereof we haue written sufficiently in the life of *Numa*. *Romulus* againe vsed the *SABYNES* sheldes: and both he and his people chaunged the faction of their armour and weapons they vsed. For the *ROMAINES* before dyd carye lide sheldes after the faction of the *ARGIVES*. As for either of their holy dayes and sacrifices, they kept them bothe together, and dyd not take awaye any of them, which either the one or the other people obserued before, but they added thereunto some other newe. As that which they call *Matronalia*, which was instituted in honour of the women, because by their meanes peace was concluded. And that also of *Carmentalia*, in the honour of *Carmenta*, whom some suppose to be the goddesse of fate or destine, because the hathe rule & power ouer the natiuities of men, by reason whereof, the mothers call vpon her often, & reuerence her very much. Other faye she was the wife of *Euander* the *Arcadian*, who being a propheteffe inspired by the god *Phoebus*, gaue the oracles in verse, wherupō she was surnamed *Carmenta*, because that *Carmina* in Latine signifie verses: for it is of certaintie that her proper name was *Nicostrata*. Howbeit there are some which geue another manner of deriuation and interpretation of this worde *Carmenta*, which is the liklier to be true: as if they would faye, *Carens mente*: which signifieth wanting wit, for the very furie that raketh them when they are inspired with the propheticall spirit. For in Latine *Carere*, betokeneth to lacke: and *Mens*, signifieth wit. As for the feast of *Palilia*, we haue tolde of it before: but the feast of *Lupercalia*, considering the time of celebrating thereof, it seemeth it is ordeined for a purification. For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate dayes of the month of Februarie, which are called the purging dayes. The dayes in the olde time on which they did celebrate the same, were called *Februa*. But the proper name of the feast, is as much to faye, as the feast of woulues. Wherefore it seemeth to be a feast of great antiquitie, and instituted by the *ARCADIANS* which came in with *Euander*: albeit the name of woulues is as comon to the females, as the males, & so it might perhappes be called, by reason of the woulfe that brought vp *Romulus*. For we see those which runne vp & down the cittie that daye, & they call *Luperci*, doe beginne their course in the very place where they faye *Romulus* was cast out. Howbeit many things are done, whereof the originall cause were hard now to be coniectured. For goates about a certaine time of the yere are killed, then they bring two young boyes, noble mens sonnes, whose foreheades they touch with the knife beclouded with the bloude of the goates that are sacrificed. By & by they drye their foreheads with wolle dipped in milke. The theyong boyes must laughe immediately after they haue dried their foreheads. That done they cut the goates skinned, & make thonges of the, which they take in their hands, & runne with them all about the cittie stark naked (sauiug they haue F a clothe before their secrets) and so they strike with these thonges all they mete in their waye. The yonge wiues doe neuer shonne them at all, but are well contented to be striken with them, beleeuing

The Sabynes
vsed the Ro-
maine mo-
neths.

Feast, Ma-
tronalia, Car-
mentalia, Car-
menta.

Lupercalia.

A beleeuing it helpeth them to be with childe, and also to be easely deliuered. There is another thing yet in this feast, that these *LUPERCIANS* which runne about the cittie, doe also sacrifice a dogge. Concerning this feast, the Poet named *Ennius* dothe write somewhat in his elegies, where shewing the occasion of the fond customes and ceremonies of the *Romaines*, he dothe faye that *Romulus* after he had slayne *Amulius*, did runne straight with great ioye to the very place where the wolve gaue him & his brother sucke, in memory of which running, he fayeth this feast of *Lupercalia* was celebrated: & that the noble mens younger sonnes doe runne through the cittie, striking & laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate thonges, in token that *Remus* and *Romulus* ranne from *ALBA* vnto that place, with their drawn swordes in their hāds. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloudy knife, is in remembrance of the daunger they stood in at that time to haue bene slaine. Last of all, the drying of their foreheades with wolle dipped in milke, is in memorie of the milke they sucked of the woulfes. But *Caius Ascius* writeth, that *Remus* and *Romulus* before *Rome* was built, did happen to lose their beasts on a daye, & after they had made certaine prayers vnto *Favnus* for the finding of them, they ranne here & there starcke naked as they went a seeking of the, for feare they should haue bene troubled with ouermuch heate & sweate. And this is the cause he fayeth, why the *LUPERCIANS* doe at this daye runne about naked. And if it be true they make this sacrifice for a purging, a man might faye they might offer vp a dogge for that purpose, like as the *Gracians* in their sacrifices doe solemnise this rite: it is not impartinē they sacrifice a dogge, because he is enemie to the woulues. Onles a man would faye it was to punish the beast, which troubleth and letteth the *LUPERCIANS* when they runne. Some faye also it was *Romulus*, who first instituted it a religion to kepe holy fire, & that first ordeined holie virgines, which are called *Vestales*: other doe ascribe it to *Numa Pompilius*. Notwithstanding it is most certaine otherwise, that *Romulus* was a very deuoute man, & greatly skilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cause he did ordinarie carie the augurs crooked staffe, called in Latin *Lituus*. It is a rodde crooked at the end, wherewith the augurs or soothsayers when they sit down to behold the flying of birds, doe poynthe out & marke the quarters of the heauen. They carefully kept it within the pallace: howbeit it was lost in the time of warres with the *GALLS*, when the cittie of *ROME* was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chased and driuen out, it was founde againe (as it is layed) all whole, within a great hill or heape of ashes, hauing no māner of hurte, where all things els about it had bene consumed and marred with the fire. He is sayd to haue made certaine lawes, among which there is one that seemeth somewhat harde, which is: that the manis suffered to put away his wife, and in some case to geue her nothing: and like libertie is not geuen to the wife to put away her husband. As if the maye be proued to haue consented to the poisoning of her children, or to haue counterfaiet her husbands keyes, or to haue committed adulterie. But if he put her awaye for any other cause, then the one halfe of the goodes is adiudged to the wife, and the other moytie to the goddesse *Ceres*: and she that putteth away his wife after this sorte, is commanded further, to sacrifice to the goddes of the earth. This also was notable in *Romulus*, who hauing ordeined no payne nor punishment for parricides (that is for those that kill their parents) called yet all murder parricide, to shewe how detestable that murder was, and as for parricides, he thought it vnpossible. And it seemed a great while, he had reason to thincke so, that such wickednes would neuer happen in the worlde. For in fixe hundred yeres together it was not known that any man in *ROME* committed suche an offence: and the first parricide with them was *Lucius Othius*, after the warres of *Hanniball*. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the first yere of the reigne of *Tatius*, some of his kynemen and friendes met by chance on the waye certaine ambassadours, coming from the cittie of *LAVRENTVM* vnto *ROME*, whom they set vpon, and ment to haue robbed them. F The ambassadours resisting them, and not willing to deliuer their money, they made no more a doe, but slewe them. This haynous deede being thus committed, *Romulus* was of opinion they shoulde be executed openly in the high waye for example. But *Tatius* Roma.

The Luper-
cians doe sa-
crifice a
dogge.

Why the
Lupercians
rine through
the cittie na-
ked.

The Vestal
Nunnes and
holie fire in-
stituted by
Romulus.
Lituus.

Romulus
Laws.

Parricide.
No parricide
known in
Rome fixe
hundred yeres
together.

Lucius Othius
the first man
that slewe his
owne father
as Rome.
Ambassa-
dours slaine
committing so
Rome.

deferred it still from daye to daye, and dyd all wayes excuse the matter vnto him, which was the only cause, they fell out one with the other. For in all things els, they caried them selues as honestly as might be the one to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a common consent and good accorde. But the parents & kynsfolkes of those who were murdered, when they sawe they could haue no iustice because of *Tatius*: watched him one daye as he sacrificed with *Romulus*, in the citie of *Launium*, and stabbed him one daye as he sacrificed with, but rather prayed him for a good and righteous prince. *Romulus* cauled the bodye of *Tatius* to be straight taken vp, and buried him very honorably in mount *Auentine*, about the place nowe called *Arministrium*. Further he neuer shewed any countenance to reuenge his death. There are some Historiographers that write, that those of the citie of *Laurentum* beinge afraid at this murder, dyd deliuer forthwith to *Romulus* the murderers of the ambassadours. He notwithstanding dyd let them goe againe, saying: one murder was requited by another. This gaue some occasion of speache to thincke, he was glad he was rydde of his companion: yet the *Sabynes* neither sturred nor rebelled for all this, but some of them were affrayed of him for the great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honour they gaue him as a god, continuing still in due tie & obedience towards him. Diuers strangers also had *Romulus* valiantie in great honour: as amongst other, those who then were called the auncient *Latines*, which sent ambassadours to him to make league and amitie with him. He deuised to take the citie of *Fidena* which was nere neighbour to *Rome*. Some saye he tooke it vpon a sodaine, hauing sent before certen horse men to breake downe the hookes & hingewes with force, which the gates hang by: & him self came after with the rest of his armie, and stale vpon them, before the citie mistrusted any thing. Other write that the *Fidenates* first inuaded his coutrye, and foraged vnto the very suburbs of *Rome*, where they did great harme: and howe *Romulus* layed an ambush in their waye as they returned home, and slew a great number of them. When he tooke their citie, he did not rase it, but made a colonye of it, (as a place to send the ouerincrease of *Rome* vnto) whether he sent afterwards two thousand five hundred *Romains* to inhabit there: & it was on the thirteenth daye of Aprill, which the *Romains* call the Ides of the same month. Not long after there rose such a great plague in *Rome*, that men died iudainly, and were not sicke: the earth brought forth no fruite: brute beasts deliuered no increase of their kynde: there rayned also droppes of bloude in *Rome*, as they saye. In so much as besides the euills men felt in this extremitie, they fell in a maruelous feare of the wraethe of the goddesses. Afterwards perceiving the like happened to the inhabitants of *Laurētum*, then euery man iudged it was the very vengeance and heauie hand of the goddesses, who plagued and punished these two cities for the murder committed vpon *Tatius*, and the ambassadours that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both sides were apprehended, and executed: and these plagues by and by ceased both in the one and in the other citie. *Romulus* besides, did purifie the cities with certaine sacrifices that he deuised, which they keepe still at this daye, at the gate called *Ferentina*. But before the plague ceased, the *Camerines* came to assaulte the *Romains*, & had ouercomen all the countrie, supposing they should not be able to withstand them, because they had bene so worrumbled with the plague. Yet notwithstanding, *Romulus* set vp on them with his army, & wanne the field of them, in which conflict there were slaine about fixe thousand men. After the battell done, he tooke their citie, & conueyed to *Rome* the one half of the inhabitants that remained. After this, he sent twise as many *Romains* as there were naturall *Camerians* left at *Camerine*, to dwell there among them. This was done the first daye of August: so great was the multitude of the inhabitants of *Rome* that had increased in sixteene yeres from the first foundation of the citie. Among other spoiles he got there, he caried away a charret of brasse with foure horses, which he caused to be set vp in the temple of *Vulcan*, and his owne statue vpon it, and victorie crowning him with a garland triuphant. His power beinge grown thus great, his weake neighbours did submit themselves vnto him, beinge contented to liue in peace by him. His stronger neighbours were affrayed of him, and eniued much his greames, and dyd take it no good policie to suffer him thus to rise in the face of the world, and thought it meete speedilie to dawnte his glorie, and clippe his wings. The first of the *Thuscans* that bent their power against him, were the *Veians*, who had a great countrie, & dwelled in a stronge and mightie citie. To picke a quarrell

The death of
Tatius in Launium.

Arministrium

The Sabines
obedience to
Romulus.

Romulus
tooke the citie
of Fidena.

Plagues as
Rome.
It rained
bloude at
Rome.

Conversion
taken of
Romulus.

A quarrell to him, they sent to haue redeliuered to the citie of *Fidena*, which they saye belonged vnto them. This was thought not only vnreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, considering that all the while the *Fidenates* were in warre, & daunger, the *Thuscans* neuer came to their ayde, but had suffered them to be slayne, and then came to demaunde their lands, and tenements, when other had possession of them. Therefore *Romulus* hauinge geuen them an answer full of mockerie, and derision, they diuided their power into two armies, and sent the one against them of *Fidena*, and with the other they marched towards *Rome*. That which went against the citie of *Fidena*, preyed, and killed there two thousand *Romains*: the other was ouerthrowen and discomfited by *Romulus*, in which there dyed eight thousand *Veians*. Afterwards, they met againe somewhat nere the citie of the *Fidenates*, where they fought a battell: and all dyd confesse, the chiefe exploit was done by *Romulus* owne hands that daye, who shewed all the skill and valliantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy capitaine. It seemed that daye, he farre exceeded the comon sorte of men in strength of bodye, & feates of armes. Neuertheles that which some saye, is hardly to be credited: & to be plaine, is out of all compasse of beliefe and possibilitie. For they write, there were foureteen thousand men slayne at that battell, & that more then halfe of them were slayne by *Romulus* owne hands: & the rather, for that euery man iudgeth it a vaine bragge and ostentation which the *Messians* reporte of *Arifomenes*, who offered in sacrifice to the goddes three hundred beastes of victorie, as for so many *Lacedemonians* him self had slayne in the battell. Their armie beinge thus broken, *Romulus* suffered them to flye who by swiftnesse could saue them selues, and marched with all his power in good arraye towards their citie. The citizens then considering their late great losse and ouerthrowe, would not hazard the daunger of withstanding him, but went out all together, & made their humble petition & sute for peace. All was graunted them for a hundred yeres, saue they should forgoe their territorie called *Septemagium*, that was the tenth parte of their countrey: & yeld to the *Romains* all their salt houles by the riuers side; and deliuer fiftie of their chiefe citizens for their pledges. *Romulus* made his entrie and triumphe into *Rome* for them, the daye of the Ides of October, which is the fiftenth daye of the same month, leading in his triumphe many prisoners taken in those warres: & among other, the generall of the *Veians*, a very auncient man who fondly beuished him self in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was farre shorter for his yeres in the warres. And from thence it cometh, when they offer to the goddes to geue thanks for this victorie, that euen at this daye, they bring to the capitoll through the market place an old man apparelled in a purple robe, & with a luel called *Bulla* about his necke, which the gentlemen's young children weare about their neckes: & a heraulde goeth harde by him, crying, who buyeth who, the *Sardians*, because they holde opinion the *Thuscans* are come of the *Sardians*, and the very citie of *Veies* standeth in the countrie of *Thuscane*. This was the laste warre that *Romulus* had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wonre to happen almost to all those, who by sodaine prosperitie, and fortunes special fauour, are raised to highe and great estate. For trusting to prosperitie and good successe of his adoe, he beganne to growe more strange and statelie, and to carie a fowerer countenance then he was wont to doe before: leauing to beaue his olde manner, a courteous and gracious prince, and gaue him selfe in facions to be somewhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and statelie porte and maiestie that he caried. For he wore euer a coate of purple in graine, and vpon that, a longe robe of purple culler: and gaue audience, sitting in a wyde chayer of estate, hauinge euer about him young men called *Celeres*, as we would saye, flights for their swiftnesse & speede in executing of his commaundements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were rapiers in their hands, to make the people geue roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to binde fast freight, all the prince should commaunde. Nowe in olde time the *Latines* sayd, *Liguri* was so binde: but at this present they saye *Alligari*, from whence it cometh that the others and seagants are called *Littores*. Howbeit me thinks it were more likely to saye, they had put to a. c. & that before they were called *Littores*, without a. c. For they be the very same which the *Grecians* call *Liturgos*, and be in Englishe, ministers or officers: and at this daye, *Leitos*, or *Loos*, in the *Grecians* tongue signifieth the people. *Romulus* now after his grandfather *Numerus* was dead

The incredible
valiantnes
of Romulus.

Romulus made
peace
with the
Veians.

Prosperitie,
increase of
pride and
sumptuousnes.

Celeres, Roman
guards.

Littores,
whores
called.

at the cittie of ALBA, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the fauour of A the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Comon weale, and euery ere dyd chuse a newe magistrate to minister iustice to the S A B Y N E S. This president taught the noble men of R O M E, to seeke and desire to haue a free estate, where no subiect should be at the commaundement of a King alone, and where euery man should commaund & obey as should be his course. Those which were called *Patricians* in R O M E, dyd medle with nothing, but had onely an honorable name and robe, and were called to counsaill rather for a facion, then to haue their aduise or counsaile. For when they were assembled together, they dyd onely heare the Kings pleasure and commaundement, but they might not speake one word, and so departed: hauing no other preheminence ouer the Comon wealte, fauing they were the first that dyd knowe what was done. All other things thereby dyd greue them lesse. But when of his owne mere authoritie, & B as it were of him selfe, he would as pleased him, bestowe the conquered lands of his enemies to his souldiers, and restore againe to the V E I A N S their hostages as he dyd: therein plainly appeared, how great iniurie he dyd to the Senate. Vwhereupon the Senatours were suspected afterwards that they killed him, when with in fewe dayes after it was layed, he vanished away so straungely, that no man euer knewe what became of him. This was on the seuenth daye of the moneth nowe called Iuly, which then was named *Quintilis*, leauing no manner of certaintie els of his deathe that is knowen, saue only of the daye and the time when he vanished, as we haue fayd before. For on that daye, the R O M A I N E S doe at this present many things, in remembrance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his deathe was not known: seeing *Scipio Africanus* was founde after supper dead in his house, and no man could tell, nor yet dyd know how he dyed. For some saye that he fainted, and dyed sodainly being of weak complexion. Other saye he poysoned him selfe: other thincke his enemies dyd get secretly in the night into his house, & smothered him in his bed. Yet they founde his body layed on the ground, that euery body might at leysure consider, if they could finde or coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit *Romulus* vanished away sodainly, there was neither seene peece of his garments, nor yet was there found any parte of his body. Therefore some haue thought that the whole Senatours fell vpon him together in the temple of *Vulcan*, and how after they had cut him in peces, euery one caried away a peece of him, folded close in the skytte of his robe. Other thincke also, this vanishing away was not in the temple of *Vulcan*, nor in the presence of the Senatours only: but they saye that *Romulus* was at that time without the D cittie, neere the place called the goates marthe, where he made an oration to the people, and that sodainly the weather changed, and ouercast so terribly, as it is not to be tolde nor credited. For first, the sunne was darckned as if it had bene very night: this darcknes was not in a calme or still, but there fell horrible thunders, boysterous windes, and flashing lightnings on euery side, which made the people runne away, and scatter here and there, but the Senatours kept still close together. Afterwards when the lightning was past and gone, the daye cleared vp, & the element waxed fayer as before. Then the people gathered together againe, & sought for the King: asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not suffer them to enquire any further after him, but counsellled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp into heauen: and that thenceforth in steade of a good King, he would be vnto them a mercifull E & gracious god. The meane sorte of people (for the most parte of them) tooke it well, & were very glad to heare thereof: & went their waye worshipping *Romulus* in their hartes, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the trothe more egerly did cõber fore, and troubled the *Patricians*: accusing them, that they abused the common people with vaine & sonde persuasions, whilst them selues in the meane time had murdered the King with their owne hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, some saye there was one *Julius Præclius*, the noblest of all the *Patricians*, being esteemed for a maruelous honest man, & known to haue bene very familar with *Romulus*, & came with him from the cittie of A L B A: that stepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greatest and holiest othes a man might sweare) that he had met *Romulus* on the waye, farre greater and fayer, then he had seene him: & euer before, and armed all in white armour, shynig bright like fire: whereat being affrayed in that sorte to see him, he asked him yet O King, why hast thou thus left and forsaken vs, that are so falsely

so falsely

A so falsely accused and charged to our vices discredite and shame, by thy vanishing: To whom *Romulus* gaue this answer. *Proculus*, it hath pleased the goddess from whom I came, that I should remaine amongst men so long as I dyd: and nowe hauing built a cittie, which in glorie and greatnes of empire shalbe the chiefe of the worlde, that I should returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in heauen. Therefore be of good comforte, & tell the R O M A I N E S, that they exercising prouesse and temperancie, shalbe the mightiest and greatest people of the worlde. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protectour, and patron, and they shall call me *Quirinus*. These wordes seemed credible to the R O M A I N E S, all for the honesty of the man that spake them, as for the solemne othes he made before them all. Yet I wrote not how, some celestiall motion, or diuine inspiration helped it much: for no man sayed a word B against it. And so all suspection and accusation layed aside, euery man began to call vpon *Quirinus*, so praye vnto him, and to worshipping him. Truly this tale is much like the sales that the G R E C I A N S tell of *Ariste* as the proconnesian, & of *Cleomedes* the Athypalæian. For they saye, that *Ariste* dyed in a fullers worke house, & his friends comming to carie away his bodye, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: & at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his waye towards the cittie of C R O T O N A. It is layed also that *Cleomedes* was more then a man naturally strong and great, and therewithall madde, and furious hastic. For after many desperate partes behad played, he came at the last on a daye into a schoole house full of litle children, the roofo wherof was borne with one pillar, which he dyd hit with so terrible a blowe of his fiste, that he brake C in the middle, so as the whole roofo fell and dashed the poore children in peces. The people ranne straight after him to take him. But he threwe him selfe forthwith into a chest, and pulled the lyd vpon him. He helde it so fast downe, that many struing together all they could to open it, they were not able once to fyrry it. Vwhereupon they brake the chest all in peces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were maruailously amazed, and sent to *Apollo Pythias*, where the propheteffe answered them in this verse:

Cleomedes the last of the demy goddes.

The reporte goeth also that *Alcmenes* corse dyd vanishe awaye, as they caried it to buriall, and howe in steade thereof they founde a stone layed in the beere. To conclude, mentt maye other suche wonders, that are farre from any apparance of trothe: only because they would D make men to be as goddes, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reprove and denie diuine power, it were a lewde and wicked parte: euen so to compare earthe and heauen together, it were a mere follie. Therefore we must let suche fables goe, being most certaine that as *Pindarus* sayeth it is true.

*Eche liuing corps must yelde at last to deathe,
and euery life must leese his vitall breathe:
The soule of man, that onely liues on hie,
and is an image of eternitie.*

For from heauen it came, and thither againe it dothe returne, not with the bodye, but then soonest, when the soule is furthest of and separated from the bodye, and that she is kept holy, E & is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the philosopher *Heraclitus* mentt, when he sayed. The drye light, is the best fowle which flyeth out of the bodye, as lightning dothe out of the clowde: but that which is ioynd with the bodye being full of corporall passions, is a grosse vapour, darke and masse, & cannot flame, ryse or shoote out like lightning. We must not beleue therefore, that the bodyes of noble and vertuous men, doe goe vp together with their soules into heauen, against the order of nature. But this we are certainly to beleue, that by the vertues of their soules (according to diuine nature and iustice) they doe of men become saints, and of saints halfe goddes, and of halfe goddes, entier and perfect goddes: after that they are perfectly (as it were by sacrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being deliuered from all paine & mortallitie, & not by any ciuill ordinance, but in trothe & reacion, they receaue F a most happie and glorious ende. Now touching *Romulus* surname, which afterwards was called *Quirinus*: some saye that it signifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was so called because the R O M A I N E S them selues were called *Quirites*. Other write, that men in old time did

D ij

call the poynte of a speare, on the darte it selfe. *Quirix*: by reason whereof the image of *Iuno* surnamed *Quiritides*, was set vp with an iron speare, and the speare which was consecrated in the Kings pallace, was called *Mars*. Furthermore it is an vse amongst men, to honour them with a speare or darte, which haue shewed them selues valiant in the warres: and that for this cause *Romulus* was surnamed *Quirinus*, as who would laye, god of the speares and warres. There was since buyt a temple vnto him, in the hill called *Quirinus*, and so named of him. The daye whereon he vanished, is called the flying of the people, or otherwise the Nones of the goates. For on that daye, they goe out of the citie to doe sacrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the goates marthe: and the *ROMAINES* call a goate, *Capra*. As they goe thus together, they call with lowde thowtes and cryes vpon diuers *Romaines* names, as *Marcus*, *Cneus*, and *Gaius*, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another backe againe, as they ranne awaye in great feare and disorder. Howbeit other saye, that it is not done to shewe the running awaye, but to shewe their speede and diligence, and referre it to the storie. Nowe after the *GAULES* that had taken *ROME* were expelled by *Camillus*, the citie was so weakened, that they could scante recouer their force and strength againe: wherefore many of the *LATINES* ioyning together, went with a great mightie armie, vnder the conducte of *Lucius Posthumus*, to warre against the *ROMAINES*. This *Posthumus* brought his campe as neere the citie of *ROME* as he could, & sent to the *ROMAINES* by a trumpet to let them vnderstand, how the *LATINES* were desirous by newe mariages, to restore their olde auncient amitie and kinned that was neere hand decayed betwene them: and therefore if the *ROMAINES* would send them a conuenient number of their daughters and young widowes to marie with them, they should haue peace, as they had before time with the *SABYNES*, vpon the like occasion. The *ROMAINES* herat were fore troubled, thinking that to deliuer their women in such sorte was no better, then to yelde and submit them selues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a wayting mayde called *Philotis* (or as other call her, *Tutola*) gaue them counsell to doe neither the one nor the other, but to vse a pollicy with them, by meanes whereof they should scape the daunger of the warres, and should also not be tyed nor bounde by any pledges. The deuise was, they should send to the *LATINES* her selfe, and a certaine number of their fayrest bonde maydes, trimmed vp like gentlewomen and the best cittizens daughters, and that in the night shewould lifte them vp a burning torche in the ayer, at which signe they should come armed, and set vpon their enemies as they laye a sleepe. This was brought to passe: and the *LATINES* thought verely they had bene the *ROMAINES* daughters. *Philotis* sayled not in the night to lyft vp her signe, and to shewe them a burning torche in the toppes of a wilde figge tree: and dyd hange certaine couerlets and clothes behinde it, that the enemies might not see the light, and the *ROMAINES* contrariwise might deerne it the better. Thereupon so sone as the *ROMAINES* sawe it, they ranne with all speede, calling one another by their names, and issued out of the gates of the citie with great haste: and so rooke their enemies vpon a sodaine, and slewe them. In memorie of which victorie, they doe yet solemnise the feast called the Nones of the goates, bicause of the wilde figge tree called in Latine *Caprificus*. And they doe feast the women without the citie, vnder shadowes made of the boughes of figge trees. The wayting maydes, they ranne vp and downe, and playe here and there together. Afterwards they seeme to fight, and throwe stones one at another, as then they dyd when they holpe th: *ROMAINES* in their fight. But fewe writers doe auowe this tale, bicause it is on the daye time that they call so eche other by their names, and that they goe to the place which they call the goates marthe, as vnto a sacrifice. It seemeth this agreeth better with the first historie when they called one another by their names in the night, going against the *LATINES*: onles peraduenture these two thinges after many yeres happened vpon one daye.

Furthermore, they saye *Romulus* was taken out of the worlde, when he was foure and fiftie yeres of age, and had reigned eight and thirre yeres by accompt.

THE

The hill
Quirinus,
Rome Capre-
sine.

The warre of
the Latines,
Lucius Post-
humus gene-
rall.

Philotis a
wayting
mayde for
daime deuse.

Romulus age
and reigne.

THE COMPARISON OF

Theſeus with Romulus.



THVS haue we declared all things of *Theſeus* and *Romulus* worthy memorie. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth first that *Theſeus* of his owne voluntarie will, without compulsion of any (when he might with safety haue reigned in the citie of *TROEZEN*, and succeeded his grandfather in no small kingdome) dyd desire of him selfe, and rather sought meanes to aspire to great things: and that *Romulus* on the other side, to deliuer him self from bondage and seritude that laye fore vpon him, and to escape the threatned punishment which still dyd hange ouer his head, was certainly compelled (as *Plato* sayeth) to shewe him selfe hardie for feare: who seeing howe extremely he was like to be handled, was of very force constrained to seeke aduenture, and hazarde the enterprise of attaining high and great things. Moreover the chiefest acte that euer he dyd was, when he slewe one onely tyranne of the citie of *ALBA* called *Amulius*: where *Theſeus* in his iorney only, as he trauelled, gaue his minde to greater enterprises, and slewe *Sciron*, *Sinnis*, *Procrustes*, and *Corynetes*. And by ridding them out of the worlde, he deliuered *GABE* of all those cruell tyrannes, before any of those knewe him whom he had deliuered from them. Furthermore, he might haue gone to *ATHENS* by sea, and neuer needed to haue trauelled; or put him selfe in daunger with these robbers, considering he neuer receyued hurte by any of them: where as *Romulus* could not be in safetie whilest *Amulius* liued. Hereupon it may be alledged, that *Theſeus* vnprovoked by any priuate wronge or hurte receyued, dyd set vpon these detestable theues and robbers: *Remus* and *Romulus* contrariwise, so long as the tyranne dyd them no harme, dyd suffer him to oppresse and wronge all other. And if they alledge these were noble dedes, and worthy memorie: that *Romulus* was hurte fighting against the *SABYNES*, and that he slewe king *Acron* with his owne handes, and that he had overcome and subdued many of his enemies. Then for *Theſeus* on thother side may be objected, the battell of the *CENTAVRS*, the warres of the *AMAZONES*, the tribute due to the king of *CRETA*: and howe he ventured to goe him selfe thither with the other young boyes and wenches of *ATHENS*, as willingly offering him selfe to be deuoured by a cruell beaste, or els to be slayne and sacrificed vpon the tumber of *Androgeus*, or to become bondslawe & tyed in captiuitie to the vile seruice of cruell men and enemies, if by his courage and manhodde he could not deliuer him self. This was such an acte of magnanimitie, iustice & glorie, & briefly of so great vertue, that it is vnpossible truly to be set out. Surely me thinckes the philosophers dyd not ill define loue, when they sayd she was a seruitor of the goddes, to saue young folkes, whom they thought meete to be preferred. For, the loue of *Ariadne* was in mine opinion the worke of some god, and a meane purposely prepared for *Theſeus* safety. Therefore the woman is not to be reproached nor blamed

D iij

By this
meanes men
are prouoked
to great en-
terprises.

Plato in
Phaedrus.

Loue the mi-
nister of the
goddes.

for the loue she bare *Theseus*, but rather it is muche to be wondered at, that euery man and woman in like wise dyd not loue him. And if of her selfe she fell in loue with him, I saye (and not without cause) she afterwards deserued to be beloued of a god, as one that of her owne nature loued valiantnes and honour, and entertained men of singuler value. But both *Theseus* and *Romulus* being naturally geuen to rule and raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a King, but bothe of them dyd degenerate alike: the one chaunging him self into a popular man, the other to a very tyranne. So that by fundrie humours, they both fell into one mischief and error. For a prince aboue all things must keepe his estate: which is no lesse preferred by doing nothing vncomely, as by doing all things honorably. But he that is more seuerer or remisse then he should be, remaineth now no more a King or a prince, but becometh a people pleaser, or a cruell tyrante: and so causeth his subjects to despise or hate him. Yet me thinkes the one is an error of to muche pittie and basenes: and the other of to muche pryde and crueltie. But if we maye not charge fortune with all mischaunces happening vnto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diuerfities of manners and passions, seeing anger is vnreasonable, and wrathe rashe and passionate: then can we not clere the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the facte committed by the one against his brother, and by the other against his naturall sonne. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth muche excuse *Theseus*, who moued with the greatest cause that might be, was put into suche choller and passion. But if *Romulus* variance with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counsell, or cause of the common weales: there is none so simple to thinke, that his wisdom would so sodainly haue set vpon him. Where as *Theseus* in contrarie manner killed his sonne, prouoked by those passions that fewe men can auoyde: to wit, loue, ielousie, and false reporte of his wife. Moreouer *Romulus* anger went to the effect, whereof the issue fell out very lamentable: *Theseus* anger stretched no further, then to rougher wordes, and olde folkes curses in their heate. For it seemeth, cursed fortune, and nought els, was the cause of his sonnes only mishap, as foretold and witheld for somewhat by his father. These be the speciall things maybe alledged for *Theseus*. But for *Romulus* this was anoble thing in him. First his beginning being very lowe and meane, and his brother and he taken for bonde men, and the children of hoggeheards, before they were them selues all free, they set at libertie in manner all the LATINES, winning at one instant many titles of glorie and honour: as destroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of newe cities, and no ouerthrowers of the olde, where as *Theseus* of many habitations and houses made onely one, and dyd ouerthrowe and plucke downe diuers states, bearing the names of auncient Kings, princes, and halfe goddesses of ATTICA. All these also dyd *Romulus* afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had overcome, to destroye their owne houses, and to come and dwell with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he neuer chaunged nor increased any citie that was buylt before, but buylt him selfe a newe citie out of the grounde, getting all together, land, countrie, kingdome, kindred and mariages, without losing or killing any man: and to the contrarie, rather he dyd good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrie, lands, nor houses, and desired nothing els but to make a people amongst them, and to become citizens of some citie. Also *Romulus* bent not him selfe to followe theues and robbers, but subdued by force of armes many mightie and puissant people: he tooke cities, and triumphed ouer Kings and Princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murder of *Remus*, it is not certainly knowne of whose hands he dyed. The most parte of authors doe charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that *Romulus* deliuered his mother from apparent death, and restored his grandfather to the royall throne of *Aeneas*, who before was deposed and brought from a King to seruill obedience, without any regarde of honour or dignitie: to whom he dyd many moe great pleasures and seruices. Besides he neuer offended him willingly, no not so muche as ignorantly. Contrarylie I thinke of *Theseus*, who sayling by negligence to put out his white sayle at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, howe eloquent an oration soeuer could be made for his excuse: yea though it were before the most faorable iudges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN very well perceyuing that it was an harde thing to excuse and defend so fowle a faulte, dothe sayne that the good olde man *Aegus* hauing

The office of
a prince.

Wherein
Romulus was
to be preferred
before
Theseus.

Romulus done
to his kynne.

Theseus de-
rected for
obdium.

hauing newes brought him that his sonnes thippe was at hand, dyd runne in so great haste to his castell, to see his sonne arriue a farre off, that as he ranne, his foote hit against some thing, and ouerthrewe him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man seeing him runne so hastily to the sea side, dyd make haste to attende and wayte vpon him. Furthermore, *Theseus* faults touching women and raiuillements, of the twaine, had the lesse shadowe and culler of honestie. Bicause *Theseus* dyd attempt it very often: for he stale awaye *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, and *Anaxo* the Troezenian. Again being steppend in yeres, and at later age, and past marriage: he stale awaye *Helen* in her minorie, being nothing neere to consent to marye. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZONIANS, of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and the AMAZONES (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birthe and linadage of his owne countrie which were at ATHENS, and descended of the noble race and progenie of *Erichtheus*, and of *Cecrops*) dyd geue men occasion to suspect that his womannithenes was rather to fatishe lust, then of any great loue. *Romulus* nowe in a contrarie manner, when his people had taken eight hundred, or thereabouts, of the Sabyne women to raiuilhe them: kept but only one for him selfe that was called *Hersilia*, as they saye, and deliuered the reste to his best and most honest citizens. Afterwards by the honour, loue, and good entertainment that he caused them to haue & receyue of their husbands, he chaunged this violent force of raiuillement, into a most perfect bonde and league of amitie: which dyd so knyght and ioyne in one these two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutall loue which grewe afterwards betwext those two people, and consequently of the ioyning of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath geuen a good testimonie of the loue, reuerence, constancie, kyndenes, and all matrimoniall offices that he established by that meanes, betwext man and wife. For in two hundred and thirtie yeres afterwards, there was neuer man that durst forsake or put awaye his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the best learned men, and most curious obseruers of antiquities doe knowe his name, that was the first murderer of his father or mother: euen so all the ROMAINES knewe what he was, which first durst put away his wife. It was one called *Spurius Caruilius*, bicause his wife was barren and had no children. The effects also doe agree with the testimonie of the time. For the Realme was common vnto Kings of both nations, and through the alliance of these mariages that beganne first of raiuillements, both nations liued peaceable, and in equalitie, vnder one ciuill policie, and well gouerned common weale. The ATHENIANS contrariwise, by *Theseus* mariages, dyd get neither loue nor kynred of any one persone, but rather they procured warres, enmities, & the slaughter of their citizens, with the losse in the ende of the citie of APHIDNES: and yet very hardely, and by the mercie of their enemies (whom they honored as gods) they escaped for him, the daunger which the TROIANS suffered afterwards, for the selfe acte done by *Alexander Paris*. So it fell out at the last, that his mother was not only in daunger, but euen feelingly suffered like miserie and captiuitie, which *Hecuba* dyd afterwards, when she was forsaken of her sonne: onles peraduenture those things that they write of the imprisonment and captiuitie of *Ethra*, be founde false, and but fables, as for the fame and memorie of *Theseus* were behouefull, that both it, and many other things also, were of no more trothe nor likelyhood. That which they write of *Romulus* diuinements, maketh great difference betwene him and *Theseus*. For *Romulus* in his birthe, was preferred by the marvellous fauour of the goddess: *Theseus* to the contrarie, was begotten against the goddess will, as appeared plainly by the answer of the oracle to *Aegus*, that he should not meddle with any woman in straunge and foraine countrie.

The ende of *Romulus* life.

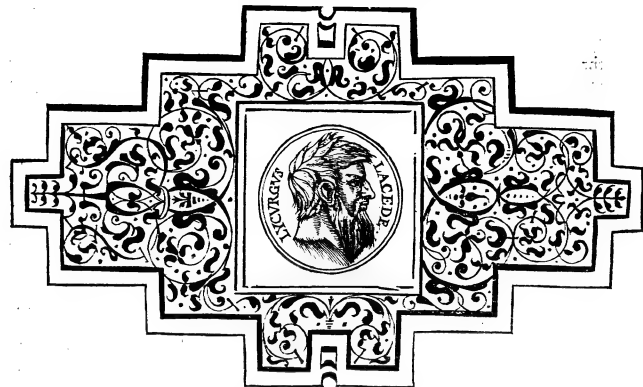
Theseus de-
rected for his
rauillements
of women.

Romulus re-
uilements of
women ex-
cused.

No diuorce
made in Rome
for 230. yeres
space. Val.
Max. Ioseph
520.
The first wife
put awaye in
Rome.

Theseus ma-
riages cause
of warres and
troubles.

Romulus
more accepta-
ble to the
goddess then
Theseus.



THE LIFE OF Lycurgus.



MAN cannot speake any thing at all of *Lycurgus*, who made the A
lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but he shall finde great contrarie-
tie of him amongst the historiographers. For, of his parentage &
trauail ouer this countrey, of his deathe and making of lawes, of his
forme and gouernment, and order of executing the same, they haue
written diuersely. And yet about all things, concerning him, they a-
gree worst about the time he liued in. For some of them (and *Aris-
totele* is of that number) will needes haue him to haue bene in the time
of *Iphitus*, and that he dyd helpe him to stablish the ordinance that

all warres should cease during the feast of the games olympicall: for a testimonie whereof,
they alledge the copper coyte which was vsed to be throwen in those games, and had founde B
grauen vpon it, the name of *Lycurgus*. Other computing the dayes and time of the succession of
the kings of LACEDÆMON (as *Eratothenes*, and *Apollodorus*) saye he was many yeres before
the first Olympiades. *Timæus* also thincketh there were two of this name, and in diuers times:
howbeit the one hauing more estimation then the other, men gaue this *Lycurgus* the glorie of
both their doings. Some saye the eldest of the twaine, was not longe after *Homer*: and some
write they sawe him. *Xenophon* sheweth vs plainly he was of great antiquitie: sayng he was in
the time of the *Heraclides*, who were neere of bloude by descent to *Hercules*. For it is likely
Xenophon ment not those *Heraclides*, which descended from *Hercules* self: for the last kings of
SPARTA were of *Hercules* progenie, as well as the first. Therefore he meane those *Heraclides*,
which doubles were the first and nearest before *Hercules* time. Neuertheles though the histori-
ographers haue written diuersely of him, yet we will not leaue to collect that which we finde C
written of him in auncient histories, and is least to be denied, and by best testimonies most to be
proued. And first of all, the poet *Simonides* sayeth, his father was called *Prytanis* and not *Euno-
mus*: and the most parte doe write the pettigree otherwise, as well of *Lycurgus* self, as of *Eunomus*.
For they saye, that *Patrocles* the sonne of *Aristodemus* begate *Sous*, and *Sous* begate *Eurytion*, and
Eurytion begate *Prytanis*, and *Prytanis* begat *Eunomus*, and *Eunomus* begat *Polydectes* of his first
wife, and *Lycurgus* of the second wife, called *Dianassa*: yet *Euthychidas* an other writer, maketh
Lycurgus the sixte of descent in the right line from *Polydectes*, and the eleuenth after *Hercules*.
But of all his auncesters, the noblest was *Sous*, in whole time the citie of SPARTA subdued the

Ilores,

A Ilores, and made them slaues, and dydenlarge and increase their dominion; with the lands and
possessions they had got by conquest of the *Arcadians*. And it is sayed that *Sous* him self being
on a time straightly besieged by the CLITORIANS, in a hard drye ground, where no water
could be founde: offered them thereupon to restore all their lands againe that he had gotten
from them, if he and all his companie dyd drinke of a fountaine that was there not farre off.
The CLITORIANS dyd graunte vnto it, and peace also was sworne betwene them. Then he
called all his souldiers before him, and tolde them if there were any one amongst them that
would refrayne from drincking, he would resigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not
one in all his companie that could (or would) forbear to drinke, they were so fore a thirst. So
they all drancke hartely except him self, who being the last that came downe, dyd no more but
B a litle moyste his mowthe without, and so refreshed him self, the enemies selues standing by,
and drancke not a droppe. By reason whereof, he refused afterwards to restore their lands he
had promised, alledging they had not all droncke. But that notwithstanding, he was greatly
esteemed for his actes, and yet his house was not named after his owne name: but after his
sonnes name *Eurytion*, they of his house were called *Eurytionides*. The reason was, because his
sonne *Eurytion* to please the people, dyd first let fall and geue ouer, the sole and absolute
power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwards marueilous disorder and dissolu-
tion, which continued a great time in the citie of SPARTA. For the people finding them
selues at libertie, became very bolde and disobedient: and some of the Kinges that succee-
C ouer the people. Other, either to winne the loue and goodwilles of the people, or because
they sawe they were not stronge enough to rule them, dyd geue them selues to dissemble.
And this dyd so muche increase the peoples lofe and rebellious mindes, that *Lycurgus* owne
father being Kinge, was slayne among them. For one daye, as he was parting a fraye be-
tweene two that were fighting, he had suche a wounde with a kytchin knyfe, that he dyed:
and left his Realme to his eldest sonne *Polydectes*, who dyed also sone after, and without heyre
of his bodye as was supposed. In so muche as euery man thought *Lycurgus* should be Kinge:
and so he tooke it vpon him, vntill it was vnderstoode that his brothers wife was youngue with
childe. Which thing so soone as he perceyued, he published openly, that the Realme belong-
ed to the childe that should be borne, if it were a sonne. After this he gouerned the Realme,
D but as the Kings lieutenant and regent. The LACEDÆMONIANS call the regents of their
Kinges that are left within age, *Prodicos*. *Lycurgus* brothers widow dyd send, and let him
secretly vnderstande, that if he would promise to marye her when he should be King, that
she would come before her time, and either miscarye, or destroye that she went with. *Lycur-
gus* detestably abhorring this brutish and sauage vnnaturallnes of the woman, dyd not re-
iect her offer made him, but seemed rather to be very glad, then to dislike of it. Neuertheles
he sent her worde againe, she should not neede to trye masteryes, with drinckes and me-
dicines to make her come before her time: for so doing, she might bring her selfe in daunger,
and be cast away for euer. Howbeit he aduised her to goe her full time, and to be brought a
bed in good order, and then he would finde meanes enough to make awaye the childe that
E should be borne. And so with suche persuasions he drew on this woman to her full time of
deliuerie. But so soone as he perceyued she was neere her time, he sent certaine to keepe
her, and to be present at her labour, commanding them that if she were brought a bed
of a daughter, they should leaue her with the woman: and if it were a sonne, they should
forthwith bring it to him, in what place soeuer he was, and what busines soeuer he had in
hand. It chaunced that the came euen about supper time, and was deliuered of a sonne. As
he was sitting at the table with the other magistrates of the citie, his seruants entred the
halle, and presented to him the lile babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes, and sayed
openly to them that were present: beholde my lordes of SPARTA, here is a Kinge borne
vnto vs. And speaking these wordes, he layed him downe in the Kinges place, and na-
med him *Charilaus*, as muche to saye, as the ioye of the people. Thus he saue all the loo-
kers on reioycing muche, and might heare them prayse and extoll his sinceritie, iustice,
and vertue. By this meanes he raigned only as King, but eight moneths. From thenceforth

A subtil pro-
mise.

Prodicos,
Regents, or
protectors of
young Kings in
minoritie.

Charilaus,
king of the
Lacedæmo-
nians, Herod.
lib. 1. Diony-
sius Halic.
lib. 1.

Xenophon in
lib. de Lace-
dæmon. Rep.

Of the Hera-
clides, Pau-
sanias, Dio-
dorus, and
Cleme. Strom.
lib. 1.

Lycurgus
kinred.

he was taken and esteemed so iust and sincere a man among the citizens, that there were more that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the Kings regent, or that he had the gouernment of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithstanding there were some that bare him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder & disgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends and kindred of the Kings mother: whose power and honour were thought much impayed by *Lycurgus* authoritie. In so much, as a brother of hers called *Leonidas*, entring boldly into great words with him on a daye, dyd nott stick to say to his face. I knowe for a certainte one of these dayes thou wilt be King: meaning thereby to bring him in suspicion with the citizens. Which thing though *Lycurgus* neuer ment, yet of a subtil and craftie wit *Leonidas* thought by geuing out such words, that if the young King happened to dye in his minoritie naturally, it would be mistrusted that *Lycurgus* had secretly made him awaye. The Kings mother also gaue out such like speeches, which in the end dyd so trouble him, with the feare he had, what euil might fall out thereof: that he determined to departe his countrie, and by his absence to auoide the suspicion that therein might growe vpon him any waye. So he trauelled abroade in the worlde as a stranger, vntill his nephew had begotten a sonne who was to succede him in his kingdome. He hauing with this determination taken his iorney, went first of all into *Creta*, where he diligently obserued and considered the manner of their liuing, the order of the gouernment of their Common weale, and euer kept company with the best, and euer was conferring with the most learned. There he founde very good lawes in his iudgement, which he noted of purpose to carie home to his countrie, to serue when time should come. He founde there other lawes also, but of them he made no reckoning. Nowe there was one man that aboute the reft was reputed wise and skillfull in matters of state & gouernment, who was called *Thales*: with whom *Lycurgus* dyd so much by intreatie, and for familiar friendship, that he perswaded him to goe with him vnto *Sparta*. This *Thales* was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title and name: but in effect he sange all that the best and sufficientest gouernours of the worlde could deuise. For all his songes were goodly ditties, wherein he dyd exhorte and perswade the people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace & concord one with the other. His words were set out with such tunes, countenance, & accents, that were so full of sweetenes, harmony, and pearling: that inwardly it melted mens heartes, and drew the hearers of a loue to like the most honest things, and to leaue all hatred, enmitie, sedition, and diuision, which at that time reigned fore among them. So as it maye be sayed, he it was that prepared the waye for *Lycurgus*, whereby he afterwards reformed and brought the *Lacedemonians* vnto reason. At his departing out of *Creta*, he went into *Asia*, with intent (as it is sayed) to compare the maner of life and pollicie of thole of *Creta* (being then very straight and seuer) with the superfluties and vanities of *Ionia*: and thereupon to consider the difference betwene their two manners & gouernments, as the physician doth, who to knowe the hole & healthfull the better, doth vife to compare them with the sicke & diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first sawe *Homer*s works, in the hands of the heires & successeurs of *Cleophylus*: & finding in the same, as well many rules of pollicie, as the great pleasure of Poets faining, he diligently copied it out, and made a volume thereof to carie into *Greece*. It is true there was much fame abroad of *Homer*s poesies among the *Grecians*, howbeit there were fewe of them brought together, but were scattered here & there in diuers mens hands, in pamphlets & peeces vnswolde & without any order: but the first that brought them most to light among men, was *Lycurgus*. The *Egyptian*s saye, that he was in their countrie also, & that hauing founde there one notable ordinance among other, that their souldiers ad men of warre were separated from the rest of the people, he brought the practise of it into *Sparta*: where setting the marchants, artificers, & labourers euery one a parte by them selues, he did establish a noble Common wealth. So the *Egyptian* historiographers, and some others also of *Greece* do write. He was also in *Africke*, and in *Spain*, & as farre as *India*, to conferre with the wise men there, that were called the philosophers of *India*. I knowe no man that hath written it, sauing *Aristocrates*, that was *Hipparchus* sonne. The *Lacedemonians* wished for him often when he was gone, and sent diuers and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or maiestie of a prince, whereby they dyd excell the common people.

Lycurgus
travell'd
countryes.

Thales a poet
harper.

Lycurgus ier-
ney into *Asia*.

The praise of
Homer
works.

*Homer*s poes-
mes unknowne
to the *Grecians*, brought
to light by
Lycurgus.

A people. But as for *Lycurgus*, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to commaund, and to geue order, as hauing in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to drawe men willingly to obeye him. Moreouer the Kings them selues were not vnwilling to haue him to returne home, because they hoped that his presence would somewhat brydle, & restrayne the people from their insolencie & disobedience towards them. Whereupon *Lycurgus* returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no sooner arriued, but he beganne to deuise how to alter the whole gouernment of the common weale, & throughout to chaunge the whole course and order of the state: thinking that to make only certaine particular lawes were to no purpose, but much like, as one should geue some easie medicine, to purge an over-thrown bodye with all humours and diseases. Therefore he thought first that all grosse & superfluous humours, were meete to be dissolved & purged, and then afterwards to geue them a new forme and order of gouernment. When he had thus determined with him self, before he would take in hand to doe any thing, he went to the city of *Delfes*: where after he had sacrificed to *Apollo*, he consulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of *Pythia*: O beloued of the goddess, and rather god then man. Vv here when he craued grace of *Apollo* to establish the good lawes in his countrie, it was answered him: that *Apollo* granted his petition, and that he should ordaine the best and perfectest manner of a Common wealth, that euer had or should bein the worlde. This answer dyd comfort him very much, & so he beganne to breake his purpose to certain of the chief of the citie, & secretly to praye & exhorte them to helpe him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, & after by little & little he wanne others to him, who ioyned with him in his enterprise. So when he saw the time fit for the matter, he caused thirde of the chiefe men of the citie in a morning to come into the market place well appointed & furnished, to suppress those that would attempt to hinder their purpose. *Hermippus* the historiographer reheareth twentie of the chiefe: but he that aboute all others dyd most assist him in his doings, & was the greatest ayde vnto the establishing of his lawes, was called *Aristimachus*. The king *Charilaus* hearing of this assembly, dyd feare there had bene some conspiracie or insurrection against his person, & for his safety he fled into the temple of *Iuno*, called *Chalceaeos*, as much to saye, as *Iunos* brasen temple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the trothe, he waxed bolde, & came out of the temple againe, & he him self fauored the enterprise, being a prince of a noble minde, howbeit very soft by nature, as witnesseth *Archelaus* (that was then the other king of *Lacedemon*) by telling how *Charilaus* answered one that praised him to his face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be euill to the euill? In this chaunge of the state, many things were altered by *Lycurgus*, but his chiefe alteration was, his lawe of the erection of a Senate, which he made to haue a regall power & equall authoritie with the Kings in matters of weight & importance, & was (as *Plato* sayeth) to be the healthfull counterpeale of the whole bodye of the Common weale. The other state before was euer wauering, sometime inclining to tyrannie, when the Kings were too mighty, & sometime to confusion, when the people would vsurpe authoritie. *Lycurgus* therefore placed betwene the Kings & the people, a counsaill of Senators, which was as a strong boue, that helde bothe these extremes in an euen ballance, & gaue sure footing & ground to either parte, to make a stand from the state of the common weale. For the eight & twenty Senators, which made the whole bodye of the Senate, tooke sometime the Kings parte, when it was nott full to pull downe the furie of the people: and contrarie, they held sometimes with the people against the Kings, to brydle their tyrannicall gouernment. *Aristotle* sayeth, he ordained the number of Senators to be but eight and twenty, because two of thirte that ioyned with him, & a fowr, dyd forsake him at his enterprise. Howbeit *Sphernus* writeth, that from the beginning, he neuer purposed to haue more then eight and twenty to be the Senate, and perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, considering it is compounded of the number of seuen, multiplied by foure: and is the first perfect number next to fixe, being equal to all partes gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this number, rather then any other: because he ment the whole bodye of the counsaill should be but thirte persons, adding to that number, the two Kings. *Lycurgus* tooke so great care to establish this counsell, that he brought an oracle for it, from *Apollos* temple in

Lycurgus re-
turneth and
chaungeth all
the ciuill
weale.

Lycurgus
consulteth
with the ora-
cle of *Apollo*
at *Delfes*.

Lycurgus first
chooseth his
counsaill.

Chalceaeos,
Iunos brasen
temple.

Lycurgus in-
stituteth a Se-
nate of the
*Lacedemo-
nians*.
Plato de leg.

He chose
the number of
the
Senators.

Lycurgus 1
chooseth
his
counsaill.

Rem of Lyc-
urgus.

Caution fl.

The open
fields appoint-
ed for place
of counsaill.

DALPHES. This oracle is called vnto this daye *Retra*, as who would saye, the *same* oracle whereof the answer was. When thou hast built a temple vnto *Iupiter the Syllanian*, and to *Minerua the Syllanian*, and deuided the people into lineages, thou shalt stablish a Senate of thirtie counsellors, with the two Kings: & shalt assemble the people at times conuenient, in the place betwene the bridge and the riuier Cnacion. There the Senatours shall propound all matters, and breake vp after their assemblies: and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speake one worde. In those dayes the people were euer assembled betwene two riuers, for there was no hall to assemble a counsaill at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For *Lycurgus* thought no buyled place meete for men to geue good counsaill in, or to determine caules, but rather a hinderance: because in such places men be drawn to muse on vaine things, and their mindes be caried away with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, commonly set vp for ornamēt in such open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and sportes be made, they thincke more of them, then any counsaill. Again, if it be in a great hall, then of the fayer embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretted feelings curiously wrought, and sumptuously set forth, and tend not still their busines they come for. When the people were assembled in counsaill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counsell to be determined, neither might any of them deliuer his opinion what he thought of any thing: but the people had only autoritie to geue their assent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senatours, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwards, the two Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, because the people dyd many times crosse and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding some thing to it, they dyd adde these wordes to the oracle aforesaid. That if the people would not assent to any ordinance of the Senate, then should it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake vp the counsell, and to frustrate all things done in the same: the wise aduise of the Senate being encountered thus, & their meaning to the best, so peruerted to the worse. These two Kings perswaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the oracle of *Apollo*: as the poet *Tyræus* maketh mention in the place, where he sayeth:

*From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought
of Pythia: into their country soyle.
The Kings (euen they to whom of right there ought
a louing care in princely breasts to boyle,
the Spartane vndeale, to garde from euery style:)
Shalbe the chief, graue causes to decide
with Senatours: whose sounde aduise is trille.
And next to them, the people shall fulfill
as muche as seemes, so please their princes will.*

The inflin-
tion of the
Ephores.

Lycurgus wis-
dome.

Lycurgus now hauing thus tempered the forme of his comon weale, it seemed notwithstanding to those that came after him, that this small number of thirtie persones that made the Senate, was yet to mightie, & of to great autoritie. Wherefore to biddie them in a litle, they gaue them (as *Plato* sayeth) a bytte in their mouths, & that was the autoritie of the Ephores, which signifie as much as comptrollers: and were erected about a hundred and thirtie yeres after the death of *Lycurgus*. The first which was chosen of these, was *Elatus*, and it was in the time of king *Theopompus*, whose wife on a daye in her anger sayd: howe through his negligence he would leaue lesse to his successours, then he had receyued of his predecessours. To whom he answered againe, not lesse but more, for their shall continue longer, and with a more suertie. For, in losing thus their too absolute power, that wrought them great enuie & hatred among their citizens, they dyd escape the danger & mischief that their neighbours the *Argiues*, and *Messenians* dyd feele: who would not geue ouer the foueraine autoritie which they had gotten once. This example maketh *Lycurgus* great wilddoing and foresight manifestly knowne: who so will deeply consider the seditions & ill gouernements of the *Argiues*, & *Messenians* (their neere neighbours and kinsmen) as well from the people, as from the Kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the *Spartans*: & in deuiding of their lands a farre better order then theirs. This notwithstanding, they dyd not prosper longe: but through the pryde of their Kings,

A Kings, and the disobedience of their people, they entred into ciuill warres one against another, shewing by their disorders & misfortunes the speciall grace the godds dyd beare to *Sparta*, to geue them such a reformer, as dyd so wisely temper the state of their comon weale, as we will shewe hereafter. The second lawe that *Lycurgus* made, and the boldest and hardest he euer tooke in hande, was the making of a newe diuision of their lands. For he sawe so great a disorder & vnequallity among the inhabitants, as well of the countie, as of the cite *Lacedæmon*, by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poore, that they had not a handfull of ground, and other some being least in number were very rich, that had all: he thought with him self to banishe out of the citie all insolencie, enuie, couetousnes, & delicioufnes, and also all riches and pouertie, which he tooke the greatest, and the most continuall plagues of a citie, or common weale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessarie a meane, as to perswade his citizens to suffer all the landes, possessions, and inheritance of their countie, to runne in common together: and that they should make a newe diuision equally in partition amongst them selues, to liue from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer the another, & none should seeke to go before each other, any other waye then in vertue only: thincking there should be no difference or vnequallitie among inhabitants of one citie, but the reproaches of dishonestie, & the prayes of vertue. Thus *Lycurgus* following his determination, dyd out of hande make a lawe of the diuision of their lands. For first he dyd deuide all the countie of *Laconia*, into thirtie thousand equal parts, the which he dyd set out for those that inhabited about *Sparta*: and of those landes that ioyned next to the citie of *Sparta*, that was the chief metropolitian citie of *Laconia*, he made other nine thousand partes, which he deuided to the natural citizens of *Sparta*, who be those that are properly called Spartans. Howbeit some will saye, he made but sixe thousand partes, & that king *Polydorus* afterwards dyd adde to other three thousand partes. Other saye also, that *Lycurgus* of these nine thousand partes made but the halfe only, & *Polydorus* the rest. Euery one of these partes was such, as might yelde vnto the owner yerely, three score and tenne bushels of barley for a man, and twelue bushels for the woman, and of wine & other liquide frutes, much like in proportion: which quantitie *Lycurgus* iudged to be sufficient, to kepe the bodye of a man in health, & to make him stronge & lustie, without any further allowance. They saye after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came ouer the lands where wheate had bene reaped not longe before, and sawe the number of sheaues lying in euery hocke together, & no one (hocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing, & told them that were with him, he thinks all *Laconia* is as it were an inheritance of many brethern, who had newly made partition together. He gaue an attempt to haue deuided also moueables, & to haue made a common partition betwene them, to the end he would haue utterly taken away all vnequallitie. But finding the citizens tooke it very impatiently, that openly that which they had, should be taken away: he went about to doe it more secretly, and in a conninger wise to take away that couetousnes. For first of all, he dyd forbid all coyne of golde & syluer to be currant: & then he dyd set out certaine coynes of iron which he commaunded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantitie was but litle worthe. So as to laye vp therof the value of tenne Minas, it would haue occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would haue needed a yoke of oxen to carie it any where. Nowe golde & syluer being thus banished out of the countie, many lewde partes & faultes must needs cease thereby. For who would robbe, steale, picke, take awaye, hyde, procure, or whorde vp any thing, that he had no great occasion to desire, nor any profit to possesse, nor would be any pleasure to vfe or employe. For, the iron they occupied for their coyne, they cast vineger vpon it while it was redde hote out of the fire, to kill the strength & working of it to any other vfe: for thereby it was so eger & brittle, that it would bryde no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other facion. By this meane he banished also, all superfluous & vnprofitable sciences, which he knew he should not neede to doc by any proclamation: because they would fall awaye (or the most parte of them) euen of them selues, when the batenes of the money they should take for their worke, should vndo them. For their iron moneys were not currant els where in the cities of *Greece*, but euery bodye made a ieste of it there. By this occasion, the *Lacedæmonians* could buye no forreine wares nor marchandises, neither

*Lycurgus made
all equal
diuision of
landes vnto
the citizens*

*All the lands
through the
countie of
Laconia, de-
uided into
30000. parts.
All the lands
about Sparta
into 9000
partes.*

*What barley
euery parte
dyd yelde.*

*Lycurgus
chaunged all
golde & syluer
into iron
coyne.*

*Lycurgus
made all feth-
ers & crustes
of no value.*

came there any shippe into their haven to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rethorician dyd repaire into their cuntry to teache them eloquence, & the cunning craft of lying: nor yet came there to them any wyfard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell house, nor yet goldsmiths or iuellers, to make or sell any toyes or trifles of golde or siluer to set forth women: considering all these things are vsed to be made to get money, and to hound vp that they had not. After this sorte, delicatenes that wanted many things that entertained it, beganne by litle and litle to vanishe awaye, & lastely, to fall off from them selues: when the most rich men had no more occasion then the poorest, and riches hauing no meane to shewe her selfe openly in the worlde, was sayne to remaine shut at home idely, as not able to doe her master any seruice. Thereupon moueables and householde stuffe (which a man cannot be without, and must be daylie occupied) as bedsteades, tables, chayers, and suche like necessaries for house, were excellently well made: and men dyd greatly prayse the facion of the LACONIAN cuppe which they called Cothon, and specially for a souldier in the warres, as *Critias* was wont to saye. For it was made after such a facion, that the culler of it dyd let the eye to discern the fowle & vnuholle water, which men are driuen oftentimes to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times against ones stomake to see it: and if by chaunce there was any filth or muddie in the bottome, it would cleaue and stick fast vpon the ribbes of the bellie, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that drank it. The reformer of their state was the cause of all this: because their artificers tending now no superfluous works, were occupied about the making of their most necessary things. Further, nowe to driue awaye all superfluitie and delicioufnes, and to roote out vterly desire to get and gather: he made another thirde lawe for eating and drinking, and against feastes and banquetts. First he willed and commanded the citizens, that they should eate together all of one meate, and chiefly of those he had permitted by his ordinance. Then he dyd expressly forbid them to eate alone, or a parte, or secretly by them selues, vpon riche tables and sumptuous beddes, abusing the labour of excellent worke men, and the deuises oflikorous cookes to cramme them selues in corners, as they doe fatter vp beastes and poultrie, which doth not only breede ill conditions in the minde, but dothe marre the complexions of men, and the good states of their bodie, when they giue them selues ouer to such sensuallitie and gluttonie. Whereof it followeth in the ende that men must needes sleepe muche, to helpe to digest the excessse of meates they haue taken, and then must they goe to the whotte houses to bathe them selues, and spend long time about the ordinarie attendance of their sickely bodies. This was a marueilous thing for him to bring to passe, but much more, to make riches not to be stolen, and least of all to be coueted, as *Theophrastus* sayd of him: which by this meane of making them eate together with all sobriety at their ordinarie dyet, was brought to passe. For there was no more meane to the riche, then to the poore, to vse to playe, or shewe riches, sithe both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: so as that which is commonly spoken, that *Pluto* the god of riches is blinde, was truly verified only in the citie of SPARTA, about all other places of the worlde. For there riches was layed on the grounde like a corse without a soule, that moeth no whit at all: considering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home secretly in his house, before he came to their open halles, nor might not come thither for a countenance only to his meales, being already fedde and full fraight. For euery mans eye was vpon those specially which did not eate & drinke with a good stomake amongst them: & it was the vse to reproche them as gluttons, and dayntie mouthed men, which refused to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they saye, that grieved most the riche about all that *Lycurgus* made, and whereat they were most madde and angrie with him: in so muche, as on a daye, they all setting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to runne out of the market place, and getting grounde of them, he recovered the liberties of a church, before any could ouertake him: sauing one young man called *Alexander*, who otherwise had no ill nature in him, but that he was somewhat quicke of his hande, and cholericke with all. Who following *Lycurgus* nerer then any other, dyd geue him a blowe ouerthwart the face with a staffe, and strake out one of his eyes, as *Lycurgus* turned toward him. Yet for all this, *Lycurgus* neuer bashed or made worde about the matter, but dyd liue vp his head to those that followed him, and shewed

Custom a strange kinde of cuppe of the Lacedaemonian souldiers.

Lycurgus appointed order for dyet into the Lacedaemonians.

Alexander strooke out Lycurgus eye.

A shewed them his face all a gore bloude, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were all so fore ashamed, that there was not a man that durst once open his mouth against him, but to the contrarye, they seemed to pittie him, and dyd deliuer *Alexander* into his handes that had done the dede, to punish him as him selfe pleased. And so they all brought him to his house, and shewed they were right hartely sorie for his hurte. *Lycurgus* thanking them, returned them all backe againe, saue that he made *Alexander* to goe with him into his house, where he neuer hurte him, nor gaue him fowle worde: but commaunded him onely to waite vpon him, and made his other ordinarie seruants to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now beganne to spye his owne faulte, dyd most willingly attend vpon him, and neuer spake worde to the contrarye. When he had serued him a certaine time, being very nere continually about him, he beganne to feele and taste of his naturall liberalitie, and sawe of what affection and intention *Lycurgus* was moued to doe all he dyd: he perceyued what was the feueritie of his ordinary life, and what his constancy was to endure labour without wearines. *Alexander* then beganne to loue and honour *Lycurgus* from his hart, and tolde his parents and friends, howe he was no suche feuerie man as he seemed, but was of so kynde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I praye you howe *Alexander* was transformed by *Lycurgus*, and his punishment also, which he should haue receyued: for of a fierce, rathe, and a lewde conditioned youth he was before, he became nowe a very graue and wise man. But for memorie of this his misfortune, *Lycurgus* built a temple to *Minerva*, which he surnamed *Oprileide*, because the DORIANS which dwell in those partes of PELOPONNESVS, doe call the eyes, *opiles*. There are other writers (as *Dioscorides* for one) which saye *Lycurgus* had a blowe with a staffe, but he had not his eye stricken out with it: and how contrariwise, he founded this temple to *Minerva*, to giue her thankes for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that euery since the SPARTANS haue bene restrayned to carie staues in any assembly of counsell. But to returne to their common repasts, which theCRETANS called *Andria*, and the LACEDAEMONIANS *Phiditia*, either because they were places wherein they learned to liue soberly and straightly (for in the GREKE tongue *Phido*, is to fauce and spare) or els because their amitie and friendship grewe there towards one another, as if they would haue called them *Philitia*, feasts of loue, by chaunging d. into l.: It maye be also they added the first letter as superfluous, and ment to call the places *Editia*, because they dyd eate and drinke there. They sat in their halles by fiftene in a companie, litle more or lesse, and at the beginning of euery moneth euery one brought a bushell of meale, eight gallons of wine, fise pound of cheefe, and two pound and a halfe of figges for a man, besides some litle portion of their monye to buye certaine freshe acates. And ouer and aboue all this, euery man when he dyd sacrifice in his house, was bounde to send the best and chiefest things of his sacrifice to the halles to be eaten. Likewise if any man went an hunting, and killed any venison: it was an order, he should send a pece of the fleshe thither. Hauing these two lawfull causes, they might eate and drinke by them selues at home, either when they sacrificed any beast to the goddesses, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwise they were bounde of necessitie to meete in their halles at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very straightly a great time: in so muche as king *Agis* on a daye, E returning from the warres, where he had ouerthrowen the ATHENIANS, and being desirous to suppe at home priuately with the Queene his wife, he sent to the halles for his portion. But the *Polemarchi*, that be certaine officers assisting the Kings in the warres, dyd denye him. The next daye *Agis* left off for spight, to doe the accustomed sacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the ende of euery warre: whereupon they set a fine on his head, and condemned him to paye it. The young children also went to these repasts, euen as they should goe to schooles to learne grauity and temperance, where they heard wife and graue discourses touching the gouernment of a common weale, but not of matters that were as hierlinges. There they learned pretylie to playe vpon wordes, and pleasauntly to spoorte one with another, without any broade speeches, or vncomely lestes, and at others handes to beare the fame againe, without choller or anger. For this propertie haue the LACEDAEMONIANS about all other, to take and geue a mocke without any offence: neuertheles, if any mans nature could not beare it, he neded but praye the partie to forebare his iesting, and so he leste it straight.

Lycurgus patience and gentleness.

Minerva oprileide.

Andria and Phiditia meales why so called.

Children were brought to these meales.

The propriety of a Lacedaemonian.

The order
of receiving any
man into their
company, as
meales.

The blacke
brothe.

Cleers calleth
this King,
Dionysius the
great, Tuffis.

Lycorgus
would not
have his
lawes written
otherwise
then in mens
myndes.

Retra, for ex-
cesses or vices.

Epaminondas
saying.

King Leon-
chidas saying,
Retra for
warres.

And it was euer an ordinarie among them, that the eldest of the companie tolde the rest that A
were come into the hall to meale, with shewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth
not a worde here out of this dore. Euen so he that would be receyued to meale there in their
companie, must first of necessity be allowed and receyued in this sorte, by all the rest. Euery one
of them tooke a litle balle of branne or dowe to waite their hands with, and without euer a
word speaking, they threw it into a bafe, which the seruant that waited on them at the table
dyd carie vpon his head: he that was contented the other should be receyued in companie,
dyd cast in his balle as he dyd receyue it, but if he misliked him, then he pressed it flat betwene
his fingers, and threw it in. This ball of branne thus pressed flat, was as much as a beane bored
thorough, and was to them a signe of condemnation. If any one balle were found of this sorte,
the futer was reiecte: for they would not haue any enter into their companie, that was not
liked of all the rest. He that thus was reiecte, they saye he was discadd: for the bafe in where-
in the litle balles were caried, was called *Caddos*. The best dishe they serued at these meales,
was that they call their blacke brothe: so that when they had that, the olde men dyd eate no
fleshe, but leste it all to the young men, and they by them selues dyd eate the brothe. There
was a king of *PONTVS*, that being desirous to taste of this blacke broth, dyd buye of purpose a
LACEDÆMONIAN cooke: but after he had once tasted thereof, he was very angry straight. The
cooke then sayed vnto him: and it please your grace, ere one shall finde this brothe good, he
must be washed first in the riuer of *Eurotas*. After they had eate and druncke thus soberly to-
gether, euery one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to goe thi-
ther, nor any where els with light, because they should accustom them selues boldly to goe
vp and downe the darcke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their
meales. But here is specially to be noted, that *Lycorgus* would in no wise haue any of his lawes
put in writing. For it is expressly set downe in his lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his lawes
should be written. For he thought that which should chiefly make a citie happie, and virtu-
ously, ought thoroughly by education to be printed in mens heartes and manners, as to haue
continuance for euer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as a farre stronger knot to tye
men with, then any other compulsiue lawe. Which when men by vie and custome through
good education doe take in their childhoode, it maketh euery man to be a lawe to him selfe.
Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and
sometime are chaunged in one sorte, and sometime in another, as occasion serueth: he thought D
it best not to constrain them to doe it by writing, nor to establishe customes that might not
be altered, but rather to leaue them to the libertie and discretion of men which had bene
brought vp in the same, bothe to take awaye, and to adde therein, as the case and time should
require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefe point of a good lawe maker or reformer of
the common weale was, to cause men to be well brought vp and instructed. One of his ordi-
nances therefore was expressly, that not one of his lawes should be written. Another of his
deuises was, against superfluous charges and expences: which to auoide, he made a lawe that
all roofes of houses should be made only with the axe, and all gates and doores with the sawe,
and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as af-
terwards *Epaminondas* had, when he sayed, speaking of his table: Such a borde neuer receyue E
any treason. Euen so thought *Lycorgus*, that such a buyt house would neuer receyue curio-
sities or dainties. For no man is so madly disposed or simply witted, as to bring into so poore
and meane houses, bedsteades with siluer feete, imbrodered couerlettes, or counterpointes of
purple silke; neither yet plate of golde nor of siluer, nor fuche other like costly furniture
and finenes, as those things require to wayte vpon them: because the beddes must be answerable
to the meannes of the house, the furnitures of the beddes must be fute like to the same, and
all other householde stuffe, dyet, meate, and drinke agreeable to the rest. Hereof proceeded
that, which *Leontichidas* the first King of that name, sayed once: who supping on a time in
the citie of *CORINTHVS*, and seeing therooft of the hall where he satte, lumpuously em-
bowed and carued, he asked straight if the trees dyd growe carued so in that countrie. The F
third lawe was, he dyd forbyd them to make warre often with one enemy, lest the enemy
forced to take often armes in hande, might in the ende growe expertter and valliantier then
they.

A they: For this cause king *Agelawus* was greatly blamed, who was a long time after. For by
making often warres with the countrie of *BOEOTIA*, he made the *THEBANS* in the ende as
expert and valliant souldiers, as the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Whereupon *Antalidas* seeing
him hurto one daye, sayed vnto him: The *THEBANS* haue nobly rewarded thee for their
learning, sith thou hast made them expert soldiery vnwilling to learne the discipline of warre:
These be the lawes *Lycorgus* selfe called *Retra*; and signifie as muche as Oracles; that the
god *Apollo* had discouered to him. Nowe the education of children; he esteemed the
chiefest and greatest matter, that a reformer of lawes should establishe. Therefore begin-
ning a farre of, he first considered the state of marriage, and the generation of children. For
Aristotle sayeth, that *Lycorgus* dyd attempt to reforme women, and dyd soone geue it ouer
B againe: because he could doe no good therein, by reason of the great libertie they had ta-
ken by the absence of their husbands in the warres, compelled often so to be abroad, and
that they dyd leaue them mistresses of their house, and at their returne dyd honour them so
much, and make of them so beyonde measure, with calling them ladies and mistresses.
Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, as well as he had
of mens: and so reason dyd require. First of all, he willed that the maydens should har-
den their bodies with exercise of running, wrestling, throwe the barre, and casting the
darte, to the ende that the fruite wherewith they might be afterwarde conceyued, taking
nourishment of a stronge and lustie bodye, should shoote out and spread the better: and that
they by gathering strenght thus by exercises, should more easily awaye with the paynes
C of childe bearing. And to take away from them their womanlike dayntines, and finnes, he
brought vp a custome, for young maydes and boyes to goe as it were a procession, and to
daunce naked at ioleme feastes and sacrifices, and to singe certaine songes of their owne
making, in the presence and sight of young men. To whom by the waye they gaue ma-
ny times prety mockes of purpose, as pleasantly hitting them home, for things wherein
before they had forgotten their duties: and sometimes also in their longe for their vertues,
wittes, or manners, they prayed them which had deserued it. By this meanes, they dyd set
young mens hartes a fire, to strue to winne most prayse and honour. For who so was praysed
of them for a valliant man, or whose worthy actes were longe by them, he thereby was in-
courage to doe the better another time: and the pretie girdes and quippes they gaue to others,
D was of no lesse force, then the sharpest wordes and admonitions that otherwise could be ge-
uen them. This tooke place the rather, because it was done in the presence of the Kings, the Se-
natours, & all the rest of the citizens which came thither to see these sportes. And though the
maydes dyd shewe them selues thus naked openly, yet was there no dishonesty seene nor of-
fended, but all this sporte was full of playe and toyes, without any youthfull parte or wantonnes:
and rather caried a shewe of demurenes, and a desire to haue their best made bodies seene
and spyed. Moreouer, it somewhat lifted vp their hartes, and made them noblier minded, by
geuing them to vnderstand, that it was no lesse comely for them, in their kynde and exercises
to carie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exercises to carie the price. Hereof it
came, that the women of *LACEDÆMON* were so bolde to saye, and thincke of them selues
E that, which *Gorgona* the wife of king *Leonidas* one daye answered: being in talke with a
strange woman that sayed to her. There be no women in the worlde that commaund their
husbands, but you viues of *LACEDÆMON*. Whereto the Queene straight replied: so be
there no women but we, which bringe forth men. Furthermore, these playes, sportes, and
daunces, the maydes dyd naked before young men, were prouocations to drawe and allure
the young men to marye: not as persuaded by geometrical reason, as sayeth *Plato*, but
brought to it by liking, and of very loue. Those which would not marye, he made infamous
by lawe. For it was not lawfull for fuche to be present, where these open games and pastimes
were shewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the citie compelled fuche as would not
marye, euen in the hardest time of the winter, to enuironne the place of these sportes, and
F to goe vp and downe starcke naked, and to singe a certaine songe made for the purpose a-
gainst them, which was: that iultely were they punished, because that lawe they disobeyed.
Moreouer, when fuche were olde, they had not the honour and reuerence done them, which

Antalidas
saying.

The disci-
pline of womē
amongst the
Lacedæmonians. *Arist.*
polit. lib. 2.
cap. 17.
The exercises
and discipline
of maydes.

The saying of
a Lacedæmonian
woman.

Men that
would not
marye, *Lycor-
gus* required
reuerence by
lawe.

old married men vially received. Therefore there was no man that misliked, or reproved that, which was spoken to *Derclidas*: albeit otherwise he was a noble captaine. For, comming into a presence, there was a young man which would not vouchesafe to rise & doe him reuerence, nor to geue him place for to sit downe: & worthely, *g* he, because thou hast not gotten a sonne, who maye doe so muche for me in time to come. Those which were desirous to marie any, were driuen to take them awaye by force whom they would marie, not litle younge wenches I meane, which were not of age to be married: but lustie & strong maides of age to beare children. And when one of them was stolen awaye in this sorte, she that was priuie thereto, and meane to make the mariage, came and shaued the heares of her head that was married: then she put her into mans apparell, & gaue her all things fute like to the same, and layed her vpon a matteresse all alone, without light or candell. After this was done, the bridegroom, being neither droncke nor finelier apparelled then he was wonte to be, but hauing supped soberly at his ordinarie, came home secretly to the house where the bride was: and there vntied his wiues girdell, tooke her in his armes, layed her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwards fayer & softly stole awaye to the place, where he was wonte to sleepe with other young men. And so from thenceforth, he continued allwayes to doe the like, being all the daye time, and sleeping most of the night, with his companions, onles he sometime stole to see his wife, being affrayed, and ashamed euert to be seene, by any of the house where she was. And hereunto his younge wife did helpe for her parte, to spyce meanes and occasions howe they might mete together, and not be seene. This manner endured a great while, and vntill some of them had children, before they boldly met together, and sawe eache other on the daye time. This secret meeting in this sorte did serue to good purposes, not only because it was some meane of continencie and chastetie, but also it kept their bodies in strength and better state, to bring forth children. It continued also in both parties, a still burning loue, and a newe desire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs commonly be which haue their bellies full of loue, and as muche as they lust: but they euer parted with an appetite one from another, keeping still a longing desire to deuise howe to mete againe. Nowe when he had stablished suche a continencie, and so kynde a framed honestie in mariage, he tooke no lesse care to driue awaye all foolerie ialousie therein, thinking it very good reason to beware there should be no violence, nor confusion in mariage: and yet as reason would, they should suffer those which were worthe to get children as it were in common, laughing at the mad follie of them which reuenge such things with warre and bloudshed, as though in that case men in no wise should haue no fellowshipp together. Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being stepped in yeres, and hauing a young wife, if seeing a fayer young man that liked him, and known with all to be of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with childe, and afterwards would auowe it for his, as if him selfe had gotten it. It was lawfull also for an honest man that loued another mans wife, for that he saue her wife, shamefast, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreate her husband to suffer him to lye with her, and that he might also plowe in that lustie grounde, and cast abroad the seede of well fauored children: which by this meane came to be common in bloude and parentage, with the most honorable and honestest persones. For first of all, *Lycurgus* did notlike that children should be priuate to any men, but that they should be common to the common weale: by which reason he would also, that such as should become citizens, should not be begotten of euery man, but of the most honestest men only. So *Lycurgus* thought also there were many foolerie vaine toys and fanfies, in the lawes and orders of other nations, touching mariage: seeing they caused their bitches and mares to be limed and couered with the fayrest dogges and goodliest stalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the masters and owners of the same: and kept their wiues notwithstanding shut vp safe vnder locke and key, for feare least other then them selues might get them with childe, although they were sickely, feeble brayned, and extreme olde. As if it were not first of all, and chiefly a discommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewise to those that bring them vp, to haue vnperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drie and withered men: and then to the contrarie, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that haue fayer and good children, borne,

Marimoniall
ceremonies in
Lacedemon.

Holijane rules
for married
couples.

Lycorgus re-
gards to any
reasons in
the common
wealth.

A borne, as gotten of like seede and men. These things were done then by naturall and ciuill reason, neuertheles they saue women were so farr of then from intreatie, as euer they were before: so as in olde time, in SPARTA, men knew not what adulterie ment. For prooue where- of, the aunswer made by *Geradas* (one of the first auncient SPARTANS) vnto a stranger, maye be alleaged: that asked him, what punishment they had for adulterers. My friend, *g* he, there be none here. But if there were? replied the stranger againe. *Marye* sayed he, then he must paye as great a bull, as standing vpon the toppes of the mountaine Taygetus, maye drinke in the riuier of Eurotas. Yea *marye*: but howe is it possible (*g* the stranger) to finde such a bull? *Geradas* laughing, aunswered him againe. And howe were it possible also to finde an adulterin SPARTA? And this is that which is found of *Lycurgus* lawes touching mariages. Furthermore, after the birthe of euery boye, the father was no more master of him, to cocker and bring him vp after his will: but he him selfe caried him to a certaine place called *Lesche*, where the eldest men of his kind being set, did viewe the childe. And if they founde him fayer, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and stronge: they gaue order he should be brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thousand partes of inheritance for his education. Contrariwise, if they founde him deformed, mishapen, or leane, or pale, they sent him to be throwen in a deepe pyrt of water, which they commonly called *Apothetes*, and as a man would saue, the common house of office: holding opinion it was neither good for the childe, nor yet for the common weale, that it should liue, considering from his birthe he was not well made, nor geuen to be stronge, healthfull, nor lustie of bodie all his life longe. For this cause therefore, the nurse after their birthe did not washe them with water simply (as they doe euery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they prooue, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they suppose, that children which are geuen to haue the falling sicknes, or otherwise to be full of reumes & sicknesses, cannot abide washing with wine, but rather drye and pyne awaye: as contrariwise the other which are healthfull, become thereby the stronger and the lustier. The nurses also of SPARTA vse a certaine manner to bring vp their children, without swadling, or binding them vp in clothes with swadling bandes, or hauing on their heades any crosse clothes: so as they made them nimble of their limmes, better shaped and goodlier of bodie. Besides that, they acquainted their children to all kinde of meates, and brought them vp without muche tendance, so as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be leste alone in the darcke, neither were they criers, wrallers, or vnhappy children, which be all tokens of base and cowardly natures. So that there were strangers, that of purpose bought nurces out of *LACONIA*, to bring vp their children: as they saue *Amycla* was one of them, which nurced *Alcibiades*. But *Pericles* his tutor, gaue him afterwarde a bonde man called *Zopyrus*, to be his master and gouernour: who had no better propertie in him, then other common slaues. This did not *Lycurgus*. For he did not put the education and gouernment of the children of SPARTA, into the handes of hyered masters or slaues bought with money: neither was it lawfull for the father him selfe to bring vp his owne childe after his owne manner and liking. For so soone as they came to feuen yeres of age, he tooke and diuided them by companies, to make them to be brought vp together, and to accustom them to playe, to learne, and to studie one with another. Then he chose out of euery company one, whom he thought to haue the best wit, and had most courage in him to fight: to whom he gaue the charge and ouersight of his owne companie. The reste had their eyes waiting allwayes on him, they did obey his commaundementes willingly, they did abide patiently all corrections he gaue them, they did suche tasks and workes as he appointed them: so that all their studie was most to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde graye headed men were present many times to see them playe, and for the most parte they gaue them occasions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better knowe and discern the naturall disposition of euery one of them, and whether they gaue any signes or F tokens in time to come, to become cowardes or valliant men. Touching learning, they had as muche as serued their turne: for the reste of their time they spent in learning howe to obey, to awaye with payne, to indure labour, to ouercome still in fight. According to their

No adulterie
known in
Sparta.

The educa-
tion of chil-
dren with the
Lacedaemo-
nians.
Lesche.

Apothetes.

Trainer takes
infant with
wine.

The Spartans
nurces.

Plaine of the
first Alcibi-
des.

Howe the La-
cedaemonians
children were
brought up.

It is a kinde
of thistle in
the Messeniz
tongue: reade
Helychias.

Irenes.
Melirenes.

The thirde-
rie of the La-
cedæmonians.

Straight dyet
causeth
growth and
height.

groweth and yeres, they dyd change the exercisies of their bodies: they dyd shauie their heads, they went barelegged, they were constrained to playe naked together the most parte of their time. After they were past twelue yeres of age, they were no longer coates: and they gaue them yerely but one seely gowne. This was the cause they were alwayes so nasty & flurty, & they neuer vsed to bathe or nuynt them selues, sauing only at certaine dayes in the yere, when they were suffered to tast of this refreshing. They laye and slept together vpon beddes of straw, which they them selues dyd make, of the toppes of reedes or canes that grewe in the riuier of Eurotas: which they were forced to goe gather and breake them selues with their handes, without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they dyd mingle thistle downe with these, which is called *Lycophonas*, because that stuffe seemeth somewhat warme of it selfe. About this time, the fauourers and likers of this prety youthe, which were commonly the lustiest and best disposed youthe of the cittie, beganne to be offer in their companie: and then the olde men tooke the better regarde vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daylie exercisies, & where their vse was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should moeke another. This dyd their olde men, not by waye of pastime only, but with such care and harty loue towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, masters, & gouernours, while they were boyes: in so much as there was neuer time nor place, where they had not allwayes some to admonishe, reprove, or correct them, if they dyd a faulte. Notwithstanding all this, there was euer one of the honestest men of the cittie, who had exprefly the charge and gouernance of these boyes. He dyd diuide them in companies, and afterwards gaue the ouersight of them, to suche a one of the boyes as was discreetest, the manliest, the most hardie, and of the best coragamongest them. They called the children that were past infancie two yeres, *Irenes*: and the greatest boyes *Melirenes*: as who would saye, ready to goe out of boyerie. This boye who was made ouerser of them, was commonly twenty yeres of age. He was their capitaine when they fought, and did commaunde them as his seruants when they were in the house: and willed them which were strongest, and the most growen, to carie wodde when they should prepare dinner or supper, and those which were least and weakest, to goe gather erbes, which they must steale or lacke them. So they went out to steale some in gardens, some at the markets, other in the halles where the feastes were kept, and men did eate together, in to the which they conueyed them selues as closely and cunningly as they could deuise: for if they were taken with the manner, they were scourged terrible, because they were so grosse and negligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They stole also all other kinde of meate, whatsoeuer they could get or laye hands on. They pried and fought all occasions howe to take and steale meate handfomely, bothe when men were a sleepe, or els that they were careless, or did not geue good hede vnto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundly, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittaunce, because necessity should driue them to venter boldly, and wit should finde out all the deuises to steale finely. This was the chiefe cause, why they gaue them so small a diet. The seconde cause was, that their bodies might growe vp higher in height. For the vitall spirities not being occupied to concoct and digest much meate, nor yet kept downe, or spread abroad by the quantitie or ouerburden thereof, doe enlarge them selues into lengthe, and shoote vp for their lightnes: and for this reason they thought the bodie did growe in height and lengthe, hauing nothing to let, or hinder the rising of the fame. It seemeth, that the same selfe cause made them fayerer also. For the bodies that are leane and slender, doe better and more easily yeld to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to euery member: and contrariwise it seemeth theye grosse, corpulent, and ouersedde bodies doe encounter nature, and be not so nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heauy substance. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a litle before their time, and be somewhat cast before they should haue bene borne, be smaller and fayerer also, and more pure commonly then other that goe their time: because the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more supple and pliant, is the easelier welded by nature, which geueth them their shape and forme. Touching the natural cause of this effect, let vs geue place to other to dispute it that will, without our further deciding of the same. But to returne to the matter of the *Lacedæmonians* children.

They

- A They dyd robbe with so great care, and feare to be discouered: that they tell of one, which hauing stolen a litle foxe, dyd hyde him vnder his cloke, and suffered him with his teethe and claws to teare out all his bellie, and neuer cryed, for feare he should haue bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he stode. This is not vncredible, by that we see younge boyes doe abide at this daye: for we haue feene diuers, which haue bidden whipping euen to death, vpon the altar of *Diana*, surnamed *Orthia*. Nowe this vnder matter, who had the charge of euery companie of these boyes, vsed after supper (sitting yet at the table) to byd one of them singe a songe: to another he put forth a question, who was to be well aduised of his answer, as for example: Who is the honestest man in the cittie: or howe thinkest thou by that such a one dyd? By this exercise they were enured from boyes state, to iudge of things well or ill done, and to vnderstand the life and gouernment of their citizens. For which of them dyd not answer quickly and directly to these questions, who is a good man, who is an honest citizen, and who not: they thought it was a signe of a dulle wit, and careless nature, not geuen to any vertue, for desire of honour and estimation. Furthermore this vnder matter was euer to waite for his answer, and to see it should be brief and well knyt vp in wordes: otherwise his punishment that answered crossly, or to litle purpose, was that his master byt him by the thumbe. This he dyd many times in the presence of the olde men and magistrates of the cittie, that they might see whether he punished them with reason or not, and according to their deservung. And though he dyd hurte him, they dyd not by and by reprove him, but when the children were gone awaye, then was he him selfe rebuked and punished, if he had corrected them to fore, or contrarily he had fauored them too much. Moreover they dyd ascribe the good or ill opinion conceaued of the children, vnto euery of their fauourers, and louers, which dyd affect and entaine them: in as much as they saye, a younge boye vpon a time fighting with another, and a crye scaping out of his mouth, which his fauourer cowardly harte dyd yelde, his fauourer & louer was straight condemned by the officers of the cittie to a fine. Albeit this loue was a thing euen incorporated into them, that the most honest and vertuousest women loued the younge maydes thus also: yet was there no ialousie nor suspition that grewe hereof, but rather to the contrarie, there grewe a maruelous mutuall loue and kyndnes betweene them, which loued in one selfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, dyd deuise howe to make the childe they loued in common, the wisest, the gentlest, and the best conditioned aboue all other. They taught these children to speake in suche sorte, that their speache had euer in it a pleasaunt grace, and in fewe wordes comprehended much matter. For *Lycurgus* ordained, a great masse and weight of iron money, should be but litle worthe, and of a small value, as we haue tolde you before: and contrarily, that speache in fewe wordes, without any affectation, should holde much deepe and graue matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long silence, should be brief and pittie in their answers. For as the feede of incontinent men which are to busie with euery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bringe forth fruite: euen so immoderate speache, full of wordes and busie tattle, bringeth forth as litle sensie. Hereof it cometh, that the answers of the *Lacedæmonians* were so shorte & witty. As they saye, king *Agis* answered on a daye an *Athenian*, who iesting at the swords
- E The *Lacedæmonians* dyd were, sayed they were so shorte, that these tumbler, and jugglers dyd swallowe them downe in the fight of all the world: and yet sayed *Agis*, we hurte our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the *Lacedæmonians* manner of speaking: which is not to speake much, but when they speake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers vnderstand them. I thincke also, that *Lycurgus* selfe, was shorte and quicke in his talke. For so a man maye coniecture by his answers which are written: as that which he made to one who earnestly prayed him to stablish a popular state in *Lacedæmonia*, that the basest might haue as great authoritie as the highest. Begynne (q he) to doe it first in thine owne house. And as that also which he answered another who asked him, why he had appointed so small things, and so litle of value to be offered to the goddes? Because (q he) we should neuer cease to honour them. And as that which he spake another time, touching fights and frays, which was: that he dyd neuer forbid his citizens any of them, but those wherein they vse to geue their hande, as you would saye to yeld. Men finde also suche like

Children exercise after their supper.

The Lacedæmonians manner of louing.

Short speache taught among the Lacedæmonians.

Lycurgus wise counsell.

Lycurgus leave re god. To growe a little in to conquest him self overcome.

aunfvers, in some of his letters written to his citizens, as when they asked him. Howe can we defende our selues against our enemies? He aunswered: If ye be poore, and one doe couerno more then another. And in another letter that was sent, where he discoufeth, whether it were requisite to inclose the citie with walles: he sayeth, can that citie be without walles, which is enuironned with men, though it be vncompaffed with stone? Neuertheles it is harde to resolve, whether those letters, and other fuche like that are shewed, be to be beleueed, or discredited to be his. But that long fpeache was much disliked, and reproued among the LACEDÆMONIANS, it is manifestly to be feene by the words, which fomme amongst them haue heretofore aunfwered. As king *Leonidas* sayd one day, to one that discoufied with him many good things, but out of fealon: friend, thou speakeft many good wordes, but to litle purpose. And *Charilaus*, nephew to *Lycurgus*, being asked why his vncl made fo fewe lawes: bicaufe sayd he, to men of fewe wordes, fewe lawes will ferue. And *Archidamidas* sayd thus to fomme, which reproued *Hecateus* the Orator, for that being bidden to fupper at one of their feasts he fpa ke not a worde al fupper time. He how can fpeake well, knoweth alfo when to fpeake. And where I haue tolde before, that in their feate and quicke aunfvers, commonly there was fome prety grace, it may be well feene and known by thefe that followe. *Demaratus* aunfwered a bulie fellowe who troubled him to much with vaine importunate queftions, asking him ftill: who was the honefteft man of LACEDÆMON? euen he that is leaft like thy felfe. And *Agis* sayd to fomme which highly prayed the ELIANS for their vpright iudgement, & iuft dealing in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (q he) if in five yerres paffe the ELIANS one daye doe good iuftice? And *Theopompus* likewise to a ftraunger, who as defirous to thew his affection he bare the LACEDÆMONIANS, told him how euery bodye called him *Philolacon* (as to faye) a louer of LACEDÆMON. It were more honeftie for thee (fayd he) to be named *Philopolites*, a louer of her citizens. And *Pliftonax* the fonne of *Paufanias*, when an Orator of ATHENS layd the LACEDÆMONIANS were vnlearned, and ignorant: thou fayest true q he, for we only of all the GRECIANS haue learned none of your ill conditions. And *Archidamidas*, to one that daunted of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enowe fayd he, to driue awaye the wicked. We maye coniecture alfo their manner of fpeaking, by their wordes in mirth, which they fpa ke sometimes playing wife: for they dyd neuer vfe to fpeake vaine wordes at randome, but it had alwayes fome fecret meaning in it, which required anothers good obferuation that would finde it. As he which was defired to goe heare the nightingall counterfeited naturally: I haue (fayd he) heard the nightingall it felfe. And another which hauing redde this infcription vpon a tumbie.

*VWhen as they had, vrell quenched tyrannie
throughout their lande, by vvorthise vvarlike pouuer,
Their happe was yet in vretched vviſe to dye,
by fealing Selynnates ftrongeſt ouer.*

They well defered death, sayd he, that dyd but quenche tyrannie: they should haue quire confumed it with fire. And one younger boye to another, promiſing to geue him fuche hardie cockes of the game, as shoul dye in the place where they fought. O geue me not thofe (fayd he) which will dye, but thofe which with fighting will kill others. Another feeing men fitting in coches and litters as they went: god forbid (fayd he) that I should euer fit in a chayer, where I could not rife to my elders. Suche were their aunfvers & encounters. So that fomme had reafon which sayd heretofore, to fpeake LACONTIAN like, was to be philofopher like: as you would faye, more to exerciſe the minde, then the bodye. Befides all this, they dyd ftudie to finge well, and to make goodly ditties and fonges. Then they fpa ke moſt properly and fearely. There was in their fongs alfo a certaine motion, I wote not what, which ftirred vp the hearers hartes, and dyd kinde defire in them to doe notable feates. Their tongue was plaine, without affectation: their matter graue and morall, conteining for the moſt parte the prayfe of thofe, which were flayne in battell for the defence of their countrie, as being happy men: & a shame to thofe that liue, which for faine hartes refuſed fo to dye, to leade a miſerable and vnfortunate life. Or els they fange howe they were the pattenes for time to come, or the right glorie of the worlde, and the true representation of vertuous men: as the fonge would beſt become their

Shorte ſen-
ſences of cer-
taine Laco-
nians.
*Leonidas.
Charilaus.
Archidamidas.*

Shorte ſen-
ſences of the
Lacemonians.
*Demaratus.
Agis.
Theopompus.*

*Pliftonax,
Paufanias
fonge.*

Archidamidas.

In the liſe of
Agisilaus.

The Lacedæ-
monians
fonger.

A their ages which dyd finge. It ſhall not be impartiſent for the better vnderſtanding hereof, to bring you here an exāple. For in their open feasts, there were alwayes three daūces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the olde men, thus beganne firſt for to finge.

*VVe haue bene young and ſtrong yea valliant heretofore,
till crooked age did holde vs backe, and bad vs doe no more.*

The young men followed after, finging:

*VVe yet are young, bolde, ſtrong, and ready to maintaine
that quarell ſtill, againſt all men that doe on earth remaine.*

The third was of children that came after and fayd:

*And vve doe hope aſ vrell, to paſſe you all at laſt,
and that the worlde ſhall wittnes be ere many yerres be paſt.*

B To conclude, who nerely will confider the wordes and makings of the LACON poets (whereof ſome are yet extant) and will marke alfo the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the found and meature whereof they marched in arraye, going to charge the enemy: he ſhall finde, that *Terpander*, and *Pindarus*, had reafon to ioyne hardynes with muſicke. For *Terpander* ſpeaking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſayeth in a place:

*This is that lande vvhich deedes of cheualtrie,
did florish moſt, in many a martiall ſeate:*

*VVhere muſicke made, her choiſe of harmonie,
and iuſtice kept her ſtately royall ſeate.*

C And *Pindarus* ſpeaking of them alfo ſayeth:

*There: graue aduife is founde in aged braynes:
there: gallant youthes, are luſty lads in dede.*

*VVhich can both ſinge, and daunce, in courtlike traires:
yet dant their foes, vvvith many a doughty dede.*

By which teſtimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and deſcribeth them to haue loued muſicke, and the warres together. For as another LACON poet ſayeth,

*It ſitteth vvell, and is a ſemelie thinge,
for ſuch as ſpend their time in ſeats of vvarre:
To haue the ſkyl, ſvverete ſuncts for to ſinge,
and touche the harpe vvvithouten iangling iarre.*

D For this cauſe therefore in all their warres, when they ſhould geue battell, the King dyd firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes, to put his ſouldiers in minde (as it ſhould ſeeme) of the diſcipline & wildome of the Muſes that they had bene brought vp in, to the end that when his ſouldiers were in the moſt extreme daunger, the Muſes ſhould preſent them ſelues before the ſouldiers eyes, to prick them forward to doe ſome noble actes of worthy memotie. In their time of warre, they dyd tollerate their young men a litle of their hard & old accuſtomed life, & ſuffered them then to trime their hearres, to haue braue armour, to weare gay apparell, & tooke as great delight therein, to ſee them gallant, & luſtie, as to behold young neyng & ſnorthing horſe, deſirous for to fight. And although from the beginning of their youth, they dyd vſe to weare longe E heares: yet were they neuer ſo carefull to combe & bruiſe their hearres, as when they ſhould to the battell. For when they dyd nointe them ſelues with ſweete oyles, & dyd ſhed their heare, remembering *Lycurgus* ſaying: who was wont to tell them, that hearres to them which were fayer, dyd make them more fayer, & to them that were fowle, they made them more ougly & dredfull. The exerciſes alfo of their bodies, were more eaſie & gentle, & not ſo hard & ſtraight in their warres, as they were in a peace: & generally, their whole manner of life was not then ſo ſtraightly vviwed, nor yet controlled: So as they only were the men of the worlde, to whom warres were made a reſt from labour, which men ordinarylie doe endure: to make them the fitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their armie was ſet in battell raye, euen in the face of the enemy, the King dyd ſtraight ſacrifice a goat vnto the goddes, & forthwith commaunded F all his ſouldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heads, & willed that the pipes ſhould ſound the ſonge of *Caſtor*: at the noyle & tune whereof, he him ſelfe beganne firſt to marche

Three daun-
ces among the
Lacedæmo-
nians.

Terpander
of the Lacedæ-
monians.

Pindarus of
the Lacedæ-
monians.

The longe
buſſes and
heare of the
Lacemonians.

How the La-
conians be-
ganne battell.
The Lacedæ-
monians
fonge when
they march-
ed. Enſt.
lib. 15.

forward. So that it was a maruelous pleasure, & likewise a dreadfull sight, to see the whole battell marche together in order, at the found of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confounde their ranckes, nor to be dismayed nor amazed themselves, but to goe on quietly & ioyfully at the founde of these pipes, to hazard themselves euen to death. For it is likely, that such corages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet overcome with much furie: but rather they haue an assured conitance & valliantnes in good hope, as those which are backed with the assisting fauour of the goddes. The King marching in this order, had allwayes some about him, which had before time wonne the prizes in games and iustes. And they saye there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great some of money at the games Olympically, not to present him selfe at them: but he refused it, liking better with great payne to winne the prise, then for much money to lose his honour. Whereupon one sayed vnto him, LACONIAN: & what hast thou gotten nowe, to carie away the prise with so much sweate? The LACONIAN answered him laughing: I shall fight in the battell, sayeth he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they dyd still fiercely and fiercelier set vpon them, and dyd neuer cease, vntill their enemies gaue waye and fled: and then they chased and followed them still, vntill such time as their ouerthrowe and flight had assured them of the victorie. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, iudging it to be no manhod, neither the parte of a noble minde, or of so wor hye a nation as the GRECIANS were, to kill and hewe in peeces, men so cattered and out of order, hauing forsaken all the hope of victorie. This fell out not only honorable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but suche as resisted stowtely, and howe they dyd let other goe which fled before them: they found it was more their benefite to flye, then to tarie and abide the strokes. Hippias the sophister sayeth, that *Lycurgus* himselfe was a very good captaine, & a great souldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fieldes: & *Phalostephanus* ascribeth to him the deuite to put horsemen in troupees & companies, which they called *Oulames*, whereof fitt men at armes was a troupe, whose manner was to put them selues in squadrōs. But *Demetrius the Phalerian* writeth otherwise, that *Lycurgus* was neuer at the warres, & that he made all his lawes and gouernment in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of warres during the playes Olympically, which they saye he deuised, doeth shew in appaurance that he was a gentle natured man, & one that loued quietnes and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongest whom *Hermippus* was one) saye, he was not with *Iphitus* at the first beginning when he ordeined the playes Olympically, but that by chance he happened to come thither, passing by in his iorney only, & that he stayed there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voyce of a man behinde him, saying, he maruelled much why he dyd not persuade his cittizens also to be parteners of this newe deuise: and turning backe to see who it was that spake to him, he sawe no bodye. Whereupon he tooke a conceit that it was a speache from the goddes: & went therefore presently to seeke out *Iphitus*, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwards were farre more famous, better ordered, & more statly then before. But to returne againe to the LACEDÆMONIANS: their discipline & order of life continued still, after they were full grown men. For it was not lawfull for any man to lue as he listed, but they were within their citie, as if they had bene in a campe, where euery man knoweth what allowance he hath to lue withall, & what busines he hath els to doe in his calling. To be shorte, they were all of this minde, that they were not borne to serue them selues, but to serue their countrie. Therefore if they were commaunded nothing els, they went continually to fee what the children dyd, and to teache them somewhat which might profit the common weale, or els they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which *Lycurgus* euer brought into his citie, was the great rest and leysure which he made his cittizens to haue, only forbidding them that they should not prolesse any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goodes were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bonde men by the warres, dyd till their groundes, and yielded them a certaine reuenue euery yere. And as touching this matter, they tell of a LACEDÆMONIAN, who being on a daye at ATHENS where the lawe was pleaded, dyd vnderstand that a citizen there was condemned for Idleness, and howe he went home

How farre the
Lacedæmonians dyd
pursue their
enemies.

Lycurgus was
a very good
captaine.
Oulames.

The Lacedæmonians
opinion, that
serue their
countrie.

The rest and
leisure of the
Lacedæmonians.

Idle liues
punished as
Advers.

A to his house very sorrowfully, accompanied with his friends which were forie for him, & greedily lamented his ill happe. The LACEDÆMONIAN then prayed those which were about him, to shewe him the man condemned for liuing nobly, and like a gentleman. I haue alledged this, to shew how he thought it a vile & seruill thing to exercise any handy craft, or to worke any thing by hand to get money. For futes in lawe, a man maye be well assured that they were banished with the golde & siluer from LACEDÆMON, considering now there was no more auarice nor couetousnes there, nor yet pouertie nor lacke, but equalitie with aboundsance, & quiet life with fortuitie. All other times but when they had warres, they followed daunting, feastes, playes, banquetts, hunting, or other exercises of bodye, & meetings to passe the time away. For the younge men vntill they came to thirtie yeres of age, neuer went into the market to buye any prouision B or things for the house, but dyd their fathers or their friends busines: naye it was a shame for the oldest men, to hawnte the market to often. As to the contrary, it was honorable for them to be present at the shewe place the most parte of the daye, where they diuersely exercised their bodies, & likewise to be at the places of assembly, there to spend time with talking together, & discouraging honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffike, or money. For all their talke (for the most parte) was about the praying of some honest thing, or sportingwise to reprove some dishonestie, which alwayes caried with it some gentle lesson or monition by the waye. For *Lycurgus* was not such a fower man, as they neuer sawe him laugh: but as *Sophistus* writeth, it was he that first sacrificed to the litle god of laughter, which is at LACEDÆMON, because he would mingle their feastes and assemblies with mirth, as a pleasant C sawce to ease the trouble of their strickt and harde life. To be briefe, he did accustom his cittizens so, that they neither would nor could liue alone, but were in manner as men incorporated one with another, and were allwayes in company together, as the bees be about their master bee: still in a continuall loue to serue their countrie, to winne honour, & to aduaunce the common weale. Which affection of theirs is playne & easely seene to be imprinted in them by certain of their answers, as in that which *Pedareus* sayed on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery and iocund as might be, sayed: It did him good to see there were three hundred founde better in the citie than him selfe. *Pisistratidas* also being sent ambassadour with certain other to the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, the PERSIAN lordes asked him, if they came of their owne desire, or D whether they were sent from the whole state: if we obtaine, sayed he, it is from the state: if we be denied, then we come of our selues. And *Argileonida* the mother of *Brasidas*, asked some that went to visite her after they were returned home to LACEDÆMON from their iorney to AMPHIPOLIS, if her sonne died like a man, and a worthy SPARTAN. And they straight did commend him highly, saying: there was not left in all LACEDÆMON suche a valliant man. She replied vnto them. Saye not so, my friends. I praye you: for *Brasidas* was in dede a valliant man, but the country of LACONIA hath many moe yet valliantier than he was. Now touching their Senate: *Lycurgus* was the first that erected it among them. The first that were thereof, were *Lycurgus* chief ayders & assisters of that erection, as we haue declared before: but afterwards he ordeined, that when any of those first should happen to dye, they should choose in his E place the most honest reported man in the citie, so he were three score yere olde and aboue. This was the noblest glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and prise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest amongest the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for libertie to speake, foureraine authoritie to gouerne, and princely power ouer the common weale, the honour, the life, and the goodes of the whole cittizens: howbeit the election was made after this sorte. The people first assembled in the market place, where there were some appointed and shut vp thereabout in a house, from where they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assembled, but onely they might heare the noyse which they made there. For the people by their crye and shoute, did declare whom they did choofe, and whom they did refuse of the competitorrs, as they vsed F to shewe their liking by the like crye in other things. The competitorrs were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the midst of the assemblee of the people, and sayed neuer a worde.

Senators in lawe
were awaye
with golde &
siluer that
was banished.
How they spent
the time in
Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians liued
not primarily
to their selues
in the
common weale.
Pedareus
sayeth.

The manner
of choosing
the Senate in
Sparta.

ple after, that they would keepe his lawes and ordinance without chaunging or altering any thing, vntill he did retorne againe. This done, he went to the citie of DELPHES, where so lone as he arriued, he sacrificed in the temple to *Apollo*, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man a happy life. *Apollo* made him answer, his lawes were very good; and that his citiekeeping them, should be the most renowned of the worlde. *Lycurgus* caused this oracle to be written, which he sent to SPARTA. After he sacrificed to *Apollo* againe: and then taking leaue of his friendes, and of his sonne, he determined to dye, because his citizezns should neuer be releafed of the othe they had made betwene his handes. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath strength enough to liue longer: and yet was olde enough also to dye if he would. Wherefore finding him selfe happy to haue obtained his desire, he willingly pynd him selfe to death, by abstinence, and lacke of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit euer to the common weale, and that the end of their life should be no more idle, or vnprofitable, then the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious actes, to haue their death extolled for worthines. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and crowne of his felicitie, after he had made and ordeined so many good and notable lawes, for the honour and benefit of his countrie: and should be as a seale of confirmation of his lawes, and the continuall preferitour of his citie, considering all his citizezns had sworne to keepe them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceaued of his hope, for his citie was the chiefe of the worlde, in glorie and honour of gouernment, by the space of fife hundred yeres. For so long his citie kept his lawes without any chaunge or alteration by any of the Kings successours, vntill king *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* beganne to reigne. For the creation of the *Ephores*, did not breake, nor discontinue any of the lawes of *Lycurgus*, but reduced them rather to a more straight and strickt order: although it seemed at the first that the *Ephores* were ordeined, for the maintenance & defence of the libertie of the people, whereas in deede they did also strengthen the authoritie of the Kings and Senate. Nowe in the raigne of king *Agis*, gold and siluer beganne first to creepe in againe to the citie of SPARTA, by means of *Lyfander*. With money there came in straight couetousnes, and greedines to get and gather. And although *Lyfander* was not desirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and couetousnes into the countrie, and filled the same with all finenes, by bringing in great store of golde and siluer from the warres, directly against the lawes and ordinance of *Lycurgus*. The which so long as they were in force and vse, it appered that the gouernment of SPARTA seemed not to be a pollicy or common weale, but rather a certaine holy place & order of religion. And euen as the Poets sayne, that *Hercules* went through the world with his clubbe, and Lyons skynne, punishing cruell robbers and vnnaturall tyrannes: so in like case with a litle crowe of parchment, and a poore cape, did the SPARTANS commaund and geue lawes, to all the rest of GRECE, euen with their good liking and consent. And they chafed the tyrannes away, which vsurped tyrannicall power ouer any of their cities, and did decide all controuersies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one souldier, but only a simple poore ambassadour. At whose commaundement, the people presently assembled like the bees, which gather together about their King, so soone as they spye him: they did then so greatly reuerence the good gouernment & iustice of the SPARTANS. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which saye, the citie of LACEDEMON could obey well, but not commaunde: and for prooffe they alleage wordes of king *Theopompus*, who answered one which sayd, that SPARTA was maintained, because the Kings could commaund well. Naye the rather (sayd he) because the citizezns can obey well. For men commonly disdaine to obey those, which are not wise in commaunding. So that the faithfull obedience of the subiectes, dependeth much vpon the sufficient commaundement of the wise prince. For he that directeth well, must needs be well obeyed. For like as the arte of a good rider, is to make his horse gentle, and ready at commaundement: euen so the chiefe point belonging to a prince, is to teach his subiects to obey. Wherefore the LACEDEMONIANS procured, that not only F other people did willingly obey them, but also desired to be ruled, and commaunded by them. For they asked them, neither shippes nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men of

Lycurgus
death.

Sparta flourisheth
fiftye hundred yeres.
Lycurgus
lawes were
bracke in king
Agis time, by
Lyfander
meanes.
Money corrupteth
Lycurgus lawes.

See more in
Lyfanders life.
Lyfander
brought in riches
against
into Sparta.

Theopompus
wordes of
obeying and
commaunding.

Good gouernment
breedeth
due obedience.

A of warre to compell them, but only they sent one citize of SPARTA to gouerne them, to whom all the other people submitted them selues, and were holpen by him in their necessitie, as fearing and reuerencing him. In this wise the SICILIANS were holpen by *Gysippus*, the CHALCIDIANS by *Bradus*, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by *Lyfander*, *Callistratus*, and by *Agessilaus*, who were called the reformers and directers of princes, peoples, and Kings, vnto whom they were sent here and there: but euer they had their eye vpon the citie of SPARTA, as vpon the most perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to gouerne a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery wordes spoken in iest by *Stratonice*: Who said he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their sacrifices, and the EOLIANS to tend their games: and if they made any fault therein, the LACEDEMONIANS should be well whipped. That B was merely spoken, and in a iesting manner. But *Antisthenes* (the philosopher and one of *Socrates* scholes) seeing the THEBANS growen very hauie & glorious, after that they had conquered the LACEDEMONIANS in the iorney of LEVCTRES: me thinketh sayed he, these THEBANS here doe like the schoole boyes, which bragge and reioyce when they haue a litle beaten their master. But this was not *Lycurgus* meaning, to haue his citie to commaunde many. But he thought the felicitie of a citie, as of a priuate man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the vnitie of the inhabitants thereof. He framed his common weale to this end, that his citizezns should be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might mainteine and keepe them selues long in safetie. The selfe same intention had *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zenon*, in setting forth their bookes, which they wrote C of the gouernment of common weales: and so had likewise many other great and learned men which haue written of the same matter. Howbeit they only left behinde them, wordes, and written bookes: but *Lycurgus* contrariwise, left no written bookes nor pamphlets, but stablished and left behinde him, a royall forme of gouernment, which no man euer before had inuented, nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainly see, a whole citie liue together, and gouerne it selfe philosophically, according to the true rules and preceptes of perfect wisdom: which imagined, that true wisdom was a thing hanging in the ayre, and could not visiblie be seene in the worlde. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glorie all those, which euer tooke vpon them to write or stablish the gouernment of a common weale. And therefore sayeth *Aristotle*, that after his death they did him lesse honour in LACEDEMONIA, D then he had deserued: albeit they did him all the honour they possibly could deuise. And yet they buylt a temple for him, and made solemne sacrifice to him euery yere, as vnto a god. More, they saye, that when the ashes of his bodie were brought to SPARTA, there fell straight lightning vpon his tumbere where they were put: which they had not often seene to happen, to other men of name after their decease, sauing only to the poet *Euripides*, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried neere the citie of ARETHUSA. The which is some manifest argument, for suche as loue the Poet, to laye against those which somewhat depraue him, seeing this signe came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well beloued man of the goddes. Some saye *Lycurgus* died in the citie of CIRRA. But *Apolothemis* sayeth, he died in ELIDA. *Timon* and *Aristoxenus* writte, he ended his dayes in CRETA. And *Aristoxenus* E sayeth further, that those of the Ile of CRETA doe shewe his graue in the place, which they call *Pergamia*, by the broad high wayes side. He left one only begotten sonne named *Antisthenes*, who died without issue, so that his house and name sayled with him. But his neere kinsmen and famillier friendes, did set vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they assembled, were called the *Lyurgides*. There is another *Aristocrates* (the sonne of *Hipparchus*) who sayeth, that he being dead in CRETA, his friendes burned his bodie, and afterwards threwe his ashes into the sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any parte of him should at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitants would haue sayed he was returned againe, and thereby would haue thought them selues discharged of their othe, and might haue F lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and ende of *Lycurgus* life.

The ende of *Lycurgus* life.

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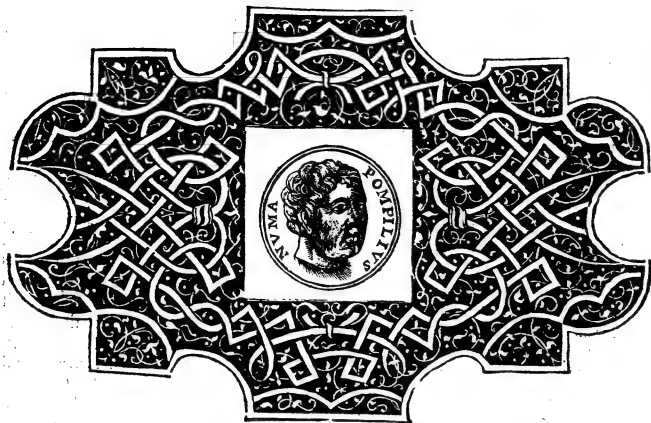
Antisthenes
Socrates
scholes
wordes.

The foundation
of a common
weale.

Divine
honours to *Lycurgus*
after
his death.

Antisthenes
Lycurgus sonne.

THE LIFE OF Numa Pompilius.



In what time
Numa was
Givens de Or.
in & Trajan.
in. 11. 11.
Lia. 11. 11.
Lib. 2.



THE Historiographers differ maruelously of the time, in which *Numa Pompilius* reigned King, albeit some will deriue from him many noble houfes descended in *Rome*. For one *Clodius*, who wrote the booke intituled the table of time, affirmeth that the auncient registers of the citie of *Rome* were lost when it was taken and sacked by the *Gayles*: and that those which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratifie some, which haue thrust in auncient houfes and families of the first *Romaines*, that concerne nothing them whom they ment to represent. On the other side, although the common opinion be, that *Numa* was a familer friend and scholler of *Pythagoras* the philosopher, yet some saye he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. **B** And yet mainteining that it is possible enough, that he was fowell borne, and had such perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer needed any master: & though he had needed, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this King vnto some other foreane person, that was more excellent then *Pythagoras*. Other saye, that *Pythagoras* the philosopher was long time after the raigne of *Numa*, & well mighte five ages after him. Howbeit other saye, there was another *Pythagoras* borne in *Sparta* (who hauing wonne the pryfe of running at the games Olympicall in the sixteenth Olympiade, & the third yere of *Numaes* raigne) did come into *Italye*, where he kept much about *Numa*, & did assist & helpe him in the gouerning & ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many customes yet of the *Laconianians*, mingled with the *Romaines*, which this second *Pythagoras* was sayed to haue taught him. **C** Neuertheles it is not confessed that *Numa* was borne of the *Sabyne*s, which they saye are descended from the *Lacedemonians*. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when *Numa* was, and chiefly for suche as will followe the rolle or table of those, which from Olympiades to Olympiades haue wonne the pryfes of games Olympicall: considering the rolle or table that they haue at this present, was very lately published by one *Hippias* an *Elian*, who deliuereth no reason or argument of necessitie, why it should be taken for an vndoubted trothe, which he in that sorte hath gathered. Yet we will not leaue to put in writing those things wor-

this

At this of memorie, which we could gather by any meanes of king *Numa*, beginning at that place which we thought to be meetest. It was nowe sithence *Rome* was buylt, seuen and thirtie yeres (for so long time reigned *Romulus*) when *Romulus* the fift of the moneth of Iuly (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a solemne sacrifice without the citie, neere to a certaine place commonly called, the goate marthe. As all the whole Senate, with the most parte of the people were present at this sacrifice, sodainly there rose in the ayer a very great tempest, and a maruelous darcke thicke clowde, which fell on the earth with such boylterous windes, stormes, lightnings, and thunder: that the poore common people being affrayed of so fore a tempest, disperfed them selues sodainly, running here and there for succour, and therewithall king *Romulus* vanished away in such forte, that he was neuer after seene aliuie nor dead. This brought the Senatours, and noble men whom they called *Patricians*, into great suspicion. And there ranne a fowle tale among the common people, howe they had a long time borne very impaciently to be subiects to a King, because them selues would haue had and taken vpon them some soueraine authoritie, and that for this cause they had killed king *Romulus*. Adding somewhat more vnto it, howe a litle before he had vied them more roughly, and commaunded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Neuertheles they found the meanes to quenche all these bruits and murmurings, by doing diuine honour and sacrifice vnto him, as one not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the noblest men among them called *Proculus* came in, and by othe affirmed before all the people, that he sawe *Romulus* ascending vp into heauen, armed at all peces, and that he heard a voyce saye: **C** from thenceforth call him *Quirinus*. This being thus appeased, there sprang vp another trouble, to knowe whom they should choose in his place. For the strangers which were come then from other places to dwell in *Rome*, were not yet thoroughly ioyned to the naturall borne *Romaines*: in so muche, as the common people dyd not only wauer, and stagger vp and down in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many & of diuers nations) did enter into a suspicion one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessitie they must choose a King: howbeit in the rest they differed much, not only whom they should choose, but also of what nation he should be. For those which were the first founders and buylders of the citie of *Rome* with *Romulus*, could in no wise abide, nor suffer, that the *Sabyne*s (to whom they had diuided parte of their landes, and a mytie of their citie) should attempt **D** and presume to commaund them, whom they dyd receyue and associate into their company and felowshippe. The *Sabyne*s alledged on thother side for them, a good reason, and such as caried great probabilitie. Which was, that neuer sence the death of their king *Tatius*, they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted king *Romulus*, but had suffered him to raighe peaceably: and therefore *Romulus* being nowe deceased, reason would that the newe King should be chosen of their nation. And that albeit the *Romaines* had receyued them into their citie, they could not say therefore, that in time of this association, they were lesse to be reckoned of in any thing, than them selues. Further they added, that in ioyning with them, the *Romaines* had doubly increased their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deserued the honour and title of a cime. These were the causes of their contention. **E** But to preuent that of this contention there might growe no confusion in the citie, if it should remaine without an head to commaund: the Senatours which were a hundred and fiftie in number, gaue counsell that euery one of them by turnes, one after another, should carie the royall state of the King, and all the shewes and ornaments of his maiestie, and should doe the ordinarie sacrifices of the King, and dispatche all causes fixe howers in the daye, and fixe howers in the night, as the King before had vied. Thus they thought it best to deuide the rule, that one might haue as much power as the other, as well in respect of them selues, as also for the sake of the people. For they imagined, that the chaunging and remouing thus of this regall dignitie, and passing it from man to man, would cleane take away enuie among them, and make euery of them to rule temperately, and vprightly see, that in one, and the selfe same daye **F** and night, euery of them should be a King and priuate persone also. The *Romaines* call this manner of regiment in vacation, *Interregnum*: as you would saye, rule for the time. Nowe albeit their gouernment was very modest and ciuill, yet they could not for all this

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The death of
Romulus.

In the life of
Romulus he is
named Proculus.

Diffension as
Rome about
choosing of
their King.

the death
of Romulus.

Lucretia
Dionysius
200.

Plutarch in the
life of Romulus
agrees with Dionysius.
The death of
Romulus is
Interregnum.

keepe them selues from falling into the suspition, and slander of the people: who gaue it out straight, that this was a fine deuise of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the Realme into a few noble mens hands, to the ende that the whole authoritie and gouernment of all publicke causes, should remaine still in them selues, because it grieved them to be subiect to a King. And in the ende, the two partes of the cittie came to this agreement: that the one parte should choose one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This course they liked very well, aswell for the pacification of present sturre and disention amongst them selues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and furring vp a likenes of goodwill in the King that thus indifferently should be chosen: whereby he should loue the one parte for that they had chosen him, and likewise the other parte for that he was of their nation. The S A B Y N E S were the first, which referred the election to the R O M A I N E S choise: and the R O M A I N E S thought it better to chuse one of the nation of the S A B Y N E S, then to haue a R O M A I N E chosen by the S A B Y N E S. After they had consulted, they determined amongst them selues: and did choose *Numa Pompilius* one of the bodie of the S A B Y N E S to be King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at R O M E, howbeit he was a man so famous for his vertue, that the S A B Y N E S so soone as they named him, did receyue him more willingly, then they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their election, the first and chiefe perlones of the one & the other side, were chosen out to goe vnto him. Now *Numa Pompilius* was borne in one of the chiefe and best citties which the S A B Y N E S had, called *Cures*, whereupon the R O M A I N E S, and their fellowes the S A B Y N E S, were called afterwards *Quirites*, and he was the sonne of *Pomponius* a noble man, the youngest of foure brethern: being by the secret working of the goddess, borne on the very daye, on the which R O M E was first founded by *Romulus*, which was the one and twenty daye of Aprill. This man being naturally geuen and inclined vnto all vertue, did yet increase the same, by studie, and all kynde of good discipline: and by the exercise thereof, and of true pacience, and right philosophie, he did maruelously adorne him selfe and his manners. For he did not only clere his soule, and minde, of all passions and vices commonly vsed in the worlde: but he conquered in him selfe all heates, violence, & couetousnes. And would neither seeke nor vsurpe, that which was an other mans, a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people: but thought that to be the true, and right victorie in man, first to conquer and commaund him selfe by iudgement & reason, & then to subdue all couetousnes & greedines. Hauing therefore this opinion, he would in D no wife haue in his house any superfluitie or finenes. He became to euery man that would employe him (aswell stranger as his owne countrie man) a wife counsaillour, & an vpright iudge. He bestowed his leysure, not to followe his owne delight, or to gather goods together: but to serue the goddess, & to behold their celestiall nature and power, as much as mans reason & vnderstanding could comprehend. Thereby he got so great a name & reputation, that *Tatius* (which was king of R O M E with *Romulus*) hauing but one onely daughter called *Tatia*, made him his sonne in law. Howbeit this marriage put him in no such iolity, that he would dwell at R O M E with his father in lawe, but rather kept at home at his own house in the countie of the S A B Y N E S, there to serue & cherish his olde father with his wife *Tatia*: who for her parte also liked better, to liue quietly with her husband being a priuate man, then to goe to R O M E where he might haue liued in much honour and glorie, by meanes of the King her father. She died as it is reported, 13. yeres after he was married. After her death, *Numa* leauing to dwell in the cittie, was better contented to liue in the country alone, & solitarie, & gaue him selfe to walke much in the fields & woddes consecrated to the gods, as one desirous to leade alone life, farre from the companie of men. Whereupon was raised (in my opinion) that which is spoken of him, & of the goddess *Egeria*. That it was not for any straungenes, or melancholines of nature, that *Numa* withdrew him self from the conseruation & companie of men, but because he had found another more honorable & holy society of the *Nymphes*, & goddess *Egeria*, who had done him, as they saye, that honour, as to make him her husband: with who as his beloued darling it is sayed he enioyed happy dayes, & by dayly frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the loue & knowledge of all celestiall things. Surely, these deuises are much like vnto certain old fables of the *Phrygians*, which they hauing learned from the father to the sonne, doe loue to tell of one *Atis*: of the *Babymians*, of one

Numa chosen king.

Numa borne in the countie of Cures, Quirites why so called.

The life and manners of Numa before his reigne.

Tatia the wife of Numa.

Numa conversant with the goddess Egeria.

A of one *Herodotus*: of the *Archadians*, of one *Endymion*: and of many other such like men, who in their liues were taken for sayntes, and beloued of the goddess. Notwithstanding, it is likely, that the goddess loue neither birdes, nor horse, but men, and haue sometimes a liking to be familiar with perfect goodmen, and doe not disdaine sometime the conseruation of such as be holie, religious, and deuout. But to beleuee the goddess haue carnall knowledge, and doe delight in the outward beawtie of creatures, that seemeth to carie a very harde beliefe. Yet the wise *Egyptians* thinke it probable enough and likely, that the spirit of the goddess hath geuen originall of generation to women, and doe beget fruite of their bodies: howbeit they holde that a man can haue no corporall companie with any diuine nature. Wherein they doe not consider, that euery thing that ioyneth together, doth deliuer againe a like substance, to that wherewith it was ioyned. This notwithstanding, it is mete we should beleuee the gods beare good will to men, and that of it doth spring their loue, whereby men saye the goddess loue those whose manners they purifie, and inspire with vertue. And they doe not offende, which sayne, that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus*, and *Admetus*, were sometimes the louers of *Apollo*, and also *Hippolytus* the *Sicyonian*: of whom they report, that euer when he passed ouer the arme of the sea which lieth betweene the citties of *Sicyona*, and of *Cirraha*, the god which knewe he came, reioyced, and caused *Pythia* the propheteesse to pronounce these heroycall verses,

Goddess familiar with men.

I knowe full well, my deare Hippolytus, returns by sea, my minde diuineeth thus.

Pythia be beloued of the goddess.

It is sayd also that *Pan* was in loue with *Pindarus* and his verses, and that the goddess honored C the poets *Hesiodus*, & *Archilocus*, after their death by the *Muses*. They saye moreover, that *Aesculapius* laye with *Sophocles* in his life time, and at this daye they doe yet shewe many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honorably buried. Nowe if they graunte, that such things maye be true: how can we refuse to beleuee, that some goddess haue bene familiar with *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroastres*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and such other like personages, which haue gouerned kingdomes, & stablished common weales? and it is not vnlike that the goddess in deepe dyd company with them, to inspire and teache them many notable things, and that they did drawe neere vnto these Poets, & players of the harpe, that made and played many dolefull and ioyfull ditties, at the least for their sporte and pleasure onely, if euer they came neere them. Neuertheles if any man be of other opinion, the waye is open and D large as *Bacchylides* sayed, to thinke and saye as he list. For my selfe I doe finde, that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other suche persones, not to be without likelihood and probability: who hauing to gouerne rude, churllike, & stiffe necked people, and purposing to bring in straunge nouelties into the governments of their countries, did sayne wisely to haue conference with the gods, considering this sayning fell to be profitable & beneficiall to those them selues, whom they made to beleuee the same. But to returne to our historie. *Numa* was forty yeres olde, when the ambassadours of R O M E were sent to present the Kingdome vnto him, & to intreate him to accept thereof. *Proclus*, and *Velsus*, were the ambassadours that were sent. One of the which the people looked should haue bene chosen for King, because those of *Romulus* side, did fauour muche *Proclus*: and those of *Tatius* parte fauored *Velsus*. Nowe they vsed no E long speache vnto him, because they thought he would haue bene glad of suche a great good fortune. But contrarily it was in deepe a very hard thing, & required great perswasions, & much intreatie, to moue a man which had allwayes liued quietly, & at ease, to accept the regiment of a cittie, which as a man would saye, had bene raysed vp and grown by warres, and martiall dedes. Wherefore he answered them in the presence of his father, and one other of his kinsmen called *Martius* in this sorte. Change & alteration of mans life is euer dangerous: but for him that lacketh nothing necessarie, nor hath cause to complaine of his present state, it is a great follie to leaue his olde acquainted trade of life, & to enter into another newe and vknowne, if there were no other but this only respect: that he leaueth a certaintie, to venter vpon an vncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the daungers & perills of this kingdom which F they offer me, are not altogether vncertaine, if we wil looke backe what happened vnto *Romulus*. Who was not vn suspected to haue layed waite, to haue had *Tatius* his fellow & copanion murdered: & now after *Romulus* death, the Senators selues are mistrusted to haue killed him on the

Proclus and Velsus ambassadours to offer Numa the kingdom.

The oration of Numa to the ambassadors refusing to be King.

other side by treason. And yet they saye it, and singe in euery where: that *Romulus* was the sonne of a god, that at his birth he was miraculously preserved, and afterwards he was as incredible brought vp. Whereas for my owne parte, I doe confesse, *he was begotten by a mortall man*, and was fostered, brought vp, and taught by men as you know: and these fewe qualities which they praye & commend in me, are conditions farr vnmeet for a man that is to raigne. I neuer loued a solitarie life, quiet and studie, and did exempt my selfe from worldly causes. All my life time I haue sought and loued peace aboue all things, and neuer had to doe with any warres. My conuersation hath bene to companie with men, which meete only to serue & honour the goddes, or to laughe and be merie one with another, or els to spende their time in their priuate affayres, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas *Romulus* (my *ROMAINE* lordes) hath left you many warres begonne, which peradventure you could be contented to spare: yet now to maintaine the same, your citie had neede of a martiall King, active, & strong of bodye. Your people moreover, through long custome, and the great increase they are geuen vnto by feates of armes, desire nought els perhappes but warres: and it is plainly seene, they seeke still to growe, and command their neighbours. So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a mere mockerie for me, to goe to teach a citie at this present to serue the goddes, to loue iustice, to hate warres, and to fyve violence: when it rather hath neede of a conquering capitaine, then of a peaceable King. These and suche other like reasons *Numa* alleged, to discharge him selfe of the Kingdome which they offered him. Howbeit the ambassadours of the *ROMAINE*s most humbly belought and prayed him with all instance possible, that he would not be the cause of another newe stirre, and commotion among them, seeing both partes in the citie haue geuen their consent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreover, when the ambassadours had left him vpon this sute, his father, and *Martius* his kinsman, beganne also priuately to perswade him, that he should not refuse so good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his present state, and desired to be no richer than he was, nor coveted no princely honour nor glorie, because he sought only most famous vertue: yet he must needs thincke, that to rule well, was to doe the goddes good seruice, whose will it was to employe the iustice they knewe in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refuse not therefore (say they) this royall dignitie, which to a graue and wise man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable workes and fruites. There you maye doe noble seruice to the godds, to humble the hearres of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readily turne, and easily conforme them selues vnto the nature of their prince. They dearely loued *Tatius*, although he was a stranger: they haue consecrated a memorie to *Romulus* with diuine honours, which they make vnto him at this daye. And it maye be, that the people seeing them selues conquerors, will be full enough of warres: and the *ROMAINE*s being now full of spoyle & triumphes, will be glad to haue a gentle prince, and one that loueth iustice, that they maye thenceforth liue in peace, vnder good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hartes be still full of heate and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their desire to make warres some other waye, when a man hathe the bridle in his owne handes to doe it, and to be a meane in the meane time to ioyne the countrey, and all the nation of the *SABYNE*s, in perpetual loue and amitie, with so mighty and flourishing a citie? besides all these persuations and reasons, there were many signes also (as they saye) which promised him good lucke, together with the earnest affection and liking of his owne countie citizens. Who, so soone as they vnderstoode the coming, and commission of the ambassadours of *ROME*, they importunately desired him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more straightly vnite and incorporate them together with the *ROMAINE*s. Whereupon, *Numa* accepted the Kingdome. Then after he had done sacrifice to the goddes, he set forwardes on his journey towards *ROME*: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonderfull desire to see him. The women at his entrie, went blessing of him, and singing of his prayles. They dyd sacrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to be as ioyfull and glad: as if a newe Realme, and not a newe King, had bene come to the citie of *ROME*. Thus was he brought with this open ioye,

and

A and reioycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called *Spirius Vettius*, made them pronounce his open election: and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignitie of the King. But he him selfe commaunded they should be stayed a while, saying: He must first be confirmed King by the goddes. Then he tooke the wife men & priests, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which that time was yet called mounte *Tarpeian*. And there, the chiefe of the soothsayers called *Augures*, turned him towards the south, hauing his face couered with a veyle, and stoode behinde him, laying his right hande vpon his heade, and praying to the goddes that it would please them to declare their willes by flying of birdes, or some other token concerning this election: and so the soothsayer cast his eyes all about, as farre as he could possiblye discern. During all this time there was a marvelous silence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were assembled there together, attending with great deuotion what the issue of this diuination would be vntill there appeared vnto them on the right hande, good and lucky birdes, which did confirme the election. Then *Numa* putting on his regall robes, came downe from mounte *Tarpeian*, into the market place, where all the people receyued him with wonderfull shewes of ioye, as a man the most holy, and best beloued of the goddes that they could haue chosen. So hauing taken the royall seate of the Kingdome, his first acte was this. That he discharged the garde of the three hundred fouldiers, which *Romulus* had allwayes about his person, called *Celeres*: saying, he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which should mistrust him. His second acte was, that he did adde to the two priests of *Iupiter & Mars*, a thirde, in the honour of *Romulus*, who was called *Flamen Quirinalis*. For the ancient *ROMAINE*s also called their priests, instituted in the olde time, *Flamines*, by reason of certaine litle narrowe hattes which they did weare on their heades, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for *Pilos* in Greeke signifieth a hatte. And at that time (as they saye) there were many moe Greeke wordes mingled with the Latine, then there are at this daye. For they called the mantells the Kings did weare *Lanas*. And *Iuba* sayeth that it is the very same which the *GRECIANS* call *Chlenas*, and that the younge boye which was a seruante in the temple of *Iupiter*, was called *Camillus*, as some of the *GRECIANS* doe yet call the god *Mercurie*, because he is seruant of the godds. Now *Numa* hauing done these things at his first entrie into his Kingdome, still to winne further fauour and goodwill of the people: beganne immediately to frame his citizens to a certaine ciuilitie, being as iron wrought to softenes, and brought them from their violent and warlike desires, to temperate and ciuill manners. For out of doubt, *ROME* was properly that, which *Plato* ascribeth to a citie full of trouble and pryde. For, first it was founded by the most coragious and warlike men of the worlde, which from all partes were gathered there together, in a most desperate boldnes: and afterwards it increased, and grew strong, by armes and continuall warres, like as pyles driuen into the grounde, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and sticke the faster. Wherefore *Numa* iudging it no small light enterprife, to plucke downe the hawty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them vnto a sobre and quiet life: dyd seeme to worcke it by means of the goddes, with drawing them on thereto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their whotte and fierce corages to fight, with sacrifices, feastes, dauncings, and common processions, wherein he celebrated euery him selfe. In the which together with their deuotion, there was mingled now and then, pastime and pleasure: and sometimes he layed the terrour and feare of the goddes before their eyes, making them beleue that he had seene straunge visions, or that he had heard voyces, by which the goddes dyd threaten them with some great troubles and plagues, allwayes to pull downe and humble their heartes, vnto the feare of the goddes. This was the cause why they thought afterwards that he had learned his wisdom of *Pythagoras* the philosopher: because the greatest parte of the philosophie of the one, and of the government of the other, consisted in suche ceremonies, and diuine studies. They reporte also that *Numa* dyd put on the outwarde shewe and semblance of *Pythagoras* holines, as following his intention and example. For *Pythagoras* as they saye, made an eagle to tame and gentle, that she would stoupe, and come downe to him by certaine voyces, as she flew in the ayer ouer his head. And that

Numa was consecrated by the Augures.

The garde of Celeres discharged by Numa. Flamen Quirinalis instituted by Numa.

Numa induceth ciuill & quiet life. Plato de Rep. lib. 2.

Numa and Pythagoras institutions muche alike.

Numa begins to bring backe home with service of the goddes.

passing through the assembly of the games Olympickall, he shewed her thighe of golde, and many other prety feates and deedes they tell of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which *Timon Philiastan* hath written these verses of him:

Pythagoras which loved to dwell in dignitie,
and had an harte to glorie bent, and past in pollicie,
Muche like a man which sought by charming to enchaunte,
did use this arte, to winne mens minde, which unto him did haunte.
His graue and pleasaunt tongue in sugred speache did flourish,
whereby he drew most minde of men, to bent of his owne bovrre.

Euen so the fayned fable of *Numa*, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the loue of a goddesse, or some *Nympe* of the mountaine: with whom he seemed to haue certaine secret meetings and talke, whereof we haue spoken before. And it is sayed he much frequented the Muses in the wooddes. For he would saye, he had the most parte of his reuelations of the Muses, and he taught the *ROMAINEs* to reuerence one of them aboute all the rest, who was called *Tacita*, as ye would saye, ladye silence. It seemeth he inuented this, after the example of *Pythagoras*, who did so specially command, and recomend silence vnto his schollers. Again, if we consider what *Numa* ordeined concerning images, and the representation of the goddes, it is altogether agreeable vnto the doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who thought that god was neither sensible, nor mortall, but inuisible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And *Numa* dyd forbid the *ROMAINEs* also to beleue, that god had euer forme, or likenes of beast or man. So that in those former times, there was in *Rome* no image of god, either painted or grauen: and it was from the beginning a hundred three score & tenne yeres, that they had buylt temples & chapels vnto the godds in *Rome*, and yet there was neither picture nor image of god within them. For they tooke it at the first for a sacrilege, to present heauenly things by earthly formes: seeing we cannot possibly any waye attaine to the knowledge of god, but in minde and vnderstanding. The very sacrifices which *Numa* ordeined, were altogether agreeable, & like vnto the manner of seruing of the goddes, which the *Pythagorians* vsed. For in their sacrifices they spilt not the bloude, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle sheading of wine and milke, and with suche other light things. Suche as affirme that those two men did much company and were famillier together, doe laye further proofes & arguments for the same. The first is this: That the *ROMAINEs* did make *Pythagoras* a free man of the citie of *Rome*, as *Epicharmus* the Comickall poet an auncient writer (and sometimes one of *Pythagoras* schollers) sayeth in a booke he wrote & dedicated vnto *Antenor*. The other prooffe is: That *Numa* hauing had foure children, called one of them *Mamercus*, after *Pythagoras* sonnes name, from whom they saye is descended, the house of the *Emylians*, which is the noblest of the *Patricians*: for the King gaue him the surname of *Emylius*, because of his sweete tongue and pleasaunt voyce. Furthermore, I my self haue heard saye many times in *Rome*, that the *ROMAINEs* hauing receiued an oracle, which commanded them to set vp images in their citie, to the wisest and valliantest man that euer was amongst the *Grecians*: caused two statues of brasse to be set vp in their marker place, the one of *Pythagoras*, and the other of *Alcibiades*. Howbeit to striue about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubtles: me thincketh it were but vaine. Moreover, they attribute to *Numa*, the first erection of the college pontificall: and saye he him selfe was the first *Pontifex* that euer was. But touching the name of *Pontifex*, some will saye they were so called, because they chiefly were ordeined & appointed for the seruice of the almightie: for this worde *Potens* in the *ROMAINE* tongue, betokeneth mightie. Other thincke this name was geuen to them by their founders, as to exempt perones out of the worlde: who enioyned them to doe all the seruice and sacrifices to the goddes they could possibly, & yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most parte doe bringe out another deriuation of this name, wherein me thinckes there is litle reason. As that they should be called *Pontifices*, because they had the charge of maintenance of the bridge. For that which the *Grecians* call *Cephyran*, the *Latines* call *Pontem*: that is, a bridge. And to saye truly, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the bihoppes: as well as the keeping of the most holy and

Numa worshipped
one of the
Muses.
Pythagoras
taught his
schollers to
keepe silence.
Pythagoras
opinion of
God.
Numa forbid
images of
God.

Proofer for
the conser-
uation of *Numa*
and *Pytha-*
goras.

Numa in-
stituted
the
bi-
shoppes.
Pontifices
why so called.

A and vnchangeable ceremonies. For the *ROMAINEs* thought it not only a thing vnlawfull, but tooke it for a most damnable & wicked acte, to destroye or breake the bridge of wodde, which was only ioyned together (as they saye) with pinnes of wodde, & without any iron at all, by the commandement of an olde oracle. But the stone bridge was buylt long time after the raigne of *Numa*, and in the time of the raigne of his nephew *Martius*. Nowe the first and chiefe of these bihoppes, which they call the great *Pontifex*, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the highe prieste and master, of their pontificall lawe: who should be careful, not only about all publicke sacrifices and ceremonies, but also about suche as were priuate, and to see that no man priuately should breake the auncient ceremonies, nor bring in any newe thing into religion, but rather euery man should be taught by him, how, and after what sorte he should serue and honour the goddes. He also hath the keeping of the holy virgines which they call *Vestales*. For they doe geue *Numa* the first foundation and consecrating of them, and the institution also of keeping the immortall fire with honour and reuerence, which these virgines haue the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to commit the substance of fire (being pure and cleane) vnto the custodie of cleane and incorrupt maydes: or els because he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fittest, and most proper vnto virgines. For in *Greece*, where they kept continuall fire likewise (as in the temple of *Apollo* in *Delfes*, and at *Athenes*) the maydens doe not keepe the fame, but olde women which are past marriage. And if this fire chance to faile, as they saye in *Athenes* the holy lampe was put out in the time of the tyrannie of *Aristion*: and in the citie of *Delfes* it was put out, when the temple of *Apollo* was burnt by the *Medes*: and at *Rome* also, in the time of the warres that the *ROMAINEs* had against *King Mithridates*: and in the time of the ciuill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and consumed together: they saye that it must not be lighted againe with other common fire, but must be made a newe, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the funne, and that they doe in this manner. They haue a hollow vessell made of a peece of a triangle, hauing a corner right, and two sides alike: so that from all partes of his compasse and circumference, it falleth into one point. Then they set this vessell right against the beames of the funne, so that the bright funne beames come to assemble and gather together in the center of this vessell, where they doe pearce the ayer so strongly, that they set it a fire: & when they put to it any drye matter or substance, the fire taketh it straight, because the beame of the funne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drye matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thincke that these *Vestall* virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which neuer goeth out. Other saye, there are other holy thinges also, which no bodie maye lawfully see but they: whereof we haue written more largely in the life of *Camillus*, as the leastfo much as maye be learned and tolde. The first maydens which were vowed and put into this order of religion by *Numa*, were (as they saye) *Gegania*, and *Verenia*: and after them, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*. Afterwardes *King Seruius* increased the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth vntill this daye. Their rule and order set downe by *King Numa* was this: that they should vowe chastitie for the space of thirtie yeres. In the first tenne yeres they leaue what they haue to doe: the next tenne yeres following, they doe that which they haue learned: & the last tenne yeres, they teach young nouices. After they haue passed their thirtie yeres, they maye lawfully marie if they be disposed, and take them to another manner of life, and leaue their religion. But as it is reported, there haue bene very fewe of them which haue taken this libertie, and fewer also which haue ioied after they were professed, but rather haue repented them selues, and liued euer after a very grieuous and sorowfull life. This did so fraye the other *Vestalls*, that they were better contented with their vowed chastitie: and so remained virgines, vntill they were olde, or els died. He gaue them also great priuiledges, and prerogatiues. As: to make their will and testament, in their fathers life time. To doe all things without any gardian or ouerseer, as women which haue three children at a birth. When they goe abroad, they carie maces before them to honour them. And if by chance they meete any offendour in their waye, going to execution, they faue his life: howbeit the professed *Vestall* must affirme by othe, that he met him vnwares, & not of set purpose. If any man presume vnder their chayer, whereup they are caried through the citie, he shall die for it. Also when

The wooden
bridge at
Rome.

The highe
bihoppe.

The institu-
tion of the
Vestall *Numa*
nes.
The holy and
immortal fire.

How the holy
fire is drawn
from the pure
beames of the
funne.

See the life of
Camillus touch-
ing the *Ves-
tall* *Numa*.

The order ap-
pointed the
Vestalls by
Numa.

The *Vestalls*
prerogatiues.

The punishment
of the
Vestall
Virgins.

they them selues doe any faulte, they are corrected by the great byshoppe, who sometimes doth whippe them naked (according to the nature and qualitie of their offence) in a darcke place, & vnder a curtē. But he that hath deflowred her virginity, is buried quicke by one of the gates of the citie, which they call *Collina* gate: where within the citie there is a mount of earth of a good length, & with the *LATINES* is sayd to be raised. Vnder this forced mount, they make a litle hollowe vawte, and leaue a hole open, whereby one maye goe downe: and with in it there is set a litle bed, a burning lampe, and some vitells to susteine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honours sake: to the ende they would not be thought to famiſhe a bodie to deathe, which had bene consecrated by the most holy and deuoute ceremonies of the worlde. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they couer strongly, and close it vp with thick leather in such sorte, that no bodie canne so much as heare her voyce, & so they carie her thus shut vp through the marker place. Euery one draweth backe, when they see this litter a farre of, and doe geue it place to passe by: & then follow it mourningly, with heauy lookes, & speake neuer a word. They doe nothing in the citie more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any day wherein the people are more forowful, then on such a daye. Then after the is come to the place of this vawte, the sergeants straight vnloſe theſe fast bounde coverings: and the chiefe byshoppe after he hath made certain secret prayers vnto the godds, and lift his handes vp to heauen, taketh out of the litter, the condemned *Vestall* muffled vp close, and so putteth her vpon the ladder, which conueyth her downe into the vawte. That done, he withdraweth, and all the priestes with him: and when the ſeely offendour is gone downe, they straight plucke vp the ladder, & cast abundance of earthe in at the open hole, so that they fill it vp to the very toppe of the arche. And this is the punishment of the *Vestalls* which defile their virginity. They thincke also it was *Numa* that buylt the round temple of the goddesse *Vesta*, in which is kept the euerlasting fire: meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which they saye is *Vesta*, but the figure of the whole world, in the middelt whereof (according to the *Pythagorians* opinion) remaineth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call *Vesta*, and name it the vnitie. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmoueable, nor yet that it is set in the middelt of the world, neither that the heauen goeth about it: but saye to the contrarie, that the earth hanged in the ayer about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they graunte, that the earth is one of the first and chiefeſt partes of the world: as *Plato* helde opinion in that age, that the D earthe was in another place then in the very middelt, and that the center of the world, as the most honorableſt place, did apperteyne to some other of more worthy substance than the earthe. Furthermore, the byshoppes office was to show those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customes of buriall: whom *Numa* taught not to belecue that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burialles, but rather it was to worshiſſe & honour the godds of the earthe, with vsuall and honorable ceremonies, as those which after their death receyue the chiefeſt seruice of vs that they canne. But aboute all other in burialles, they did ſpecially honour the goddesſe called *Liberina*, that is sayd, the chiefe gouernour and preferer of the rites of the dead: or be it *Proſerpina*, or *Venus*, as the most learned men among the *ROMAINES* doe iudge, who not without cause doe attribute the order of the beginning and ende of mans life, to one ſelf god, & power diuine. *Numa* ordained also, how long time euery bodie should mourne in blackes. And for a childe from three yerres to tenne yerres of age, that died: he ordeined they should mourne no more monethes then it had liued yerres, and not to adde a daye more. For he commaunded, that the longest time of mourning should be but then monethes onely, and so long time at the least he willed women should remaine widowes, after the deceaſe of their husbands: or els the that would marie within that time, was bounde by his orderto sacrifice a whole bullocke. *Numa* also erected many other orders of priestes: of two sortes whereof I will only make mention. The one ſhalbe the order of the *SALII*, and the other of the *FECIALES*: for me thinckes, both the one and the other doth manifestly ſhewe the great holines, and ſingular deuotion which he had in him. The *FECIALES* are properly those, which the *GREGIANS* call *IRENOPHYLACHS*, as who would saye, peacekeepers. And in my iudgement, they had their right name according to their office, because they dyd

The temple
of *Vestae*—
preſenteth
the figure of
the worlde.
Vwhere the
fire abideth.

The manner
of buriall.

Libitina ho-
nored as ſu-
pernaturall.

The time of
mourning.

Salii, *Feciales*.
Plut. Probl.
62. Gell. lib.
16.c.4.
Feciales cal-
led *Irenophy-
laches*.

A did pacifie quarells with reason by waye of order, and did not suffer (as much as in them laye) that any matter should be tried by violence, vntill they were past all hope of any peace. For the *GREGIANS* call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controuersie with reason, and not with ſworde. Euen so those which the *ROMAINES* called the *Feciales*, went many times in perſone to those that dyd the *ROMAINES* iniurie, and sought to persuade them with good reason, to keepe promise with the *ROMAINES*, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeld to reason, whom they sought to persuade: then they called the goddes to the wittes thereof, and prayed them, that if they dyd not most earnestly incenſe the *ROMAINES*, to purſue that most iuſtely apperteyned vnto their right, that all euills and miſchieues of the warres might fall vpon them ſelues, and on their countrie. This done, they dyd B threaten open warres againſt ſuch enemies. And if the *FECIALES* would not coſent to open warres, and dyd happen to ſpeake againſt them: it was not lawfull in that caſe, neither for priuate perſone, nor for the King him ſelfe to make any warres. But like a iuſt prince, he muſt haue leaue by their ſufferance to make the warres. Then dyd he coſider, & conſult, by what meanes he might beſt procure, & proſecute the ſame. Concerning this matter, they iudge that the ill happe which came to the *ROMAINES*, when the citie of *ROME* was taken and ſacked by the *GAVLES*, chaunced iuſtly for breaking of this holy inſtitution. For at that time, the barbarous people beſieged the citie of the *CLYVSINIANS*: and *Fabius Ambuſius* was ſent ambaffador vnto them, to ſee if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill aunſwer: whereupon *Fabius* thinking his embafie had bene ended, and being loſt C what whotte, and raſhe in defence of the *CLYVSINIANS*, gaue deſaunce to the valliantſt *GAVLE* there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune fauored him in this chafge: for he ſlew the *GAVLE*, and ſtripped him in the ſield. The *GAVLES* ſeeing their man ſlayne, ſent immediately an heraulde to *ROME*, to accuſe *Fabius*, howe againſt all right and reaſon, he beganne warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The *FECIALES* being then conſulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be deliuered into the handes of the *GAVLES*, as one that had broken the lawe of armes, & had deſerued it: but he made friends to the people which fauored him very much, & by their meanes eſcaped his deliuerie, and puniſhment. Neuerthles, the *GAVLES* within ſhorte time after, came before *ROME* with all their power: which they tooke, ſacked, and burnt euery whit, ſauiſng the Capitoll, as we haue written D more ample in the life o. *Camilius*. Now concerning the Prieſtes that were called *Salii*, they ſaye he dyd inſtitute them vpon this occaſion. In the eight yere of his reigne, there came a peſtilent diſeaſe through all *ITALIE*, and at the length it crept alſo into *ROME*. Whereat euery man being greatly affrayed, and diſcourage, they ſaye there fell from heauen a target of copper, which lighted betweene the handes of *Numa*. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King him ſelfe affirmed he heard, of the *Nympe Egeria*, and the *Muſes*. To wit, that this target was ſent from heauen, for the health and preſeruacion of the citie: and therefore he ſhould keepe it carefully, and cauſe eleuen other to be caſt and made, all like vnto the ſame in facion and greatnes, to the ende, that if any would enterpriſe to ſteale it, he ſhould not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreover he ſaid, he was commaunded to conſecrate the place to the *Muſes* (in the which he dyd oftentimes companie with them) and alſo the ſieldes which were neere thereabouts: and likewiſe to geue the fountaine that ſprange in that place, vnto the *Vestalls* profeſſed, that euery daye they might drawe water at that well, to waſhe the ſanctuarie of their temple. The ſuccelſe hereof proued his words true, for the ſicknes ceaſed incontinently. So he aſſembled all the chiefe craſtes men then in *ROME*, to proue which of them would take vpō him to make one like vnto that. Euery man deſpayred to performe it. Howbeit one called *Peturius Mamurius* (the excellentſt workeman that was in thoſe dayes) dyd make them all ſo ſute like, that *Numa* him ſelfe dyd not knowe the firſt target, when they were all layed together. So he ordeined theſe prieſts *Salii*, to haue the cuſtodie of theſe targets, to ſee them ſafe kept. They were called *Salii*, not after the name of a *SALIAN* borne in *SAMO-* F *THRACIA*, or in *MANTINEA*, as ſome haue vntreuly alleaged, who firſt inuēd the manner of dauncing all armed: but they were ſo called, of their facion and manner of dauncing, and leaping. For in the moneth of Marche, they goe ſkipping and leaping vp and downe the citie,

Irenen: a
quarell pa-
cified with
reaſon, with-
out the ſworde.

Rome taken
by the Gauls.
See *Camilius*
life.

The inſtitu-
tion of the
Salii.
A target from
heauen.

Vwhereof
they were cal-
led *Salii*.

Ancylia,
whereof is
called.

Regia, the
Kings palace.

The manner
of the Re-
maines war-
shipping of
the goddess.
The Pythia,
greatest or-
acism touching
proph.

Hoc age, a
nathward
to tend wine
fruit.
The simili-
tude of Numa
and Pytha-
goras pre-
cepts.

with those targetes on their armes, apparelled in red cassoques without fleues, and girded about with broad leather sword girdles, studded with copper, hauing helmets of copper on their heads, & striking vpon their targets with shorte daggers, which they carie in their hands. Moreouer, all their dauncing consisteth in mouing of their feete: for they handle them finely, making tornes about ground and beneath, with a sodaine measure, & a maruelous force of agilitie. They call these targets *Ancylia*, bicause of their facion, which is not altogether compasse: for they are not all round as other comon targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the endes bowing in many foldes, and one fo neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the *Grecians* call *Ancylon*. Or els they are so called, bicause *Ancon* signifieth an elbow, vpon which they carie them. All these deuatiours are written in the historie of *Iuba*, who in any case will haue this word *Ancylia* to be drawn out of the Greeke tongue. And it maye be also they were so called, bicause the first came from a boue, which the *Grecians* call *Ancathen*: or els for healing the sicke, which is called *Acefis*. Or els for ceasing of the drines, which in Greke is called, *Anchimon Lysis*. Or for the ending of all diseases and euills, for which cause the *Athenians* call *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Anacis*: if they lust to geue this word his deuatiour from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which *Mamurius* the goldsmith had for the making of these targets was, that the *Saly* vnto this daye doe make mention of him, in their songe, which they singe going through the citie, & dauncing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit some thincke they saye not *Petrius Mamurius*, but *veterem memoriam*, ancient memorie. But *Numa* after he had ordeined and instituted these orders of priests, built his palace neere vnto the temple of *Vesta*, which holdeth his name *Regia* at this daye, to faye, the Kings palace. In which he remained most part of his life, studying either to sacrifice to the goddes, or to teache the Priests what they should doe, or howe with them he should best conspeler all heavenly things. It is true that he had another house on the hill, which they call at this daye, *Quirinal*, the place whereof is yet to be scene. But in all these sacrifices, ceremonies, and processions of the Priests, there were alwayes hushers that went before, crying to the people, kepe silence, and tend vpon diuine seruice. For they saye the *Pythagorians* thought it good, that men should not worshippinge the godds, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought it mete, that men should of purpose goe out of their houles, to serue & praye vnto them. Euen so king *Numa* thought it not mete, that his subiects should come to see, and heare diuine seruice negligently, as it were for a facion, and only to be ryd of it, as heeding an other thing: but he would haue them set a side all other busines, and employ their thoughts & hartes only vpon the principall seruice of religion, & deuotion towards the godds. So that during seruice time, he would not haue heard any noyse, any knocking, boosing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all artificers shoppes of occupation, whereof at this daye yet they see some signes, and tokens, remaining in their sacrifices at *Rome*. For all the time the *Augure* beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any sacrifice, the vergers crie aloud: *Hoc age*, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wittes home, & to thincke on that which is in hand. Also there are many of his orders like the precepts of the *Pythagorians*. For as they dyd warne men, not to sit vpon a litle bushell, not to cut fire with a sword, not to looke behinde them when they goe abroad: to sacrifice to the celestiall godds in an odde number, and to the goddes of the earth in an euen number, of which precepts, they would not haue the common people to haue any knowledge or vnderstanding. Euen so there are many institutions of *Numa*, the reasons whereof are hidden and kept secret: as not to offer wine to the godds of the vine neuer cut, & not to sacrifice vnto them without meale: & to turne a turne about when they doe reuerence to the godds, & to sit down after they haue worshipped them. And as touching the two first ordinances, it seemeth that by them he did recomend clemency, & humilitie, as being a parte of the deuotion towards the godds. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that worshipp the goddes: they saye it representeth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thincketh it should rather come of this: for that the temples being set to the east, he that worshippeth entering into the temple, sheweth his backe to the West, & for this cause turneth towards that parte, & afterwards returneth againe towards god: doing the whole turne, & ending the consummation

A summation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before & behinde. Onles peraduenture that he ment secretly to signifie, & geue them to vnderstand in this turning & chainging of their looke, that which the *Egyptians* figured by their wheels, shewing thereby, that these worldly things were neuer constant & in one state. And therefore, that we should take it thankfully, & pacially beare it, in what sorte soeuer it pleased god to chaunge or alter our life. And where he comaunded that they should sit after they had worshipped god: they sayed it was a token of a good hope vnto them that prayed, that their prayers should be exalted, and that their goods should remaine safe, & stick by the. Other saye, that this ease & sitting, is a separating the fro doing: & therefore he would they should sit in the temples of the godds, to shew they had done that which they had in had before, to the end to take of the godds the beginning of another. And it maye well be also, that it was referred to the thing we speake of a litle before. That *Numa* would accusome his people, not to serue the godds, nor to speake to them at all, as they passed by, or did any other thing, or were in haste: but would haue them praye vnto the godds when they had time & leysure, & all other busines at that time set a parte. By this good instruction & training them vnto religion, the citie of *Rome* by litle & litle came to be so tractable, & had the great power of king *Numa* in such admiration: that they tooke all to be as true as the gospel that he spake, though it had no more likelihood of trothe, then tales deuised of pleasure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or vnpossible to him, if he would haue it. And for prooe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he hauing bidden a great company of the citizens of *Rome* to come & suppe with him, caused them to be serued with plaine grosse meate, & in very poore & homely vessel. And when they were set, and beganne to fall to their meate, he cast out words sodainly vnto them, how the goddesse with whom he accopanied, was come to see him euen at that instant, & that sodainly the hall was richely furnished, & the tables couered with all sortes of excellent fine & delicate meates. Howbeit this farre passed all the vanity of lying, which is fould written of him, about his speaking with *Iupiter*. The hill *Auente* was not at that time inhabited, nor inclosed within the walles of *Rome*, but was full of springs & shadowed groues, whether commonly repaired to solace them selues, the two godds, *Piculus* & *Fannus*, which otherwise might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the *Titathians*, sauing it is sayed, that they went through all *Italia*, doing the like miracles & wonders in phisicke, charmes & arte magike, which they reporte of those the *Grecians* call *Satyr*, *Dactyles*. D There they saye that *Numa* tooke them both, hauing put into the spring both wine & honnie, where they vsed to drinke. Whē they saw that they were taken, they transformed the selues into diuers forms, disguising & disfiguring their natural shape: into many terrible & fearful sights to behold. Neuertheles in the end, perceiuing they were so fast, as to escape there was no reckoning: they reuealed vnto him many things to come, & taught him the purifying against lightning & thunder, which they make yet at this daye with onies, heare, & pilchers. Other saye, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched *Iupiter* out of heauen, with their coniuring & magike: whereat *Iupiter* being offended, answered him in choller, that he should make it with heads. But *Numa* added straight, of onies: *Iupiter* replied of men. Then *Numa* asked him againe, to take a litle away the cruelty of the comaundement: VVhat heares: *Iupiter* answered, quicke E hears. And *Numa* put to pilchers also. And it is reported that this was the goddesse *Egeria*, that taught *Numa* this subtiltie. This done, *Iupiter* returned appeased by reason whereof the place was called *Ilicium*. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue signifieth appeased, & fauorable: & this purifying was afterwards made in that sorte. These tales not onely varye, but full of mockerie & alie, doe show vs yet plainely the zeale & deuotion men had in those times towards the godds: vnto which *Numa* through custome had wonne them. And as for *Numa* him self, they saye that he so firmly put all his hope & confidence in the helpe of the godds: that one daye when he was told his enemies were in armes against him, he did but laugh at it, & answered: And I doe sacrifice. It is he (as some saye) that first built a temple to *Faith* & *Temer*, & which made the *Romains* vnderstand, that the most holy & greatest othe they could make, was to sweare by their faith, which they keepe yet at this daye. But *Temer*, which signifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: vnto whom they doe sacrifice, both publicly & priuately, vpon the limites of inheritances, & now they sacrifice vnto him in laurel. Howbeit in old time they did sacrifice vnto

By what
means *Numa*
made the Ro-
maines quiet
and gentle.

The wonders
of *Numa*.

Numa was
speaking with
Iupiter.

Piculus,
Fannus.

The purifying
of slander.

Ilicium, the
name of the
place.

Numa built
the temple to
Faith and
Temer.

*Numa made
the boundes
of the terri-
torie of Rome.*

*Numa ad-
uanceth vil-
lage.*

*Numa deu-
ideth people
into sundry
occupations.*

*Numa took
away the fac-
tions of Ro-
mulus and
Tatius.*

*The ordi-
nances of the
moneths of
Numa in
Iunius.*

*Marrob. 1.
Satyr. 13.*

him without any bloude, through the wife institution of *Numa*: who declared & preached vnto them, that this god of boundes was sincere, & vpright, without bloud or murder, as he hath is a witnes of iustice, & a keeper of peace. It was he, which in my opinion, did first limit out the boundes of the territorie of *Rome*: which *Romulus* would neuer doe, for feare least in bounding out his owne, he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding & mearing, to him that will keepe it iustly: is a bond that brideleth power & desire. But to him that forceth not to keepe it: is a prooffe to shew his iniustice. To saye truly, the territories of *Rome* had no great boundes at the first beginning, & *Romulus* had got by conquest the greatest parte of it, & *Numa* did wholly deuide it vnto the needie inhabitants to releue the, & to bring them out of pouerty: (which carieth men headlong into mischief, & discourageth them to labour) to the end that plowing vp the faine land, they should also plowe vp the weedes of their own barrennes, to become bountiull & gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so suddenly bringeth a man, to loue & desire quietnes, as doth husbandrie & tillage: & yet to defend a mans owne, there is in it corage & hardines to fight. But greedy desire, violently to take from others, & vnjustly to occupie that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husbandrie. And therefore *Numa* hauing brought in husbandrie amongst his subiects, as a medicine & meane to make them loue quietnes: was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble & gentle of condition, then to increase them in riches. He deuided all the territorie of *Rome* into certain parts which he called *Pagis*: as much to saye, as villages. And in euery one of them he ordeined controuersers & visiters, which should suruey all about: & he him self somtimes went abroade in persone, coëcturing by their labour, the maners & nature of euery man. Such as he found diligent, he aduanced them vnto honour, & gaue them countenance & authoritie: other which he sawe slowthfull & negligent, by rebuking & reprouing of them, he made them amend. But amongst all his ordinances which he made, one about all the rest caried the praise: and that was, that he deuided his people into sundrie occupations. For the citie of *Rome* seemed yet to be made of two nations, as we haue sayed before: and to speake more properly, it was made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether impossible to take away all factions, & to make there should be no quarrells nor contentions betwene both parts. Wherefore he considered, that when one will mingle two bodies or simples together, which for their hardnes & contrary natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breaks & beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller & lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen so he thought it was best to deuide the people also into many small partes: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more easely take away the first & the greatest parte, when it should be deuided & separated thus into sundrie sorts. And this diuision he made by arts & occupations: as minstrells, goldsmiths, carpenters, diers, shoemakers, tawers, taners, bellfounders, & potmakers, & so forth through other craftes & occupations. So that he brought euery one of these into one bodie, & copanie by it self: & ordeined vnto euery particular mysterie or crafte, their feasts, assembles, & seruices, which they should make vnto the gods, according to the dignitie & worthines of euery occupatio. And by this meanes, he first tooke away all faction: that neither side layed, nor thought any more, those are *Sabines*, these are *Romaines*, these are of *Tatius*, these are of *Romulus*. Inasmuch as this diuision was an incorporating, & an vniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinances, they did much commend his reforming of the law, that gaue libertie vnto fathers to sell their childre. For he did except childre already married, so they were married with their fathers consent & goodwill:udging it to be to cruell & ouer hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had married a free man, should finde her self to be the wife of a bondmaid. He began also to mende a litle the calendar, not so exactly as he should haue done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the reigne of *Romulus*, they vsed the moneths confusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them twenty dayes & lesse, and others siue & thirte dayes & more, without knowing the difference betwene the course of the sunne & the moone: & only they obserued this rule, that there was three hundred & three score dayes in the yere. But *Numa* considering the inequality ftoode vpon eleuen dayes, for that the 12. revolutions of the moone are runne in 300. fiftie & foure dayes, & the revolution of the sunne, in 365. dayes, he doubled the

A the 11. dayes, whereof he made a moneth: which he placed first 2. yeres to 2. yeres, after the moneth of February, & the *Romaines* called this moneth put betwene, *Mercidunum*, which had 22. dayes. And this is the correctio that *Numa* made: which since hath had a farre better amēdment. He did also chaunge the order of the moneths. For Marche which before was the first, he made it now the third: & January the first, which vnder *Romulus* was the 11. & February the 12. & last. Yet many are of opinion, that *Numa* added these two, January & February. For the *Romaines* at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yere. And the *Acadians* amongst the *Grecians* haue but foure moneths for their yere. The *Acarnanians* haue fixe to the yere. And the *Egyptians* had first but one moneth to their yere: & afterwards they made foure moneths for their yere. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabit in a new coutrie) to be nevertheless the auncientest people of the world: for that in their chronicles they reckon vp such infinite nūber of yeres, as those which counte the moneths for the yeres. And to proue this true, that the *Romaines* at the beginning had but tenne moneths in the yere, and not twelue: it is easely to be iudged by the name of the last, which they call at this daye December. And that the moneth of Marche was also the first, maye be coniectured by this: for the first moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis*: the 6. *Sextilis*, & so the other in order following the nūbers. For if January & February had then bene the first, of necessitie the moneth of Iuly, which they call *Quintilis*, must haue bene named September: considering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which *Romulus* had dedicated vnto Mars, was also by him ordeined to be the first. The second was *April*: so called of the name *Aphrodite*, that is to saye *Venus*, vnto whom they make open sacrifice in this moneth. And on the first daye of the same, women doe washe them selues, hauing a garland of myrtle vpon their heads. Howbeit some other saye, that it was not called after the name of *Aphrodite*, but it was only called *Aprilis*, because then is the chiefe force & strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seedes of plants and erbes beginne to bud & shewe forth, which the word it self doth signifie. The moneth following next after that, is called Maye: after the name of *Maia*, the mother of *Mercurie*, vnto whom the moneth is consecrated. The moneth of Iune is so called also, because of the quality of that season, which is as the youthe of the yere. Although some will saye, that the moneth of Maye was named of this word *Maiores*, which signifieth as much as the elders: and the moneth of Iune, of *Iunioris*, which signifieth the younger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, & *December*. But *Quintilis* was afterward called *Iulius*, of the name of *Iulius Caesar*, who slew *Pompeius*. And *Sextilis* was named *Augustus*, *Octavius Caesar* successeur in the empire, who was also, surnamed *Augustus*. It is true also that *Domitian* would they should call the two moneths following (which are *September* and *October*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that helde not long: for so soone as *Domitian* was killed, the moneths recovered their auncient names againe. The two last moneths only, haue euer continued their names, without chaūging or altering. But of the two which *Numa* added, or at the least trasladed: the moneth of February doth signifie as much as purging, or at the least the deuotion of the word fowndeth neere it.

E In this moneth, they doe sacrifice of plantes, & doe celebrate the feast of the Lupercales, in which there are many things agreeable, & like to the sacrifices made for purification. And the first, which is January, was called after the name of *Ianus*. Wherefore me thinkes that *Numa* took away the moneth of Marche from the first place, & gaue it vnto January: because he would haue peace preferred before warre, & ciuill things before martiall. For this *Ianus* (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very ciuill & politticke. For he haunged the face of man, which before his time was rude, cruell, & wilde: & brought it to be honest, gentle, & ciuill. For this cause they doe painte his image at this daye with two faces: the one before, and the other behinde; for thus chaūging the faces of men. And there is in *Rome* a temple dedicated vnto him; which hath two doores, that be called the doores of *Ianus*: for the ciuill stompe is to open them, whereas the *Romans* haue his wayes in any place, and to shut them when they be appeased. To haue them shut; it was a rare thing to see, and happened very seldom: by reason of the greatnes of their empire, which of all sides was surrounded

*The yere di-
uisely coun-
ted.*

** Peraden-
sare yre must
read in the
Grike
(and vñ i-
pae) which is
to saye, of the
name of Ianus.*

** Some alse
Grecian cop-
ies saye in
this place,
Ianus, as
much to
saye, as for
the deade.
Vñ by Ianus
is painted
with two fa-
ces, as for
the deade.
At what time
the temple of
Ianus is shut
in Rome
is like
Liberty.*

with barbarous nations, whom they were cōpelled to keepe vnder with force of armes. Nor withoutstanding it was once shut vp in the time of Augustus, after he had slaine *Antonie*: & once before also in the yere when *Marcus Attilius* & *Titus Manlius* were Cōsuls. But that continued not long, for it was opened again incontinently, by reason of warres that came vpon them sone after. Howbeit during the raigne of *Numa*, it was neuer one day opened, but remained thus continually by the space of three & forty yeres together. For all occasions of warres, were then utterly dead & forgotten: because at ROME the people were not only through the xāple of iustice, clemencie, & the goodnes of the King brought to be quiet, & to loue peace: but in the cities thereabouts, there beganne a maruelous change of manners & alteration of life, as if some gentle ayre had breathed on them, by some graciosus & healthfull wind, blowe from ROME to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens mindes such a hearty desire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, & to serue the goddesses truly: that almost through all ITALIE, there was nothing but feastes, playes, sacrifices, & bankets. The people did traffike & frequent together, without feare or daunger, & visited one another, making great cheer: as if out of the springing fountaine of *Numas* wisdom many pretie brookes & streames of good & honest life had rōne ouer all ITALIE, & had watered it: & that the mildnes of his wisdom had frō hard to hand bene disparied through the whole world. In so much, as the ouer excessiue speeches the Poets accustomably doe vye, were not sufficient enough to expresse the peaceable raigne of that time.

There: spiders vncane, their cobwebbes daye and night

in harnesses, which vnto to serue for warre:

there: canered rust doth fret, the Steele full bright
of trenchant blades, & well vnto in many a Larre.

There: mighty speares, for lacke of use are eaten,
with rotten vormes: and in that countrie there,
the braying trompe dothe neuer seeme to threaten,
their quiet eares, with blaits of bloody feare.

There: in that lande, no dronnyss sleepe is broken,
with hoste alarmes, which terrors doe betoken.

For during all king *Numas* raigne, it was neuer heard that euer there were any warres, ciuill dissention, or inuocation of government attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmitie or malice borne him, neither any cōspiracie once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of displeasing the gods (which visibly seemed to take him into their protection) or for the reuerent regarde they had vnto his vertue, or for his prosperous & good successe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he fought to keepe men still pure, & honest, from all wickednes, & layed most open before the eyes of the whole world, a very xāple of that which *Plato* long time after did affirme, & saye, concerning true gouernment: which was, That the only meane of true quietnes, & remedy from all euill (which euer troubleth men) was: when by some diuine ordinance from aboue there meteth in one person, the right maiestie of a King, & the minde of a wise philosopher, to make vertue gouernesse & ruler ouer vice. For in deede happie is such a wise man, & more happy are they, which may heare the graue counsaill, & good lessons of such a mouthe. And there me thinkes needeth no force, no cōpulsion, no threaten, nor extremitie to bridle the people. For men seeing the true image of vertue in their visible prince, & in the example of his life, doe willingly growe to be wise, & of them selues doe fall into loue liking, and friendship together, and doe vse all temperance, iust dealing, and good order one toward another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe pointe of felicitie, and the most happie good that can light vnto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wisdom and vertue, can graffe in mens manners such a good disposition: and this, *Numa* aboue all other, seemed best to knowe and vnderstand. Furthermore, touching his wiues & children, there are great contrarieties among the historiographers. For some of them saye, he neuer married other wife then *Tatia*, and that he neuer had any children, but one only daughter, and she was called *Pompilia*. Other writte to the contrary, that he had foure sonnes, *Pompo*, *Pimius*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*: of euery one of the which (by succession from the father to the sonne) haue descended the noblest

The Romans had no warre in all Numas time.

Plato say- ing concern- ing the fel- icitie of a ci- uen weale.

Numas vi- ues and po- steritie.
Pompilia.
Numas daughter.

A noblest races, and most auncient houses of the ROMAINES. As the house of the *Pomponians*, of *Pompo*: the house of the *Pinarians*, of *Pinna*: the house of the *Calpurnians*, of *Calpus*: & the house of the *Mamerciis*, of *Mamercus*. All which families by reason of their first progenitor haue kept the surname of *Reges*, Kings. There are three other writers, which doe reprove the two first saying that they dyd write to gratifie the families, making them falsely to descend of the noble race of king *Numa*. Moreouer it is sayed, he had his daughter *Pompilia*, not by *Tatia*, but by his other wife called *Lucretia*, whom he married after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter *Pompilia* was married vnto one *Martius*, the sonne of the same *Martius*, which perswaded him to accept the kingdome of ROME. For he went with him to ROME, to remaine there: where they dyd him the honour to receiue him into the number of the SENA- tors. After the death of *Numa*, *Martius* the father stood against *Tullus Hostilius* for the succession of the Realme, and being overcome, he killed him selfe for sorowe. But his sonne

Pompilia mar- ried to Caius Martius Cor- nelianus.
Martius the SENESE, made SENESE as Rome.
Ancus Mar- tius, the sonne of Caius Martius Cor- nelianus.
The death of Numa.

Martius, who married *Pompilia*, continued still at ROME, where he begotte *Anus Martius*, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hostilius*, and was but fife yere olde when *Numa* dyed. Whose death was not sodaine. For he dyed consuming by litle and litle, aswell through age, as also through a lingring disease that waited on him to his ende, as *Piso* hath written: and *Numa* at his death was litle more, then foure score yere old. But the pompe and honour done vnto him at his funerall, made his life yet more happie and glorious. For all the people his neighbours, friends, kinsmen, and allies of the ROMAINES came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publicke contributions to honour his obsequies. The noble men selues of the citie (which were called *Patricians*) caried on their shoulders the very bed, on which the counsell laye, to be conueyed to his graue. The Priestes attended also on his bodie, and so dyd all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his tombe, all beualling and lamenting his death, with teares, sighes, and mournings. Nor as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their dearest kinsman, and nearest friende that had dyed before he was olde. They burnt not his bodie, because (as some saye) he commaunded the contrary by his will and testament: but they made two coffines of stone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called *Ianiculum*. In the one they layed his bodie, & in the other the holy bookes which he had written him selfe, much like vnto those, which they that made the lawes among the GREEKES dyd write in tables. But because in

Numas bookes.

his life time he had taught the priestes, the substance of the whole contained in the same: he willed the holy tables which he had written, should be buried with his bodie. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners & exercises. And he followed herein they saye, the *Pythagorians*, who would not put their workes in writing, but dyd printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of person the hidden rules and secretes of Geometrie, which had not bene worthy of them: then they sayed the goddess by manifest tokens would threaten, to reuenge such sacrilege and impietie, with some great destruction and miserie. Therefore, seeing so many things agreeable, and altogether like betwene *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, I easily pardon those which maintaine their opinion, that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* were familiarly acquainted, and conuer- tained together. *Valerius Antias* the historian writeth, there were twelue bookes written concerning the office of Priestes, and twelue other containing the philosophie of the GREEKES. And that foure hundred yeres after (in the same yere when *Publius Cornelius*, and *Marcus Bibius* were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earth, and discouered these coffines: and the liddes and couers thereof being caried away, they founde the one altogether voyde, hauing no manner of likelyhoode, or token of a bodie that had layen in it: and in the other they founde these bookes, which were deliuered vnto one named *Petilius* (at that time *Prator*) who had the charge to reade them ouer, and to make the reporte of them. But he hauing persued them ouer, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not conuenient the matters contained in them should be published vnto the simple people: and for that cause they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and iust men, that

Why the Pythagorists left nothing in writings.

12. bookes of priesthood.
12. bookes of philosophie.

Good men
prayed after
their death.
The misfor-
tunes of Ro-
mae successe-
full.
Hostilins.

they are farre more prayed and esteemed after their death, then before: bicause that enuie doth not long continue after their death, & oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding the misfortunes which chaunced afterwarde vnto the five Kings which reigned at Rome after *Numa*, haue made his honour shine, with much more noble glorie then before. For the last of them was driuen out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very olde. And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treason. And *Tullus Hostilins* which reigned after *Numa*, deriding, & contemning the most parte of his good and holy institutions, and chiefly his deuotion towards the goddesses, as a thing which made men lowly and faimie harted: dyd aflone as euer he came to be King, turne all his subiects hartes to the warres. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a strange, & most grievous disease that followed him, which brought him to chaunge his minde, and dyd farre otherwise turne his contempt of Religion, into an ouer-fearfull superstition, which dyd nothing yet resemble the true Religion & deuotion of *Numa*: & besides, he infected others with his contagious error, through the inconuenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was stricken and burnt with lightning.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lycurgus with Numa.*



The virtues
of *Numa* and
Lycurgus
were alike,
but their
deeds diuers.

THVS hauing written the liues of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, the matter requireth, though it be somewhat harde to doe, that we comparing the one with the other, should set out the difference betweene them. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deedes doe shewe it sufficiently. As in their temperance, their deuotion to the goddesses, their wisdom in gouerning, and their discrete handling of their people, by making them beleue that the goddesses had revealed the lawes vnto them, which they established. And now to come vnto their qualities, which are diuersely, & severally commended in either of them. Their first qualitie is, that *Numa* accepted the Kingdome, and *Lycurgus* gaue it vp. The one receyued it, not seeking for it: and the other hauing it in his handes, did restore it againe. The one being a stranger, and a private man: was by strangers elected & chosen, their lord & King. The other being in possession a King, made him selfe againe a private person. Such it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iustice: but it is a goodlier thing to esteeme iustice aboue a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputatio, that he was iudged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred to noble a minde in the other, that he esteemed not to be a King. Their second qualitie is, that like as in an instrument of musicke, the one of them did tune and wrest vp the slacke strings which were in *Sparta*: so the other slackened, and set them lower,

A lower, which were to high mounted in Rome. Wherein *Lycurgus* difficultly was the greater. For he did not persuaide his citizens, to plucke of their armour & ecurates, nor to laye by their swordes: but only to leaue their golde & siluer, to forsake their soft beddes, their fine wrought tables, and other curious riche furniture, and not to leaue of the trauell of warres, to geue them selues only vnto feastes, sacrifices, and playes. But to the contrary, to geue vp banketing and feasting, & continually to take paynes in the warres, yielding their bodiest to all kinde of paynes. By which meanes, the one for the loue and reuerence they did beare him, easely persuaied all that he would: and the other, by putting him selfe in daunger, and being hurte also, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpose and desire. *Numa* his muse was so gentle, louing, and curteous, that the manners of his citizens, which before were B furious and violent, were now so tractable and ciuill, that he taught them to loue peace and iustice. And to the contrary, if they will compell me to number amongst the lawes and ordinances of *Lycurgus*, that which we haue written touching the *LOTES*, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I must of force confesse that *Numa* was muche wiser, more gentle, and ciuill in his lawes, considering that euen vnto those which in deede were borne slaues, he gaue some little taste of honour, & sweetnes of libertie, hauing ordained, that in the feastes of *Saturne*, they should sit downe at meate, at their masters owne table. Some holde opinion, that this custome was brought in by king *Numa*: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, should haue some pleasure thereof to make good cheere with the first frutes of the same. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembrance of the equalitie, C which was amongst men in the world in *Saturnes* time, when there was neither master nor seruauante, but all men were a like equally, as brethren or kinsmen. To conclude, it seemeth either of them tooke a direct course, thought best to them selues, to frame their people vnto temperance, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre best, and the other iustice: onles it were that men would saye, that for the diuersitie of the nature or custome of their people (which were almost contrary in manners) they were both compelled to vse also contrary and diuers meanes from other. For it was not of a faimie harte, that *Numa* tooke from his people the vse of armes, and desire to be in warres: but it was to the ende they should not doe any wrong to others. Neither did *Lycurgus* also studie to make his people souldiers and warlike, to hurte others: but for feare rather that others D should hurte them. And so, to cut of the exceffe in the one, and to supply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a strange manner of government. Furthermore, touching their feuerall kinde of government, & diuiding of their people into states and companies: that of *Numa* was maruelous meane and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a bodie of a cittie, and a people compounded together of all sortes, as goldsmithes, minstrells, founders, shoemakers, and of all sortes of craftes men & occupations together. But that of *Lycurgus*, was directly contrary: for his was more seuer and tyrannical, in gouerning of the nobility, casting all craftes and base occupations vpon bondemen & strangers, and putting into the handes of his citizens the shield and lance, suffering them to exercise no other arte or science, but the arte and discipline of warres, as the true ministers of Mars: which all their life time neuer knewe other science, but only learned to obey their captaines, E and to commaund their enemies. For to haue any occupation, to buye and sell, or to traffike, free men were expressly forbidden: bicause they should wholly & absolutely be free. And all sciences to get money was lawfull for slaues, and the *LOTES*: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dresse meate, and to be a scullion of a kitchen. *Numa* put not this difference amongst his people, but only tooke away couetous desire to be riche by warres: but otherwise, he did not forbid them to get goodes by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regarde to bring all to equalitie, and to be a like wealthy, but suffered euery man to get what he could, taking no order to preuent pouertie, which crept in, & spread farre in his cittie. Which he should haue looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequalitie F amongst them, and that his citizens for substance were in manner equal one with another: for then was the time whē he should haue made head against avarice, to haue stopped the mischiefes & inconueniences, which fell out afterwards, & they were not lide. For that only was

What things
were done to
Lycurgus.

Slaves sit
with their
masters at
Saturnes
feast.
Macrobius
lib. 1.

Diuers causes
of the diuersi-
ties of insti-
tutions of Ro-
mae and Ly-
corgus.

Description of
their people.

the fountaine and roote, of the most parte of the greatest euills & mischieues, which happened afterwards in Rome. And as touching the diuision of goodes: neither ought *Lycurgus* to be blamed for doing it, nor *Numa* for that he did it not. For this equality vnto the one, was a ground & foundation of his common wealth, which he afterwards instituted: and vnto other, it could not be. For this diuision being made not long before the time of his predecessour, there was no great neede to chaunge the first, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching marriages, & their children to be in common, both the one & the other wisely sought to take awaye all occasion of iealousie: but yet they tooke not both one course. For the *ROMAINE* husband, hauing children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came vnto him, to praye him to lende him his wife, he might graunte her vnto him, and it was in him to geue her altogether, or to lende her for a time, & to take her afterwards againe. But the *LACONIAN*, keeping his wife in his house, & the marriage remaining whole & vnbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to haue children by her: naye furthermore, many (as we haue told you before) did them selues intreat men, by whom they thought to haue a trimme broode of children, & layed them with their wiues. What difference, I praye you was betwene these two customes? saying that the custome of the *LACONIAN*s shewed, that the husbands were nothing angrie, nor grieued with their wiues for those things, which for sorowe and iealousie doth rent the hartes of most married men in the world. And that of the *ROMAINE*s was a simplicitie somewhat more shamefast, which to couer it, was shadowed yet with the cloke of matrimonie, and contract of marriage: confessing that to vse wife & children by halves together, was a thing most intollerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidens to be married by *Numas* order, was much straighter & more honorable for womanhood: & *Lycurgus* order hauing to much scope and libertie, gaue Poets occasion to speake, and to geue them surnames not very honest. As *Ibycus* called them *Phenomerides* to saye, thighe showres: and *Andromanes*: to saye manhood. And *Euripides* sayeth also of them.

*Good nutbrowne girles which leste their fathers house at large,
and sought for young mens companie, & tooke their vvaire in charge.
And shee uer their thighs all bare, shee saylour did them wrong,
on eche side open vnder their cotes, the styttes were all to long.*

And in deede to saye truly, the sides of their petticoates were not fowed beneath: so that as they went, they shewed their thighs naked and bare. The which *Sophocles* doth easely declare D by these verses:

*The songe vvhich you shall singe, shalbe the sonnet sayde,
by Hermione lusty lasse, that strong and sturdy mayde:
Vvhich trust her petticoate, about her middle shorte,
and set to shee vve her naked hippe, in francke and friendly sorte.*

And therefore it is sayed, the *LACONIAN* wiues were bolde, manly, & stowe against their husbands, namely the first. For they were wholly mistresses in the house, and abroad: yea they had law on their side also, to vter their mindes frankly concerning the chiefeest matters. But *Numa* ever reserued the honour and dignitie vnto the women, which was left them by *Romulus* in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them awaye perforce, disposed them selues: to vse them as gently as possibly they could: neuertheless, he added otherwife thereto, great honesty, and tooke away all curiositie from them, and taught them sobrietie, & did inure them to speake litle. For he did vtterly forbid them wine, and did prohibite them to speake, although it were for things necessarie, onles it were in the presence of their husbands. In so much as it is reported, that a woman chauncing one daye to pleade her cause in persone, openly before the iudges: the Senate hearing of it, did send immediately vnto the oracle of *Apollo*, to know what chat did prognosticate to the citie. And therefore *Numa* thought the memorie of the naughty women, would much commend the great humilitie, gentleness, & obedience of the good. For like as our *GRECIAN* historiographers doe note those which were the first that killed any of their citizeis, or haue fought with their brethren, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: euen so the *ROMAINE*s doe note that *Spiritus Caruilius* was the first which forooke his wife, two hundred & thirtie yeres after the first foundation of *ROME*, which was neuer done by any before.

Reason for
marriages.

Numas order
for maidens
denies the best
ser.

The *LACONIAN*
women were to
manly.

The *ROMAINE*
women were
modest.

The first
wife as
Rome.

Afore. And that the wife of one *Pinarius*, called *Thalea*, was the first which euer brawled or quarrelled with her mother in lawe called *Gegania*, in the time when *Tarquinius* (surnamed the proud) reigned: so well and honestly were the orders of *Numa* deuised concerning marriage. Moreover, the age and time of marrying of maydes, which both the one and the other ordeined: doth agree with the rest of their education. For *Lycurgus* would not that they should be married, till they were of good yeres, and women grownen: to the ende that they knowing the company of man at such time as nature requireth, it should be a beginning of their pleasure and lone; and not of griefe and hate, when (he should be compelled vnto it before time agreeable by nature, and because their bodies also should be more stronge and able to beare children; and to endure the mothers painefull throwes and trauell in childe bearing, considering they are married to no other ende, but to beare children. But the *ROMAINE*s to the contrarie, doe marrye them at twelue yeres of age, and vnder: saying, that by this meanes their bodies & manners be wholly theirs, which doe marrye them, being assured that no body els could touch them. By this reason it is manifest, that the one is more naturall, to make them strong to beare children: & the other more morall, to geue them the forme & manner of conditiōs, which a man would haue them to keepe all their life time. Moreouer touching orders for educatiō of childe, that they should be brought vp, instructed, & taught, vnder the selfe same masters & gouernours, which should haue an eye to make them drincke, eate, playe, and exercise them selues honestly, and orderly together: *Numa* made no more prouision for the same, then the least maker of lawes that euer was, and nothing in compariō of *Lycurgus*. For *Numa* left the parents at libertie, to vse their discretion (according vnto their couetousnes or necessitie) to cause their children to be brought vp as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpinters, founders, or minstrells. As if they should not frame the manners of children, and facion them from their cradell all to one ende: but should be as it were like passengers in one shippe, which being there, some for one busines, other for another purpose, but all to diuers endes, doe neuer meddle one with another, but in arough storme or tempest, when euery man is affrayed of his owne life. For otherwise, no man careth but for him selfe. And other makers of lawes also, are to be borne withall, if any thing hath scaped them through ignorance, or some time through lacke of sufficient power and authoritie. But a wife philosopher, hauing receyued a realme of people newly gathered together, which dyd contrary him in nothing: whereto should he D most plye his studie and indeuour, but to cause children to be well brought vp, and to make young men exercise them selues, to the ende they should not differ in manners, nor that they should be troublesome, by their diuers manner of bringing vp, but that they should all agree together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood vnto one selfe trade, and facioned vnder one selfe patterne of vertue? That good education, besides other commodities, dyd also serue to preferre *Lycurgus* lawes. For the feare of their other which they had made, had bene of small effect, if he had not through institution, and education (as it were) dyed in soule the manners of children, and had not made them from their nources brestes in manner, wolke the Iuice and loue of his lawes, and ciuill ordinaunces. And this was of suche force, that for the space of five hundred yeres & more, *Lycurgus* chief lawes and ordinaunces remained in full E perfection, as a deepe woded dye, which went to the bottome, and peared into the tender wolke. Contrariwise, that which was *Numas* chief ende and purpose, to continew *ROME* in peace and amitie, dyed by and by with him. For he was no foner dead, but they opened both the gates of the temple of *Ianus*, which he so carefully had kept shut all his reigne, as if in deede he had kept in warres there, vnder locke and keye, and they filled all *ITALIE* with murder and bloude: & this his godly, holy, and iust gouernment which his Realme enioyed all his time, did not last long after, because it had not the bonde of education, and the discipline of children which should mainteine it. Why, maye a man saye to me here: hath not *ROME* excelled still, and preuailed more & more in cheualrie? This question requireth a long answer, and specially vnto such men, as place felicitie in riches, in possessions, & in the greatnes of empire, rather then in the quiet safety, peace, & concord of a common weale: and in clemency and iustice, ioyned with contentation. Neuertheless, howeouer it was, that maketh for *Lycurgus* also, that the *ROMAINE*s, after they had chainged the state which they had of *Numa*, dyd H

How much education and discipline is worth. Arist. polit. 8.

How *Lycurgus* lawes were fastened.

VVhy *Numas* ordines dyed.

Why Numa
is to be pre-
ferred before
Lycurgus.

so maruelously increafe & growe mightie: and that the Lacedæmonians to the contrarie, so foone as they beganne to breake *Lycurgus* lawes, being of great authoritie and sway, fell afterwards to be of small accompt. So that hauing lost the foueraintie & commaundemēt ouer Greece, they stode in great hazarde also to be ouerthrowen for euer. But in trothe it was some diuine thing in *Numa*, that he being a meere straunger, the *Romaines* dyd seeke him, to make him King, and that he could so chaunge all, and rule a whole citie as he listed (not yet ioynd together) without neede of any force or violence: as it was in *Lycurgus*, to be affistid with the best of the citie, in resisting the cōmons of Lacedæmon, but he could neuer other-wise haue kept them in peace, & made them loue together, but by his only wisdom & iustice.

The ende of Numa Pompilius life.

THE LIFE OF Solon.



Solons image.



Great friend-
ship betwixt
Solon & Pi-
sistratus.

DIDYMVS the Grammarian, in a litle booke that he wrote & dedicated vnto *Asclepiades*, touching the tables of the lawes of *Solon*, allegeth the wordes of one *Philocles*, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that haue written, that *Solons* father was called *Euphorion*. For all other writers agree, that he was the sonne of *Execestides*, a man but reasonably to liue, although otherwise he was of the noblest and most auncient house of the citie of *ATHENS*. For of his fathers side, he was descended of king *Codrus*: and for his mother, *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth, she was colin germaine vnto *Pisistratus*. For this cause euen from the beginning there was great friendship betwene them, partly for their kinred, and partly also for the curtesie, and beawtie of *Pisistratus*, with whom it is reported *Solon* on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortunited to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of state and gouernment: yet this square bred no violent inconuenience betwene them, but they reserued in their hartes still their auncient amitie, which continued the memorie of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That *Solon* was no stayed man to withstand beawtie, nor any great doer to preuaile in loue, it is manifest to all, as well by other poetically writings that he hath made, as by a lawe of his owne: wherein he dyd forbid

A flame for
bondmen.

- A forbid bondmen to perfume them selues, or to be louers of children. Who placed this lawe among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better sorte, and forbidding it to the basest. They saye also that *Pisistratus* selfe was in loue with *Charmus*, and that he dyd set vp the litle image of loue, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candle. But *Solons* father (as *Hermippus* writeth) hauing spent his goodes in liberalitie, and deedes of curtesie, though he might easely haue bene relieved at diuers mens handes with money, he was yet affamed to take any, bicause he came of a house which was wont rather to geue and relieue others, then to take them selues: so being yet a young man, he deuised to trade marchandise. Howbeit other saye, that *Solon* trauelled countries, rather to see the worlde, and to learne: then to traffike, or gayne. For sure he was very desirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifestly: for that being nowe olde, he commonly vsed to saye this verse:

Solon gaue
him selfe in
youth to trade
marchandise.

I growe olde, learning still.

Also he was not couetously bent, nor loued riches to much: for he sayd in one place:

*Who so hath goodes, and golde enough at call,
great herds of beastes, and stocks in many a folde,
both horse and mule, yea store of corne and all,
that maye content eche man about the morwilde:
nor richer is, for all those heapes and hoordes,
then he which hath sufficiency to seede,
and clothe his corpes, with such as god affordes.
But if is ioye, and chief delights doe breede,
for to beholde the sayre and heavenly face,
of some swete wyfe, which is adorne with grace:
or els some childe of beawty sayre and bright,
then hath he cause (in deede) of deepe delight.*

Solons indig-
nity of riches.

And in another place also he sayeth:

*In deede I doe desire, some vvealthe to haue at will:
but not vnles the same be got, by faithfull dealing still.
For suer who so desires by wickeednes to thriue:
shall finde that iustice from such goodes, will iustly him deprive.*

- D There is no law forbiddeth an honest man, or gētleman, greedily to scrape goods together, & more then may suffice: & likewise to get sufficient to mainteine one withall, & to defraye all needefull charges. In those dayes no state was discommended, as sayeth *Hesiodus*, nor any arte or science made any difference betwene men: but marchandise they thought an honorable state, as that which deliuered meanes, to traffike into straunge & farre countries, to get acquaintance with states, to procure the loue of princes, & chiefly to gather the experience of the world. So that there haue bene marchauts, which heretofore haue bene founders of great cities: as he which first buylt *Masilia*, after he had obtayned the friendship of the *Gavles*, dwelling by the riuer of *Rhone*. And they saye also, that *Thales Milesius* the wife, did traffike marchandise, & that *Hippocrates* the mathematicke did euē so: & likewise that *Plato* traouelling into *Egypt*, did beare the whole charges of his iorney, with the gaines he made of the sale of oile he caried thither. They remember also, that *Solon* learned to be lauish in expence, to fare delicately, & to speake wantonly of pleasures in his Poemes, somewhat more licētiously then became the gravity of a Philosopher: only bicause he was brought vp in the trade of marchandise, wherein for that men are maruelous subiect to great losses & daingers, they seeke otherwiles good chere to driue these cares away, and libertie to make much of them selues. Yet it appeareth by these verses, that *Solon* accompted him selfe rather in the number of the poore, than of the riche.

The commo-
dities of mar-
chandise.

A marchaut
builded Mas-
silia.
Thales,
Hippocrates,
Plato, all
marchauntes.

*Rich men (oftimes) in leu vndeft liues doe range,
and often scene, that vertuous men be poore:
Yet would the good, their goodnes neuer chaunge
with leu vndeftate, although their vvealthe be more.
For vertue stands alwayes, both firme and stable:
When riches stowe, and seldome are durable.*

Poerty with
vertue better
than riches.

This Poetry at the beginning he vsed but for pleasure, and when he had leysure, writing no matter of importance in his verses. Afterwards he dyd set out many graue matters of philosophie, and the most parte of such things as he had deuided before, in the government of a common weale, which he dyd not for historie or memories sake, but only of a pleasure to discourse: for he sheweth the reasons of that he dyd, and in some places he exhortheth, chideh, and reprimeth the ATHENIANS. And some affirme also he went about to write his lawes and ordinaunces in verse, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

*Vouchesae to mighty Ioue, of heauen and earth highe King:
to graunt good fortune to my lawes, and heasts in euery thing.
And that their glorie growe in such triumphant vses,
as maye remaine in fame for aye, which liues and neuer dies.*

He chiefly delited in morall philosophie, which treated of government & common weales: as the most parte of the wise men dyd of those times. But for naturall philosophie, he was very grosse and simple, as appeareth by these verses.

*The clattering hayle, and softly falling snowe
doe breede in aye, and fall from cloudes on hie.
The dreadfull clappes, which thunderbolts doe throwe,
doe come from heauen, and lightnings bright in skye:
The sea it scife by boysterous blaistes dothe rore
which vnder it not provoked so full fore)
VVould be both calme and quiet for to passe,
as any element that euer was.*

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the seuen wise men of GREECE, who fearedch further the contemplation of things in common vse among men, than he. For setting him a parte, all the others got the name of wisdom, only for their understanding in matters of state and government. It is reported that they met on a daye all seuen together in the citie of DELPHES, and another time in the citie of CORINTH, where *Periander* got them together at a feast that he made to the other sixe. But that which most increased their glorie, and made their fame most spoken of, was the sending backe againe of the three footed stoole when they all had refused it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, howe certaine fisher men of the Ile of Co, cast their nettes into the sea, and certaine D strangers passing by, that came from the citie of MILETVM, did buye their draught of filhe at aduenture, before the net was drawn. And when they drue it vp, there came vp in the net a three footed stoole of massy gold, which men saye, *Hellen* (as she dyd retorne from TROYE) had thrown in in that place, in memory of an auncient oracle she called then vnto her minde. Thereupon the strangers & fisher men first fell at strife about this three footed stoole, who should haue it: but afterwarde the two citiees tooke parte of both sides, on their citizens behalfe. In so much as warres had like to haue followed betwene them, had not the propheteesse *Pythia* geuen a like oracle vnto them both. That they should geue this three footed stoole vnto the wisest man. Whereupon the men of Co, sent it first to *Thales* in the citie of MILETVM, as being willing to graunte that vnto a priuate persone, for which they had made warres E with all the MILESIANS before. *Thales* sayed, he thought *Bias* a wiser man than him selfe: and so it was sent vnto him. He likewise sent it againe vnto another, as to a wiser man. And that other, sent it also vnto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through diuers handes, in the ende it was brought backe againe vnto the citie of MILETVM, and deliuered into the handes of *Thales* the seconde time: and last of all was caried vnto THEBES, and offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo Ismenian*. Howbeit *Theophrastus* writeth, that first it was sent to the citie of PRIENA, vnto *Bias*: and then vnto *Thales*, in the citie of MILETVM, by *Bias* consent. And after that it had passed through all their handes, it was brought againe vnto *Bias*: and lastely it was sent to the citie of DELPHES. And thus much haue the best and most auncient writers written: sauing that some saye in steade of a three footed stoole, it was a cuppe that king *Crasus* sent vnto the citie of DELPHES. Other saye, it was a peece of plate

How Solon
vsed his poe-
rie.

Solon delited
in morall, but
not in naturall
philosophie.

Hellen three
footed stoole
of gold drawe
vp in a drag-
net.

The rare na-
dity of the
wise men.

A plate which *Bathycles* left there. They make mention also of another priuate meeting betwext *Anacharsis* and *Solon*, and of another betwene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharsis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, saying that he was a stranger which came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquaintance and friendshippe. *Solon* answered him, that it was better to seeke friendshippe in his owne countrie.

Anacharsis replied againe: thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to shewe me friendshippe. Then *Solon* wondering at his bolde ready wit, entertained him very courteously: and kept him a certaine time in his house, and made him very good cheere, at the selfe same time wherein he was most busie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the state thereof. Which when *Anacharsis* vnderstoode, he laughed at it, to see that *Solon*

B imagined with written lawes, to bridell mens couetousnes and iniustice. For such lawes, sayed he, doe rightly resemble the spyders cobwebbes: bicause they take holde of litle ties and gnattees which fall into them, but the riche and mightie will breake and runne through them at their will. *Solon* answered him, that men doe iustly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, bicause it is to the hinderance of either partie to breake them: & euen so, he dyd so temper his lawes, that he made his citizens knowe, it was more for their profit to obey lawe & iustice, then to breake it. Neuertheles afterwarde, matters proued rather according to *Anacharsis* comparison, then agreeable to the hope that *Solon* had conceyued. *Anacharsis* being by happe one daye in a common assembly of the people at ATHENS, sayed that he maruelled much, why in the consultations & meetings of the GRECIANS, wise men

C propounded matters, and fooles dyd decide them. It is sayed moreover, that *Solon* was sometime in the citie of MILETVM at *Thales* house, where he sayed that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marie to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a worde at that present: but within fewe dayes after he suborned a stranger, which sayed that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but tenne dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, VVhat newes there? This stranger whom *Thales* had schooled before, answered: none other there, sauing that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the citie followed, for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the citie, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they sayed) abroad. O poore vnfortunate father, then sayed *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard

D him named, sayed the stranger, but I haue forgotten him nowe: sauing that they all sayed, he was a worthy wise man. So *Solon* still trembling more and more for feare, at euery answer of this stranger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name him selfe vnto the stranger, and asked him againe, if he were not the sonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very same, sayed the stranger. *Solon* with that, like a mad man straight beganne to beat his head, and to saye, and doe, like men impacient in affliction, and ouercome with sorowe. But *Thales* laughing to see this pageant, stayed him, and sayed. Loe, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marrying, and getting of children: which is of such a violence, that thou seest it hath nowe ouercome thee, although otherwise thou arte stronge, and able to wrestle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath said vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it

E is but a tale, and nothing so. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Platarchus* (he which sayed he had *Esops* fowle) reciteth this story thus. Neuertheles it lacketh iudgement, and the courage of a man also, to be afrayed to get things necessarie, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckoning, he should neither esteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lose them. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can haue, decayeth oftentimes through sickness, or els by phisicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* selfe, although he was not married, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confesse that he neither loued friends, kynsmen, nor countrie: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted sonne, called *Cybius*, which was his sisters sonne. For our soule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne aswell to loue, as to feele, to reason, or vnderstand, and to remember:

F hauing nothing of her owne whereupon the might bestowe that naturall loue, boroweth of other. As where there is a house or inheritance without lawfull heires, many times strangers, and base borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

Anacharsis
and *Solon*
meeting.

Anacharsis
saying of *Solon*
written
lawes.

Solon talks
with *Thales*
at *Mileum*,
about
marriage, for
bearing
of children.

Pythia should
not see to get
things necess-
sarie, fearing
to lose them.

Cybius
Thales adop-
ted sonne.

The infinitie
of naturall
loue.

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delity of the
wise men.*

A plate which *Babycles* left there. They make mention also of another priuate meeting betwext *Anacharsis* and *Solon*, and of another betwene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharsis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, saying that he was a straunger which came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquaintance and frëndshippe. *Solon* aunswered him, that it was better to seeke frëndshippe in his owne countrie. *Anacharsis* replied againe: thou then that arte at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to shew me frëndshippe. Then *Solon* wondering at his bolde ready wit, entertained him very courteously: and kept him a certaine time in his house, and made him very good cheere, at the selfe same time wherein he was most busie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the state thereof. Which when *Anacharsis* vnderstoode, he laughed at it, to see that *Solon*

*Anacharsis
and Solon
meeting.*

*Anacharsis
saying of So-
lon written
lawes.*

B imagined with written lawes, to bridell mens couetousnes and iniustice. For such lawes, sayed he, doe rightly resemble the spyders cobwebbes: because they take holde of litle flies and gnattes which fall into them, but the riche and mightie will breake and ronne through them at their will. *Solon* answered him, that men doe iustly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, because it is to the hinderance of either partie to breake them: & euen so, he dyd to temper his lawes, that he made his citizens knowe, it was more for their profit to obey lawe & iustice, then to breake it. Neuertheles afterwards, matters proued rather according to *Anacharsis* comparison, then agreeable to the hope that *Solon* had conceyued. *Anacharsis* being by happe one daye in a common assembly of the people at ATHENS, sayed that he maruelled much, why in the consultations & meetings of the GRECIANS, wife men

C propounded matters, and fooles dyd decide them. It is sayed moreover, that *Solon* was sometime in the citie of MILETVM at *Thales* house, where he sayed that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marie to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a worde at that present: but within fewe dayes after he vsurned a straunger, which sayed that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but tenne dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, What newes there? This straunger whom *Thales* had schooled before, aunswered: none other there, sauing that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the citie followed, for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the citie, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they sayed) abroad. O poore vnfortunate father, then sayed *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard

*Solon talke
with Thales
at Mileum,
about mar-
riage, for be-
uing of child-
ren.*

D him named, sayed the straunger, but I haue forgotten him now: sauing that they all sayed, he was a worthy wise man. So *Solon* still trembling more and more for feare, at euery aunswere of this straunger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name him selfe vnto the straunger, and asked him againe, if he were not the sonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very same, sayed the straunger. *Solon* with that, like a mad man straight beganne to beat his head, and to saye, and doe, like men impacient in affliction, and overcome with sorowe. But *Thales* laughing to see this pageant, stayed him, and sayed, *Loe, Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marrying, and getting of children: which is of such a violence, that thou seest it hath nowe overcome thee, although otherwise thou arte stronge, and able to wrestle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath said vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it

E is but a tale, and nothing so. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patacus* (he which sayed he had *Ejops* fowle) reciteth this story thus. Neuertheles it lacketh iudgement, and the corage of a man also, to be stayed to get things necessarie, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckoning, he should neither esteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lose them. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can haue, decayeth oftimes through sicknes, or els by phisicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* selfe, although he was not married, was not therefore free from this feare, onles he would confesse that he neither loued friends, kynsmen, nor countrie: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted sonne, called *Cybius*, which was his sisters sonne. For our soule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne aswell to loue, as to feele, to reason, or vnderstand, and to remember:

F hauing nothing of her owne whereupon she might bestowe that naturall loue, boroweth of other. As where there is a house or inheritance without lawfull heires, many times straungers, and base borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

*VV'e should
not les to get
things neces-
sarie, fearing
to lose them.*

*Cybius
Thales adop-
ted sonne.
The instin-
ct of nature
all loue.*

haue once wonne & possessed his loue, they make him euer after to be kynde and tender ouer them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that moue them to marie, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwards are ready to dye for feare & sorowe, when they see their bastards (that they haue gotten of their flauers or concubines) fall sicke or dye, and doe vtter wordes farre vnmeet for men of noble courage. And some such there be, that for the death of a dogge, or their horse, are so out of harte, and take such thought, that they are ready to goe into the grounde, they looke so pittiefully. Other some are cleane contrarie, who though they haue lost their children, forgone their friends, or some gentleman deare vnto them, yet no sorowfull worde hath comen from them, neither haue they done any vnseemly thing: but haue passed the rest of their life like wise, constant, and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weaknes, which breedeth these extreme sorowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they loue and desire, by reason of the continuall trouble, feare and griefe they feelee, by thinking howe in time they may be deprived of it. Nowe we must not arme our selues with powerie, against the griefe of losse of goodes: neither with lacke of affection, against the losse of our friends: neither with want of marriage, against the death of children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus haue we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIANS hauing nowe sustained a long and troublesome warre against the MEGARIANS, for the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA: were in the ende wearie of it, and made proclamation straightly commaunding vpon payne of death, that no man should presume to preferre any more to the counsaill of the citie, the title or question of the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA. Solon could not beare this open shame, and seeing the most parte of the lustiest youtnes desirous still of warre though their tongues were tyed for feare of the proclamation: he sayned him selfe to be out of his wittes, and caused it to be geuen out that Solon was become a foole, and secretly he had made certaine lamentable verses, which he had cunne without booke, to singe abroad the citie. So one daye he ranne sodainly out of his house with a garland on his head, and gotte him to the market place, where the people straight swarmed like bees about him: and getting him vp vpon the stone where all proclamations are usually made, out he singeth these Elegies he had made, which beganne after this sorte.

*I here present my selfe (an Herald) in this case,
which come from Salamins lande that noble worthy place.
My minde in peltig prose, shall neuer be express,
But songe in verse Heroicall, for so I thinke it best.*

This Elegie is intituled SALAMINA, and containeth a hundred verses, which are excellently well written. And these being songe openly by Solon at that time, his friends incontinently prayed them beyond measure, and specially *Pisistratus*: and they went about perswading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongst them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they beganne to followe the warres with greater furie then before, appointing Solon to be generall in the same. But the common tale and reporte is, that he went by sea with *Pisistratus* vnto the temple of *Venus*, surname *Colade*: where he founde all the women at a solemne feast and sacrifice, which they made of custome to the goddess. He taking occasion thereby, lent from thence a trusty man of his owne vnto the MEGARIANS, which then had SALAMINA: whom he instructed to goe with him, selfe a reuolted traytour, & that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but goe with him, they might take all the chief ladies and gentlewomen of ATHENS on a sodaine. The MEGARIANS easily beleueed him, and shipped forthwith certaine souldiers to goe with him. But when Solon perceyued the shipp vnder sayle coming from SALAMINA, he commaunded the women to departe, and in steade of them he put lusty bearded springalls into their apparell, and gaue them little shorte daggers to conuey vnder their clothes, commaunding them to playe & daunce together vpon the sea side, vntill their enemies were landed, and their shipp at anker: and so it came to passe. For the MEGARIANS being deceived by that they lawe a farre off, as soone as euer they came to the shore side, dyd lande in

*Proclamation
vpon paine of
death, no man
to moue the
counsaill for
the citie of
Salamina.
Solon named
madnes to
reouer Sala-
mina.*

*Solons Elegies
of the Sala-
minians.*

*Of the temple
of Venus Co-
lade. Strab.
lib. 4. in tra-
san of the A-
thenians.*

*Solons strat-
egeme.*

A heapes, one in anothers necke, euen for greedines to take these women: but not a man of them elcaped, for they were slayne euery mothers sonne. This stratageame being finely handled, & to good effect, the ATHENIANS tooke sea straight, and costed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA: which they tooke vpon the sodaine, and wanne it without much resistance. Other saye that it was not taken after this sorte: but that *Apollo Delphicus* gaue Solon first such an oracle.

*Solon name
Salamina.*

*Thou shalt first vrinne by vrvvres and sacrifice, of vrvhose dead bones, the dust engraued lies,
the helpe of lordes and demy goddes full bright: in vrvesterne soyle, Asopia that hight.*

By order of this oracle, he one night passed ouer to SALAMINA, & dyd sacrifice to *Periphe-
mia*, & to *Cicubus*, demy goddes of the countie. Which done, the ATHENIANS deliuered him five hundred men, who willingly offered them selues: & the citie made an accorde with them, that if they tooke the Ile of SALAMINA, they should beare greatest authoritie in the common weale. Solon imbarked his souldiers into diuers fisher botes, and appointed a galliot of thirtie owers to come after him, & he ankred hard by the citie of SALAMINA, vnder the pointe which looketh towards the Ile of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA, hauing by chance heard some inckling of it, but yet knew nothing of certainte: ranne presently in hurly burley to arme them, and manned out a shippe to descrie what it was. But they fondly comming within daunger, were taken by Solon, who clapped the MEGARIANS vnder hatches fast bounde, and in their roomes put aborde in their shippe the choicest souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commaunding them to set their course direct vpon the citie, and to keepe them selues as close out of sight as could be. And he him self with all the rest of his souldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come into the feld. Now whilest they were fighting together, Solons men whom he had sent in the MEGARIANS shippe, entred the haven, & wanne the towne. This is certainly true, & testified by that which is shewed yet at this daye. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a shippe of ATHENS arriueth quietly at the first, & by & by those that are in the shippe make a great howte, and a man armed leaping out of the shippe, ronnethe showing towards the rocke called *Sciradion*, which is as they come from the firme lande: and hard by the same is the temple of *Mars*, which Solon built there after he had ouercome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whence he sent backe againe those prisoners that he had taken (which were saued from the slaughter of the battell) without any ranfome paying. Neuertheless, the MEGARIANS were sharply bent still, to recouer SALAMINA again. Much hurte being done & suffered on both sides: both parts in the ende made the LACEDÆMONIANS iudges of the quarrell. But vpon iudgement geuen, common reporte is, that *Homers* authoritie dyd Solon good seruice, because he did adde these verses to the number of shippes, which are in the *Iliades* of *Homer*, which he rehearsed before the iudges, as if they had bene in deede written by *Homer*.

*Great strife
betweene the
Megarians
& Athenians
for Salamina,
Iliad. lib. 2.*

*Ajax that champion forvre, did leade vrvith him in charge,
vrvvne shippes from Salamina soyle, vrvhich he had left at large,
and euen those selfe same shippes, in battell did he cast
and place in order for to fight, vrvith enemies force at last.
In that same vrvv place, vrvvwhereas it seemed then
the captaines vrvhich from Athens came, imbattelled had their men.*

Howbeit the ATHENIANS selues thinke, it was but a tale of pleasure: and saye that Solon made it appeare to the iudges, that *Phileus*, and *Euryaces* (both Ajax sonnes) were made free denizens of ATHENS. Whereupon they gaue the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, & one of them came to dwell in a place called *Brauron*, in the countie of ATTICA: and the other in a towne called *Melivm*. And for due prooff thereof, they saye there is yet a certen canton or quarter of the countie of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the *Philaides*, after the name of this *Phileus*, where *Pisistratus* was borne. And it is sayed moreover, that Solon (because he would thoroughly conuince the MEGARIANS) did allege that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in MEGARA they burie the dead with their faces to the East: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the West. Yet *Hereas* the Megarian denieth it, saying that the MEGARIANS dyd burie them

also with their faces towards the West: alleaging moreover, that at ATHENS euerie corse to his owne beere or coffin by it selfe, & that at MEGARA they dyd put three or foure corse together. They saye also there were certaine oracles of *Apollo Pythias*, which dyd greatly helpe *Solon*, by which the god called *SALAMINA*, *IONIA*. Their strife was iudged by fūe Arbitrators, all SPARTANS borne: that is to saye, *Critolaidas*, *Amompharetus*, *Hyspechidas*, *Anaxilas*, & *Cleomenes*. *Solon* vndoubtedly wonne great glory & honour by this employe, yet was he much more honoured & esteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the tēple of *Apollo*, in the citie of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be suffered, that the CYRRHEIANS should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuarie of the oracle, & that they should aye the DELPHIANS in honour and reuerence of *Apollo*. Whereupon the counsell of the *Amphictyons*, being moued with his words and perswasions, proclaimed warres against the CYRRHEIANS; as diuers other doe witness, and especially *Aristotle*, in the storie he wrote of those that wanne the *Pythian* games, where he ascribeth vnto *Solon* the honour of that determination. Neutertheles *Hermippus* sayeth, *Solon* was not made generall of their armie, as *Euanthes* Samian hath written. For *Æschines* the Orator wrote no such thing of him: & in the chronicles of the DELPHIANS they finde, that one *Alemon*, & not *Solon*, was the generall of the ATHENIANS. Now the citie of ATHENS had a long time bene vexed and troubled through *Cylon* his heynous offence, euer since the yere that *Megacles* (gouernour of the citie of ATHENS) dyd with fayer words handle so the confederates of the rebellion of *Cylon*, which had taken sanctuarie within the libertie of the temple of *Minerua*: that he perswaded them to be wife, and to present them selues before the iudges, holding by a threed, which they should tye about the base of the image of the goddesse where she stoode, bicause they should not lose their libertie. But when they were come to the place of the honorable goddesse so called (which be the images of the furies) comming downe to present them selues before the iudges, the threed brake of it selfe. Then *Megacles*, and other officers his copanions, layed holde on them presently, saying that it was a manifest signe that the goddesse *Minerua* refused to faue thē. So those they tooke, & all they could lay hands of, were immediately stoned to death without the citie: the rest which tooke the altars for refuge, were flaine there also. And none were saved, but such as had made meanes to the gouernours wiues of the citie, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were euer hated of the people, and commonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who being the issues of the rebell that rose with *Cylon*, chaunced to rise again in credit, & growing to great authority, they neuer left quarrelling & fighting continually with th offspring of *Megacles*. These factions were greatest & highest in *Solons* time: he being of authority, & seeing the people thus diuided in two parties, he stepped in betweene them, with the chieft men of ATHENS, & did so perswade & intreate those whom they called the abiects & excommunicates, that they were contented to be iudged. So three hundred of the chieft citizens were chosen iudges to heare this matter. The accuser was *Myron Phyeian*. This matter was heard and pleaded, & by sentence of the iudges, the excommunicates were condēd. Those that were alive, to perpetuall exile: & the bones of them that were dead, to be digged vp, & throwen out of the confines of the territorie of ATHENS. But whilest the citie of ATHENS was occupied with these vyprotes, the MEGARIANS wisely caught holde of the occasion deliuered, and set vpon the ATHENIANS, tooke frō them the haue of NYSEA, & recovered againe out of their handes, the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the citie was possessed with a certen superstitious feare: for some sayed, that sprites were come againe, and straunge fights were seene. The prognosticator also sayed, they perceiued by their sacrifices, the citie was defiled with some abominable & wicked things, which were of necessitie to be purged and throwen out. Hereupon they sent into CRETA for *Epimenides Phasian*, whom they reckoned the seventh of the wise men, at the least such as will not allowe *Periander* for one of the number. He was a holy and deuoute man, and very wise in celestiall things, by inspiration from aboue: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the newe *Curetes*, that is to saye, Prophet: and he was thought the sonne of a Nymphe called *Baltē*. When he was come to ATHENS, and growen in friendship with *Solon*: he dyd helpe him much, and made his waye for establishing of his lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their sacrifices much lighter, and of lesse

A **l**esse coster: & brought the cittizs to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting of cer-
taine seuer and barbarous ceremonies, which the most parte of the women obserued in their
mourning, & he ordeined certain sacrifices which he would haue done immediately after the
obsequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the rest was, that by vsing the cittizs vnto
holines & deuotion, daylie sacrifices, prayers vnto the godds, purging of them selues, & humble
offerings: he wanne mens hartes by litle & litle, to yelde them more cōformable to iustice, & to
be more inclined to cōcorde & vnity. It is reported also that *Epmenides*, whē he saw the haueu
of Munychia, & had long cōsidered of it: told those about him, that men were very blinde in
foreseeing things to come. For if the *ATHENIANS* (sayed he) knew, what hurt this haueu would
bring the citye like eate it (as they saye) with their teethe. It is sayed also that *Thales* did pro-
B **n**otifiaue such a like thing, who after his death he commaunded they should burie his bodie in
some vile place of no reckoning, with in the territorie of the *MILESIANS*, sayeing that one day
there should be the place of a cittie. *Epmenides* therefore being maruelously esteemed of euery
man for these causes, was greatly honoured of the *ATHENIANS*, and they offered him great
prefents of money and other things, but he would take nothing, and only prayed them to geue
him a bough of the holy olyue: which they graunted him, and so he returned shortly home
into *CRETA*. Nowe that this edition of *Cylon* was vtterly appealed in *ATHENS*, for that the
excommunicates were banished the countrie: the citye fell againe into their old troubles and
dissentions about the gouernment of the common weale: & they were deuised into so diuers
partes and factions, as there were people of sundry places & territories within the countrie of
C **A**TTICA. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and the peo-
ple of the sea coaste. Those of the mountaines, tooke the cōmon peoples parte for their liues.
Those of the valley, would a few of the best cittizens should carie the sway. The coaste men
would, that neither of the should preuaile, because they would haue had a meane gouernmēt,
& mingled of them both. Furthermore, the faction betwene the poore & riche, proceeding
of their vnequalitie, was at that time very great. By reason whereof the cittie was in great daun-
ger, and it seemed there was no way to pacifie or take vp these controuersies, vnles some tyran-
t happened to rise, that would take vpon him to rule the whole. For all the cōmon people
were so fore indetted to the riche, that either they plowed their landes, & yelded them the fixt
parte of their croppe: (for which cause they were called *Hectemorij* and seruants) or els they
D **b**orrowed money of them at vsurie, vpon gage of their bodies to serue it out. And if they were
not able to paye them, then were they by the law deliuered to their creditours, who kept them as
bond men & slaues in their houles, or els they sent them into strange countie to be sold:
& many euen for very pouertie were forced to sell their owne children (for there was no lawe
to forbid the contrarie) or els to forsake their citie & countrie, for the extreme cruelty & hard
dealing of these abominable vlturers their creditours. In such as many of the lustiest & stow-
test of them, banded together in cōpanies, & incoraged one another, not to suffer & beare any
lenger such extremitie, but to choose them a frowte & trusty captaine, that might fet them at
libertie, and redeeme those out of captiuitie, which were iudged to be bondmen & seruants, for
lacke of paying of their detts at their dayes appointed: & so to make againe a newe diuision of
E **a**ll landes and tenements, and wholly to chaunge and turne vp the whole state & gouernment.
Then the wisest men of the cittie, who sawe *Solon* only neither partner with the riche in their
oppression, neither partaker with the poore in their necessitie: made sure to him, that it would
please him to take the matter in hande, & to appease and pacifie all these broyles and sedition.
Yet *Phanias* Lesbian writeth, that he vsed a subtiltie, whereby he deceiued both the one and
the other side, concerning the cōmon weale. For he secretly promised the poore to deuide the
landes againe: & the riche also, to confirme their couenants & bargaines. Howeouer it fell out,
it is very certain that *Solon* frō the beginning made it a great matter, & was very scrupulous to
deale betwene them: fearing the couetousnes of the one, & arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in
the end he was chosen gouernour after *Philobrotus*, & was made reformer of the rigour of the
F **l**awes, & the tēperer of the state & cōmō weale, by cōsent & agreemēt of both parties. The riche
accepted him, because he was no begger: the poore did also like him, because he was an honest
man. They saye moreover, that one word & sentēce which he spake (which at that present was

Solon pacified
the sedition
at Athens.

The miserie
of deat, and
usarie.

d Solons equis
and upright
nes.

e Solon by sub
zitie ses ord
beswext the
poore & rich

*Solon chosen
reformer of
the laws, and
chief governor.*

life in euery mans mouthe) that equalitie dyd breede no stryfe: did aswell please the riche & A
wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one sorte conceyued of this worde equalitie, that he
would measure all things according to the qualitie of the man: & the other tooke it for their
purpose, that he would measure things by the number, & by the polle only. Thus the capitaines
of both factions perswaded & prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that foueraigne authoritie,
sithence he had the whole citie nowe at his commaundment. The newters also of euery
parte, when they sawe it very harde to pacifie these things with lawe and reason, were well
content that the wisest, and honestest man, should alone haue the royall power in his handes.
Some saye also that there was such an oracle of *Apollo*.

*Sitt thou at helme, as gouernour to steere
to guyde our course, and rule the rowling shippe,
for thou shalt see full many Athenians there,
will take thy parte, and after thee will trippe.*

But his familiar friends aboute all rebuked him, saying he was to be accounted no better
then a beast, if for feare of the name of tyranne, he would refuse to take vpon him a King-
dome: which is the most iust and honorable state, if one take it vpon him that is an honest
man. As in olde time, *Tymonidas* made him selfe King of those of *Negrepon*, with their con-
sent: and as *Pittacus* was then presely of those of *METELIN*. Notwithstanding, all these
goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they saye he answered his
friends, that principallitie and tyrannie, was in deede a goodly place: howbeit there was no
way for a man to get out, whē he was once entered into it. And in certen verses that he wrote C
to *Phocius*, thus he sayde:

*I neither blushe, nor yet repent my selfe,
that haue perswade my native soyle all wayes,
and that therein (to howde vntyrashe and pelfe)
no tyrants thought, could once eclypse my prayse.
No might could moue my minde to any wronge,
which might beblot the glory of my name:
for so I thought, to liue in honour longe,
and farre excell all other men for fame.*

Hereby appeareth plainly, that euen before he was chosen reformer of the state, to stablsh D
newe lawes: he was then of great countenance and authoritie. But he him selfe writeth, that
many sayed of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of vsurping of this tyrannie:

*Suer, Solon was a foole, and of a bashefull minde,
that would refuse the great good happe, which goddes to him assignde.
The praye was in his handes, yet durst he neuer drawe,
the net therefore: but stoode abasht, and like a dastard darre.
For had not that so bene, he would (for one dayes raigne,
to be a King in Athens to vne) him selfe (all quicke) haue slayen.
And eke subuerted quite, his familie withall,
So foruete it is to rule the roste, yelad in princely pall.*

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Nowe, notwithstanding he had re-
fused the kingdom, yet he waxed nothing the more remisse nor softe therefore in gouerning,
neither would he bowe for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that
had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischief was tollerable, he dyd not straight
plucke it vp by the rootes: neither dyd he so chaunge the state, as he might haue done, least if he
should haue attempted to turne vpsidowne the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue
bene neuer able to settle & stablsh the same againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he
thought by reason he would perswade his citizens vnto, or els by force he ought to compell
them to accept, mingling as he saied, softer with sweter, & force with iustice. And herewith a-
greeth his aunswer that he made afterwards, vnto one that asked him, if he had made the best F
lawes he could for the *ATHENIAN* s: yea suer, sayeth he, such as they were to receiue. And this
that followeth also, they haue euer since obserued in the *Athenian* to: que: to make certē things
pleasunt

*Solt refuseth
to be a ty-
rannus,
Tymonidas,
and Pittacus
tyrannus.*

*Solon con-
fesseth for ty-
rannie.*

*Excellent
temperance.*

A pleasunt, that be hatefull, finely conueying them vnder culler of pleasing names. As calling
whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garnisons, gardes: prisiones, houses. And all this came
vp first by *Solons* inuention, who called clearing of detts, *Seisachtheia*: in English, discharge. For
the first change & reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordeined that all manner
of detts past (should be cleere, and no body should aske his detter any thing for the time past.
That no man should thenceforth lende money out to vsury, vpon couenants for the bodye to
be bounde, if it were not repayed. Howbeit some write (as *Androtion* among other) that the
poore were cōtēct that the interest only for vsury (should be moderated, without taking away
the whole dett: & that *Solon* called this easie & gentle discharge, *Seisachtheia*, with crying vp
the value of money. For he raised the pound of siluer, being before but three score and thirtene
B Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: so they which were to paye great summes of money, payed
by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse number of peces then the dett could haue bene
payed when it was borrowed. And so the detters gayned much, & the creditours lost nothing.
Neuertheles the more parte of them which haue written the same, saye, that this crying vp of
money, was a generall discharge of all detts, conditions, & couenants vpon the same: whereto
the very Poemes them selues, which *Solon* wrote, doe seeme to agree. For he glorieth, & brea-
keth forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bakkes & marcks, that separated mens lands
through the countrie of *ATTICA*: & that now he had set at libertie, that which before was in
bondage. And that of the citizens of *ATHENS*, which for lacke of payment of their dettes had
bene condēd for slaues to their creditours, he had brought many home again out of straite
C countries, where they had bene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall tongue:
& other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had nowe set them all at good libertie. But
while he was a doing this, men saye a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruelously. For
hauing framed an Edict for clearing of all detts, and lacking only a litle to grace it with words,
and to geue it some prey peface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaymed: he opened him
selfe somewhat to certayne of his familiers whom he trusted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hippocleus*)
& tolde them how he would not medle with landes and possessions, but would only cleere and
cut of all māner of detts. These men before the proclamation came out, went presently to the
money men, & borrowed great summes of money of them, & layed it out straight vpon lade. So
when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchased, but restored not
D the money they had borrowed. This fowle parte of theirs made *Solon* very ill spoken of, & wrōg-
fully blamed: as if he had not only suffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong, & iniustice.
Notwithstāding he cleared him self of this slanderous reporte, losing fīue talents by his owne
lawe. For it was well knowen that so much was due vnto him, & he was the first that following
his owne proclamation, dyd clearly release his detters of the same. Other saye he was owing
fifteene talents: and among the same, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwith-
standing they euer after called *Solons* friends, *Greocopides*, cutters of detts. This lawe neither li-
ked the one nor the other sorte. For it greatly offended the riche, for cancelling their bondes:
and it much more miliked the poore, because all landes and possessions they gaped for, were
not made againe common, & euery bodye a like riche and wealthie, as *Lycurgus* had made the
E *LACEDÆMONIANS*. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuēth descend of the right line from *Hercules*,
& had many yeres bene king of *LACEDÆMON*, where he had gotten great authoritie, & made
him self many friends: all which things together, dyd greatly helpe him to execute that, which
he wisely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet also, he vsed more persua-
sion then force, a good wīnes thereof, the losse of his eye: preferring a lawe before his priuate in-
iurie, which hath power to preserue a citie long in vnion and concord, and to make citizens
to be neither poore nor riche. *Solon* could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular state,
& a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had,
as one seeking to winne no credit with his citizez, but only by his counsaile. Now, that he got
the ill will of the more parte of the citie, by his proclamation which he made: he him self doth
F witnesse it, saying:

*Euen those which earst, did beare me friendly face,
and spake full fayer, where euer I them met:*

*Things hate-
full made
pleasants
with soft
words.
Clearing of
detts, Solon
first lawe.
Vsurie for-
bidden vpon
gage of the
bodye.
The value of
money cried
vp by Solon.*

*Lawes would
be kept strict
ill they be
published.*

*Ill conscien-
ces by craft
preuient lawe.*

*A good lawe-
maker, begin-
neth to doe
iustice in him
selfe.*

rise in euery mans mouthe) that equalitie dyd breede no stryfe: did aswell please the riche and A wealthe, as the poore and needie. For the one forte conceyued of this worde equalitie, that he would measure all things according to the qualitie of the man: & the other tooke it for their purpose, that he would measure things by the number, & by the polle only. Thus the capitaines of both factions perswaded & prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that foueraigne authoritie, sithence he had the whole citie nowe at his commaundement. The newwters also of euery parte, when they sawe it very harde to pacifie these things with lawe and reason, were well content that the wisest, and honestest man, should alone haue the royall power in his handes. Some saye also that there was such an oracle of *Apollo*.

*Sitt thou at helme, as gouernour to steere
to guyde our course, and rule the rowling shippe,
for thou shalt see full many Athenians there,
wvill take thy parte, and after thee wvill trippe.*

But his familiar friendes aboute all rebuked him, saying he was to be accounted no better then a beast, if for feare of the name of tyranne, he would refuse to take vpon him a Kingdome: which is the most iust and honorable state, if one take it vpon him that is an honest man. As in olde time, *Tymondas* made him selfe King of those of *Negrepons*, with their consent: and as *Pittacus* was then presently of those of *METELIN*. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they saye he answered his friendes, that principallitie and tyrannie, was in deepe a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, whē he was once entered into it. And in certen verses that he wrote C to *Phocus*, thus he sayd:

*I neither blushe, nor yet repent my selfe,
that haue perswade, my native soyle all wayes,
and that therein (to howde vptrashe and pelfe)
no tyrants thought, could once eclipse my prayfe.
No might could moue, my minde to any wronge,
wvich might beblot, the glory of my name:
for so I thought to line in honour longe,
and farre excell all other men for same.*

Hereby appeareth plainly, that euen before he was chosen reformer of the state, to stablish D newe lawes: he was then of great countenance and authoritie. But he him selfe writeth, that many sayed of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of vsurping of this tyrannie:

*Suer, Solon wvas as a foole, and of a bashefull minde,
that wvould refuse the great good happe, wvich goddes to him asigne.
The praye wvas in his handes, yet durst he neuer drawe,
the net therefore: but soode abasht, and like a dastarde darve.
For had not that so bene, he wvould (for one dayes raigne,
to be a King in Athens) wvorne him selfe (all quicke) haue slayen.
And eke subwerted quyte, his familie wvith hall,
so fvvete it is to rule the roste, yelad in princely pall.*

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Nowe, notwithstanding he had refused the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remisse nor softe therefore in gouerning, neither would he bowe for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischief was tollerable, he dyd not straight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither dyd he so chaunge the state, as he might haue done, least if he should haue attempted to turne vpsidowne the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue bene neuer able to settle & stablish the same againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reason he would perswade his citizens vnto, or els by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he saied, softer with sweete, & force with iustice. And herewith agreeth his answer that he made afterwards, vnto one that asked him, if he had made the best E lawes he could for the *ATHENIAN* s: yea suer, sayeth he, such as they were to receiue. And thus that followeth also, they haue euer since obserued in the *Athenian* to gouern: to make certē things pleasaunt

*Salt resuseth
to be a ty-
rannus.
Tymondas,
and Pittacus
tyrannes.*

*Solon am-
fuer for ty-
rannie.*

*Excellent
temperance.*

A pleasaunt, that be hatefull, finely conueying them vnder culler of pleasing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garnisons, gardes: prisoners, houses. And all this came vp first by *Solons* inuention, who called cleering of detts, *Seisachtheian*: in English, discharge. For the first chaunge & reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordeined that all manner of detts past should be cleere, and no bodye should aske his detter any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth lende money out to vsurie, vpon couenants for the bodye to be bounde, if it were not repayed. Howbeit some write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were cōtēted that the interest only for vsury should be moderated, without taking away the whole dett: & that *Solon* called this easie & gentle discharge, *Seisachtheian*, with crying vp the value of money. For he raised the pound of siluer, being before but three score and thirtene B Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: so they which were to paye great summes of money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse number of peces then the dett could haue bene payed when it was borrowed. And so the detters gayned much, & the creditours lost nothing. Neuertheles the more parte of them which haue writen the same, saye, that this crying vp of money, was a generall discharge of all detts, conditions, & couenants vpon the same: whereto the very Poemes them selues, which *Solon* wrote, doe seeme to agree. For he gliorieth, & breaketh forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bawkes & marks, that separated mens lands through the countrie of *ATTICA*: & that now he had set at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the citizens of *ATHENS*, which for lacke of payment of their dettes had bene condēned for slaues to their creditours, he had brought many home again out of straitage C countries, where they had bene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall tongue: & other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had nowe set them all at good libertie. But while he was a doing this, men saye a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruelously. For hauing framed an Edict for clearing of all detts, and lacking only a lide to grace it with words, and to geue it some prety preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaimed: he opened him selfe somewhat to certaine of his familiers whom he trusted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hippocleus*) & tolde them how he would not medle with landes and possessions, but would only cleere and cut of all māner of detts. These men before the proclamation came out, went presently to the money men, & borrowed great summes of money of them, & layed it out straight vpon lade. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchased, but restored not the money they had borrowed. This fowle parte of theirs made *Solon* very ill spoken of, & wrofully blamed: as if he had not only suffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong, & iniustice. Notwithstanding he cleared him self of this slanderous reporte, losing fivē talents by his owne lawe. For it was well known that so much was due vnto him, & he was the first that following his owne proclamation, dyd clearly release his detters of the same. Other saye he was owing fifteene talents: and among the same, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they euer after called *Solons* friendes, *Grecocipides*, cutters of detts. This lawe neither liked the one nor the other sorte. For it greatly offended the riche, for cancelling their bondes: and it much more misliked the poore, because all landes and possessions they gaped for, were not made againe common, & euery bodye a like riche and wealthe, as *Lycurgus* had made the E *LACEDÆMONIANS*. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuthē descended of the right line from *Hercules*, & had many yeres bene king of *LACEDÆMON*, where he had gotten great authoritie, & made him self many friends: all which things together, dyd greatly helpe him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet also, he vsed more persuation then force, a good wimes thereof, the losse of his eye: preferring a lawe before his private iniurie, which hath power to persue a citie long in vnion and concord, and to make citizens to be neither poore nor riche. *Solon* could not attain to this, for he was born in a popular state, & a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one seeking to winne no credit with his citizez, but only by his counsaile. Now, that he got the ill will of the more parte of the citie, by his proclamation which he made: he him self doth F witnesse it, saying:

*Euen those wvich earst, did beare me friendly face,
and spake full saye, wvhere euer I them met:*

*Things hate-
full made
pleasaunt
with sweete
wordes.
Cleering of
detts, Solons
first lawe.
Vsnie for-
bidden vpon
gage of the
bodye.
The value of
money cried
up by Solon.*

*Lawe would
be kept secret
till they be
published.*

*All consciences
by crafts
presents lawe.*

*A good lawe
maker, begin-
neth to doe
iustice in him
selfe.*

*gan nor we beginne so looke full grym of grace,
and vvere (like foes) in force against me set.
As if I had done them some spite or scorne,
or open wronge; which vvere not to be borne.*

Neuertheles he sayeth immediately after, that with the same authoritie and power he had, a man possibily

*Could not controll the peoples mindes:
nor still their braynes; which vvre wrought like vvinde.*

But shortly after, hauing a feeling of the benefit of his ordinance, and euery one forgetting his priuate quarrell: they altogether made a common sacrifice, which they called the sacrifice of *Seisachthia*, or discharge, and chose *Solon* generall reformer of the lawe, and of the whole state of the comon weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common assemblies, voyces in election, iudgements in iustice, and the bodie of the Senate. And they gaue him also full power and authoritie, to sesse and take any of them, to appointe the number, what time the sesse should continue, and to keepe, confirme, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the ancient lawes and customes then in being. To beginne withall, he first tooke away all *Dracons* bloody lawes, fauouring for murder, and man slaughter, which were to seuer & cruell. For almost he dyd ordaine but one kinde of punishment, for all kinde of fautes and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idleness, were iudged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens horteyards, & gardens of fruite, or erbes, was as seuerly punished: as those who had committed sacriledge or murder. *Demades* therefore encountered it pleasauntly, when he sayed: that *Dracons* lawes were not written with incke, but with blood. And *Draco* him selfe being asked one daye, why his punishments were so vnequall, as death for all kinde of fautes: he answered. Bicause he thought the least offence worthe so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grieuous. Then *Solon* being desirous to haue the chief offices of the citie to remaine in riche mens handes, as already they dyd, and yet to mingle the authoritie of gouernment in such sorte, as the meaner people might beare a litle swaye, which they neuer could before: he made an estimate of the goodes of euery priuate citizen. And those which he founde yerely worthe fife hundred bushells of come, & other liquide fruites and vpwards, he called *Pentacosioedimnes*: as to saye, fife hundred bushell men of reuenue. And those that had three hundred bushells a yere, and were able to keepe a horse of seruice, he put in the second degree, and called them knights. They that might dispend but two hundred bushells a yere, were put in the thirde place, & called *Zengites*. All other vnder those, were called *Thetes*, as ye would saye, hyerlings, or craftes men liuing of their labour: whom he dyd not admit to beare any office in the citie, neither were they taken as free citizens, sauing they had voyces in elections, and assemblies of the citie, and in iudgements, where the people wholly iudged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpose: for hereby the most parte of priuate quarrells and strifes that grew among them, were in the ende layed open before the people. For he suffered those to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong iudgement in their causes. Furthermore, bicause his lawes were written somewhat obscurely, and might be diuerfly taken and interpreted: this dyd geue a great deale more authoritie and power to the iudges. For, considering all their controuersies could not be ended, and iudged by expresse lawe: they were driuen of necessitie allwayes to runne to the iudges, and debated their matters before them. In so muche as the iudges by this meanes came to be somewhat aboute the lawe: for they dyd euen expounde it as they would them selues. *Solon* self doth note this equall diuision of the publicke authoritie, in a place of his poesies, where he sayeth,

*Suche power haue I geuen, to common peoples hande,
as might become their meane est ate, with equity to stande:
and as I haue not pluckt from them their dignitie,
so haue I not to much increast, their small authoritie.
Vnto the riche like vvisite, I haue allowed no more,
then vrell might seeme (in iust conceit) sufficient for their store.*

And

Solons absolute authority in the common weale.

Solon tookes away all Dracons lawes.

Solon rated the ciuizen as a certain somme. Pentacosioedimni, Zengites, Thetes.

The darkness of the lawe increased, the authority of the iudge.

*And so I haue for both provided in such vvisite,
that neither shall eche other wronge, nor seeme for to despire.*

Yet considering it was meete to prouide for the pouertie of the common sorte of people: he suffered any man that would, to take vpon him the defence, of any poore mans case that had the wrong. For if a man were hurte, beate, forced, or otherwise wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully sue the offendour, and prosecute lawe against him. And this was a wife lawe ordained of him, to accustom his citizens to be forie one for anothers hurte, & so to feele it, as if any parte of his owne bodie had bene iniured. And they saye he made an answer on a time, agreeable to this law. For, being asked what citie he thought best gouerned: he answered. That citie where such as receyue no wronge, doe as earnestly defend wronge offered to other, as the very wrong & iniurie had bene done vnto them selues. He erected also the counsaill of the *Areopagites*, of those magistrates of the citie, out of which they dyd yerely chooe their gouernour: & he him self had bene of that number, for that he had bene gouernour for a yere. Wherefore perceyuing now the people were grown to a stomake, & hawtines of minde, bicause they were cleare discharged of their detts: he set one vp for matters of state, another counsell of an hundred chosen out of euery tribe, whereof foure hundred of them were to consult & debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great counsell of the people at large should be assembled, no matters should be put forth, onles it had bene before well considered of, & digested, by the counsell of the foure hundred. Moreover, he ordeined the higher court (should haue the chiefe authoritie & power ouer all things, and chiefly to see the lawe executed and maintained: supposing that the common weale being settled, and stayed with these two courtes (as with two stronge anker holdes) it should be the lesse tymouled and troubled, and the people also better pacified and quieted. The most parte of writers holde this opinion, that it was *Solon* which erected the counsaill of the *Areopagites*, as we haue sayed, and it is very likely to be true, for that *Draco* in all his lawes and ordinances made no manner of mention of the *Areopagites*, but allwayes speaketh to the *Ephetes* (which were iudges of life and death) when he spake of murder, or of any mans death. Notwithstanding, the eight law of the thirteenth table of *Solon* sayeth thus, in these very words, All such as haue bene banished or detected of naughty life, before *Solon* made his laws, shalbe restored againe to their goodes and good name, except those which were condemned by order of the counsaill of the *Areopagites*, or by the *Ephetes*, or by the Kings in open court, for murder, and death of any man, or for aspiring to vlurpe tyrannie. These wordes to the contrary, seeme to proue and testifie, that the counsell of the *Areopagites* was, before *Solon* was chosen reformer of the lawes. For howe could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counsell of the *Areopagites* before *Solon*, if *Solon* was the first that gaue it authoritie to iudge? onles a man will saye peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obscure and darke, and would supply that they lacked, with expounding of the same by them. Those which shalbe founde aintained and convicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the counsaill of the *Areopagites*, the *Ephetes*, or the gouernours of the citie when this lawe shall come forth: shall stand condemned still, and all other shalbe pardoned, restored, and set at libertie. Howe soeuer it is, sure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore amongst the rest of his lawes, one of them in deede was of his owne deuise: for the like was neuer stablished els where. And it is that lawe, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnholiest, who in a ciuill vpror among the citizens, sitteth still a looker on, and a neavter, and taketh parte with neither side. Whereby his minde was as it should appeare, that priuate men should not be only careful to put them selues & their causes in safety, nor yet should be careless for others mens matters, or thincke it a vertue not to meddle with the miseries and misfortunes of their countrie, but from the beginning of euery sedition that they should ioine with those that take the iustest cause in hande, and rather to hazarde them selues with such, then to tarie looking (without putting them selues in daunger) which of the two should haue the victorie. There is another lawe also, which at the first sight me thinketh is very vnholiest and fond. That if any man according to the lawe hath matched with a riche heire & inheritance, and of him selfe is impotent, and vnable to doe the office of a husband, she maye lawe-

The counsell of the Areopagites.

3 Counsellers elected in Athens.

Other lawes of Solon.

A lawe against inuention.

An act for marching with inheritance.

fully lye with any whom she liketh, of her husbands nearest kinsmen. Howbeit some affirme, A that it is a wife made lawe for those, which knowing them selues vnmeet to entertaine wedlocke, will for couetousnes of landes, maye with riche heires and possessioners, and minde to abuse poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of lawe: and will thincke to force and restraine nature. For, seeing the lawe suffereth an inheritour or possessor thus ill bestowed, at her pleasure to be bolde with any of her husbands kynne: men will either leaue to purchase such mariages, or if they be so careless that they will nedes maye, it shalbe to their extreme shame and ignominie, and so shall they deservely paye for their greedy couetousnes. And the lawe is well made also, bicause the wife hath not cope to all her husbands kynsmen, but vnto one choyce man whom she liketh best of his house: to the ende that the children that shalbe borne, shalbe at the least of her husbands bloude and kynred. This also confirmeth the same, B that such a newe married wife should be shut vp with her husband, and eate a quince with him: and that he also which marryeth such an inheritour, should of duty see her thryse a moneth at the least. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honest woman, that he loueth her, and that he esteemeth of her. Besides, it taketh away many mislikings and displeasures which oftentimes happen in such cases, and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it dyenot vterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke awaye all ioynters and dowries in other mariages, and willed that the wiues should bring their husbands but three gownes only, with some other little moueables of small value, and without any other thing as it were: vterly forbidding that they should buye their husbands, or that they should make marchaundise of mariages, as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman should maye together for issue, for pleasure, and for loue, but in no case for money. And for prooe hereof, *Diomysius* the tyranne of SICILE, one daye answered his mother (which would nedes be married to a young man of SYRACUSA) in this forte. I haue power, saith he, to breake the lawes of SYRACUSA, by hauing the Kingdome: but to force the law of nature, or to make marriage without the reasonable compasse of age, that passeth my reache and power. So is it not tolerable, and much lesse allowable also, that such disorder should be in well ordered cities, that such vncomely and vnfit mariages should be made, betweene coples of so vnequall yeres: considering there is no meete nor necessary ende of such matches. A wife gouernour of a cittie, or a iudge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well saye to an olde man that should D maye with a young mayde, as the Poet sayeth of *Philoctetes*:

*Al seely wretche, howe trynne a man arte thou,
as these young yeres, for to be married now?*

And finding a young man in an olde riche womans house, getting his liuing by riding of her errands, and waxing fat as they saye the partridge doth by treading of the hennes: he maye take him from thence, to bestowe him on some young mayde that shall haue neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another lawe of *Solons*, which forbiddeth to speake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touche the dead, no more than to touche holy things: and men should take great heede to offend those that are departed out of this world, besides it is a token of wisdom and ciuillitie, to beware of immortall enemies. He commaunded also in the selfe same lawe, that no man should speake ill of the liuing, specially in Churches, during diuine seruice, or in counsaill chamber of the cittie, nor in the Theaters whilst games were a playing: vpon payne of three siluer Drachmes to be payed to him that was iniured, & two to the common treasure. For he thought it to much shameles boldnes, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreover, that such lacked ciuillitie and good manners: and yet altogether to suppress and smother it, he knewe it was not only a harde matter, but to some natures vnpossible. And he that maketh lawes, must haue regarde to the common possibilitie of men, if he will punish the litle, with profitable example, and not much without some profit. So was he maruelously well thought of, for the lawe that he made touching willes and testaments. For before, F men might not lawfully make their heires whom they would, but the goodes came to the childre or kynred of the testatour. But he leauing it at libertie, to dispose their goods where they

*Solon forbid-
deth ioynters
and dowries.*

*Diomysius
saying of ma-
riages.*

*A lawe forbid-
ding to speake
euill of the
dead.*

Drachme.

*A lawe for
willes and te-
staments.*

A they thought good, so they had no children of their owne: dyd therein preferre friendship before kynred, and good will and fauour before necessitie and constraint, and so made euery one lorde and master of his owne goodes. Yet he dyd not simply and a like allowe all sortes of giftes, howsoeuer they were made: but those only which were made by men of found memorie, or by those whose wittes sayled them not by extreme sicknes, or through drincks, medicines, poysonings, charmes, or other such violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither yet through the inticements and persuasions of women. As thincking very wisely, there was no difference at all betweene those that were evidently forced by constraint, and those that were compassed and wrought by subornation at length to doe a thing against their will, taking fraude in this case equall with violence, and pleasure with sorowe, as passions with madnes, which commonly haue as much force the one as the other, to drawe and drie men from reason. He made another lawe also, in which he appointed women their times to goe abroad into the fieldes, their mourning, their feastes and sacrifices, plucking from them all disorder and wilfull libertie, which they vsed before. For he dyd forbid that they should carie out of the cittie with them about three gownes, and to take vittells with them about the value of an halfe pennie, neither basket nor pannier about a cubite highe: and specially he dyd forbid them to goe in the night, other then in their coche, and that a torche should be caried before them. He dyd forbid them also at the buriall of the dead, to teare and spoyle them selues with blowes, to make lamentations in verses, to weepe at the funeralles of a straunger not being their kinsman, to sacrifice an ox on the graue of the dead, to burie about three C gownes with the corse, to goe to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corse: all which or the most parte of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this daye. Moreover, those lawes appointe a penaltie vpon such women as offend in the same, to be distrayned for, by certaine officers expressely named, to controll and reforme the abuses of women, as womanish perones and saynte harted, which suffer them selues to be ouercome with such passions and fondnes in their mourning. And perceyuing that the cittie of ATHENS beganne to replenish daylie more and more, by mens repaying thither from all partes, and by reason of the great assured safetie, and libertie that they founde there: and also considering howe the greatest parte of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men trafficking the seas, are not wonte to bring any marchaundise to those, which can geue them nothing againe in exchange: he beganne to practise that his citizens should giue them selues vnto D craftes and occupations, and made a lawe, that the sonne should not be bounde to relieue his father being olde, onles he had set him in his youth to some occupation. It was a wise parte of *Lycurgus* (who dwelt in a cittie where was no resort of strangers, and had so great a territorie as could haue furnished twise as many people, as *Euripides* layeth, and moreover on all sides was enuironned with a great number of slaues of the ILOTES, whom it was needefull to keepe still in labour and worcke continually) to haue his citizens allwayes occupied in exercises of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other science, but discharged them of all other miserable occupations and handy craftes. But *Solon* framing his lawes vnto things, & not things vnto lawes, when he sawe the cuntry of ATTICA so leane and barren, E that it could hardly bring forth to susteine those that tilled the grounde only, and therefore much more impossible to keepe so great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requisite to set vp occupations, and to geue them countenance and estimation. Therefore he ordeined, that the counsaill of the *Areopagites*, should haue full power, and authoritie to enquier how euery man liued in the cittie, & also to punish such as they found idle people, and dyd not labour. But this was thought to seure and straight a lawe which he ordeined (as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth) that the children borne of common harlots and strumpets should not be bounde to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainly sheweth that he tooke not a wife to haue children, but only to satisfie his lust and pleasure: and so such an one hath his iust reward, and is disappointed of the reuerence that a father ought to haue of his children, since through his owne faulte the birth of his childre falleth out to his reproche. Yet to saye truly, in *Solons* laws touching women, there are many oburdinies, as they fall out ill fauoredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an I ij

*A lawe for
women going
abroad.*

*Craftes and
occupations
aduanced.*

*The author-
itie of the
counsaill of
the Areopa-
gites.*

Drachme.

The tribes of
the Athenians
howe they
were called.An'esse for
weller.An'esse for
planting and
setting of
trees.

adulterer taking him with the facke. But he that rauisheth or forcibly taketh away a free woman, is only condemned to paye a hundred siluer drachmes. And he that was the Pandor to procure her, should only paye twenty drachmes. Onleshe had bene a common strumpet or curtisan: for such doe iustly open access, to all that will hier them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any persone to sell his daughters or sisters, onles the father or brother had taken them, abusing them selues before marriage. Me thinketh it is farre from purpose and reason, with seueritie to punish a thing in one place, and our lightly to passe it ouer in another: or to set some light fine on ones head for a great fault, and after to discharge him, as it were but a matter of sporte. Onles they will excuse it thus, that money being very harde & scante at that time in Athens, those fines were then very great & grievous to paye. For in setting out the charges of offerings which should be made in sacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a conuenient offering, and he setteth a buiffell of come at a siluer drachme. More he ordeined, that they which wonne any of the games at Athens, should paye to the common treasure an hundred drachmes. And those that wone any of the games Olympicall, fise hūdrē drachmes. Also he appointed that he which brought a woulfe, should haue fise drachmes, & him one drachme for reward of a she woulfe. Whereofas Demetrius Phalerian writeth: the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordeined in the sixteenth table of his lawes mete for burnt sacrifices, it is likely he dydrate them at a much higher price, then ordinarily they were worth: and yet notwithstanding, the price which he setteth, is very little in comparison of that which they are worth at this daye. Nowe it was a custome euer amongst the Athenians to kill their woulfes, because all their coutrie laye for pasture, & not for tillage. Some there be that saye, the tribes of the people of Athens haue not bene called after the names of the children of Ion, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their diuers trades & manners of liuing, which they tooke them selues vnto from the beginning. For, such as gaue them selues vnto the warres, were called *Oplites*: as who would saye, men of armes. Those that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to saye, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, & followed the plough, were called *Teleontes*: as you would saye, labouring men. And those that kept beastes & cattell, were called *Agiores*: as much to saye, as heard men. Nowe, forasmuch as the whole prouince of Attica was very drye, and had great lacke of water, being not full of riuers, running streames, nor lakes, nor yet stored with any great nūber of springs, inso much as they are driuen there to vse (through the most parte of the countrie) water drawn out of welles made with mens handes: he made such an order, that where there was any well within the space of an Hippicon, that euery bodye within that circuite, might come and drawe water onely at that well, for his vse and necessitie. Hippicon is the distaunce of foure furlonges, which is halfe a mile: & those that dwelt further off, should goe seeke their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged tenne yardes deepe in their grounde, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this case, they might lawfully goe to their next neighbours well, and take a pot full of water containing fix gallons, twise a daye: iudging it great reason that necessitie should be holpen, but not that idleness should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept & obserued by those, that would set or plant trees in their grounde, as being a man very skillfull in these matters. For he ordeined, that whosoever would plante any kynde of trees in his grounde, he should set them fise foote a fonder one from another: but for the figge tree and olyue tree specially, that they should in any case be nine foote a fonder, because these two trees doe spread out their branches farre off, & they cannot stand neere other trees, but they must needs hurte them very much. For besides that they drawe away the fame that doth nourish the other trees, they cast also a certaine moisture & steame vpon them, that is very hurtefull & incōmodious. More he ordeined, that whosoever would digge a pytte or hole in his grounde, he should digge it as farre of from his neighbours pytt, as the pytte he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would set vp a hūe of bees in his grounde, he should set them at the least three hundred foote from other hūes set about him before. And of the fruites of the earth, he was contented they should transpore and sell only oyle out of the Realme to straungers, but no other fruitie or graine. He ordeined that the go-

uermour

Drachma.

Feasts for
younge men in
the towne
hall of Athis.

Axones.

Cyrbes.

The smotherer.

A uermour of the cittie should yerey proclaim open curses against those that should doe to the contrarie, or els he him selfe making default therein, should be fined at a hundred drachmes. This ordinance is in the first table of Solon lawes, and therefore we maye not altogether discredit those which saye, they did forbid in the olde time that men should carie figges out of the countrie of Attica, and that from thence it came that these picke thanckes, which bewraye & accuse them that transported figges, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another lawe also against the hurte that beastes might doe vnto men. Vv herein he ordeined, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him should deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tyed to a logge of timber of foure cubites longe: & this was a very good deuise, to make men safe from dogges. But he was very straight in one lawe he made, that no straunger might be made denizen and free man of the cittie of Athens, onles he were a banished man for euer out of his countrie, or els that he should come & dwell there with all his familie, to exercise some crafte or science. Notwithstanding, they saye he made not this lawe so much to put straungers from there freedome there, as to drawe them thither, assuring them by this ordinance, they might come and be free of the cittie: and he thought moreover, that both the one & the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of Athens. The one of them, for that against their willes they were driuen to forsake their countrie: & the other sorte, for that aduisedly and willingly they were contented to forsake it. This also was another of Solons lawes, which he ordeined for those that should feast certē dayes at the towne house of the cittie, at other mens cost. For he would not allow, that one man should come often to feasts there. And if any man were invited thither to the feast, and dyd refuse to come: he dyd set a fine on his head, as reprocuing the miserable nigardlines of the one, and the presumptuous arrogancy of the other, to containe & despise common order. After he had made his lawes, he dyd stablish them to continue for the space of one hundred yeres, and they were written in tables of wood called *Axones*, which were made more long then broade, in the which they were grauen: whereof there remaine some monuments yet in our time, which are to be seene in the towne hall of the cittie of Athens. *Aristotle* sayeth, that these tables were called *Cyrbes*. And *Cratinus* also the Comicall poet sayeth in one place, of Solon & Dracon: that *Cyrbes* was a vessell or panne wherein they dyd frye miller or hirse. Howbeit others saye, that *Cyrbes* properly were the tables, which contained the ordinances of the sacrifices: and *Axones* were the other tables, that concerned the common weale. So, all the counsels & magistrates together dyd sweare, that they would kepe Solons lawes them selues, & also cause them to be obserued of others, thoroughly & particularly. Then euery one of the *Thesmothetes* (which were certaine officers attendaunt on the counsell, & had speciall charge to see the lawes obserued) dyd solēly sweare in the open market place, neere the stone where the proclamations are proclaimed: and euery of them, both promised, & vowed openly to keepe the same lawes, & that if any of them dyd in any one pointe breake the said ordinances, then they were content that such offender should paye to the temple of *Apollo*, at the citie of Delphes, an image of fine golde, that should waye as much as him self. Moreover Solon seeing the disorder of the moneths, & the moouing of the moone, which followed not the course of the sunne, & vied not to rise & fall when the sunne doth, but oftentimes in one daye, it doth both touche & passe the sunne: he was the first that called the change of the moone, *Ene cai néa*, as much to saye, as olde and newe moone. Allowing that which appeared before the coniunction, to be of the moneth past: & that which shewed it self after the coniunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the first also (in my opinion) that vnderstoode *Homer* rightly, when he sayed: then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the change, he called *Neomenia*, as much to saye, as the newe moneth, or the newe moone. After the twenty day of the moneth which they called *Teada*, he reckoned not the rest of the moneth, as increasing, but as in the wane: & gathered it by seeing the light of the moone decreasing vntill the thirtiē day. Now after his lawes were come abroad, & proclaimed, there came some daylie vnto him, which either praised them, or misliked them: & prayed him either to take awaye, or to adde some thing vnto them. Many againe came & asked him, howe he vnderstoode some sentēce of his lawes: & requested him to declare his meaning, & how it should be taken. Wherefore considering howe it were to no purpose to refuse to doe it, and againe

howe it would get him much enuie & ill will to yelde thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to winde him selfe out of these bryars, and to flye the gronings, complaints, and quarrells of his citizens. For he sayeth him selfe:

*Full harde it is, all mindes content to haue,
and specially in matters harde and graue.*

So, to conuey him selfe a while out of the waye, he tooke vpon him to be master of a shippe in a certaine voyage, and asked licence for tenne yerres of the ATHENIANS to goe beyond sea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his lawes. So went he to the seas, & the first place of his arriuall was in EGYPT, where he remained a while, as he him selfe sayeth. *Euen there where Nylus, with his crooked crankes
by Canoe, fall's into the sea bankes.*

He went to his booke there, and dyd contere a certaine time with *Psenophis Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis Saitan*, two of the wisest priestes at that time that were in EGYPT: whom when he heard rehearse the storie of the lles ATLANTIDES as *Plato* writeth, he proued to put the same in verse, & dyd send it abroad through GREECE. At his departure out of EGYPT he went into CYPRUS, where he had great curtesy & friendship of one of the princes of that countrie, called *Philocyprus*, who was lorde of a pretty litle cittie which *Demophon (Thefeus sonne)* caused to be built vpon the riuier of *Clarie*, & was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane and barren countrie. Whereupō *Solon* tolde him, it would doe better a great deale to remoue it out of that place, into a very fayre & pleasaunt valley that laye vnderneath it, and there to make it larger & statelier then it was: which was done according to his perswasio. And *Solon* selfe being C present at it, was made ouerfeer of the buildings, which he dyd helpe to deuise and order in good sorte, as well in respect of pleafure, as for force and defence: inso much as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lordes of the countrie dyd followe the example of this *Philocyprus*, who to honour *Solon*, called his cittie *SOLES*, which before was called *ÆPIA*. *Solon* in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his wordes vnto *Philocyprus*, as followeth.

*So graunt the goddess, that thou, and shine off spring
maye chyme to great, and passing princely state:
long time to liue, in Soles florishing.*

*And that they graunt, my shippe and me good gate
when I from hence, by seas shall take my voyaye:
that with her harpe, dame Venus doe vouchsafe
to waite me still, vntill she maye conueye
my selfe againe, into my countrey safe.*

*Since I haue bene, she only meane and man,
which here to build, this cittie first beganne.*

And as for the meeting & talke betwixt him & king *Cræsus*, I know there are that by distace of time will proue it but a fable, & deuised of pleasure: but for my parte I will not reiect, nor cōdemne so famous an historie, receiued & approued by so many graue testimonies. Moreouer it is very agreeable to *Solons* maners & nature, & also not vnlike to his wisdom & magnanimitie: E although in all pointes it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call *Chronicles*) where they haue busily noted the order and course of times which euen to this daye, many haue curiously sought to correct, & could yet neuer discusse it, nor accorde all contraries & manifest repugnances in the same. *Solon* at the desire & request of *Cræsus*, went to see him in the cittie of SARDIS. When *Solon* was come thither, he seemed to be in the selfe same taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne & bred vp on the mayne lande, & had neuer seene the sea neither farre nor neere, did imagine euery riuier that he sawe had bene the sea. So *Solon* passing alongest *Cræsus* palace, & meeting by the waye many of the lordes of his countrie richly apparelled, & carying great traines of seruing men, & souldiers about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill he was brought vnto *Cræsus* selfe. Who was F passing richly arrayed, what for precious stones & iuells, & for riche culled silkes, layed on with curious goldsmithes worke, & all to shewe him selfe to *Solon* in most stately, sumptuous, & magni-

*Solon sawe
king Cræsus
in the cittie
of Sardis.*

A magnificent manner. Who perceiuing by *Solons* repaire to his presence, that he shewed no manner of signe, nor countenance of wounding, to see lo great a state before him, neither had geuen out any word neere or likely to that which *Cræsus* looked for in his owne imagination; but rather had deliuered speeches for men of iudgement and vnderstanding to know, how inwardly he much did milke *Cræsus* foolish vanitie & bale minde: then *Cræsus* commaunded all his treasuries to be opened where his golde & siluer laye, next that they should shewe him his riche & sumptuous wardropes, although that needed not for to see *Cræsus* selfe, it was enough to discerne his nature & condition. After he had seene all ouer & ouer, being brought againe vnto the presence of the King: *Cræsus* asked him, if euer he had seene any mā more happy than him selfe was: *Solon* answered him, I haue: & that was one *Tellus* a citizen of ATHENS, who was

*Cræsus que-
ries to Solon
touching hap-
pines. Solon effee-
med. Tellus a
happie man.*

B a maruelous honest man, & had left his children behind him in good estimatio, & well to liue, & lastly, was most happy at his death, by dying honorably in the field, in defence of his countrie. *Cræsus* hearing this answer, beganne to iudge him a man of litle witte, or of grosse vnderstand- ing, bicause he did not thinke that to haue store of gold & siluer, was the only ioye & felicitie of the world, & that he would preferre the life & death of a meane & priuate man as more happy, than all the riches & power of so mightie a King. Notwithstanding all this, *Cræsus* yet asked him again: What other man beside *Tellus* he had seene happier than him selfe: *Solon* answered him, that he had seene *Cleobis & Biton*, which were both brethern, & loued one another singularly well, & their mother in such sorte: that vpon a solemne festiual daye, when the should goe to the temple of *Iuno* in her coche drawn with oxen: bicause they taried too long ere

*Cleobis & Bi-
ton happy mē.*

C they could be brought, they both willingly yoked them selues by the necks, & dree their mothers coche in stead of the oxen, which maruelously reioyced her, and she was thought most happy of all other, to haue borne two such sonnes. Afterwards when they had done sacrifice to the goddesse, & made good cheere at the feast of this sacrifice, they went to bed: but they rose not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurt or sorowe, after they had receyued so much glorie & honour. *Cræsus* then could no longer bridle in his patience, but breaking out in chollier, sayed vnto him: why, dost thou reckon me than in no degree of happy men? *Solon* would neither flatter him, nor further increase his heate, but answered him thus: O King of LYDIANS, the godds haue geue vS GRECIANS all things in a meane; & amongst other things chiefly, a bale & popular wisdom, not princely nor noble: which,

*Solon commē-
deth the
meane.*

D considering howe mans life is subiect to infinite chaunges, doth forbid vs to trust or glorie in these worldly riches. For time bringeth daylie misfortunes vnto man, which he neuer thought of, nor looked for. But when the goddes haue continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we thinke that man happy and blessed, and neuer before. Otherwise, if we should iudge a man happy that liueth, considering he is euer in daunger of chaunge during life: we should be much like to him, who iudgeth him the victorie before hande, that is still a fighting, & maye be ouercomen, hauing no surtie yet to carie it away. After *Solon* had spoken these words, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned backe againe; leaving king *Cræsus* offended, but nothing the wiser, nor amended. Nowe *Æsop* that wrote the fables, being at that time in the cittie of SARDIS, & sent for thither by the King, who entertained him very honorably: was ve-

*No man hap-
pie before his
ende.*

E ry forie to see that the King had geuen *Solon* no better entertainment: for by waye of aduise he said vnto him, O *Solon*, either we must not come to princes at all, or els we must seeke to please & content them. But *Solon* turning it to the contrary, answered him: either we must not come to princes, or we must needs tell them truly, & counsell them for the best. So *Cræsus* made light accompt of *Solon* at that time. But after he had lost the battell against *Cyrus*, and that his cittie was taken, him selfe became prisoner, & was bounde fast to a gibbet, ouer a great stacke of wood, to be burnt in the sight of all the PERSIANS, & of *Cyrus* his enemy: he then cried out as lowde as he could, thrise together. O *Solon*, *Cyrus* being abashed, sent to aske him, whether this *Solon* he only cried vpon in his extreme miserie, was a god or man. *Cræsus* kept it not secret from him, but sayed he was one of the wise men of GREECE, whom I sent for to come vnto me on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I stood in need of; but only that he might witnesse my felicitie, which then I dyd enioye: the losse whereof is now more hurtfull, than the enioying of the same was good or profitable. But nowe (alas) to late I

*Æsop say-
ing to Solon.
Solon answer-
ed to Æsop.*

*King Cræsus
worde of Solon
hanging
vpon a gibbet
to be burnt.*

Riches are
but words &
opinion.

Sedition as
Athen in So-
lons absence.

Solon return-
eth to A-
thens.

Pisistratus
wicked craft
& subtiltie.

Theſpis a ma-
ker of trage-
dies.

Solon repro-
ued Theſpis
for lying.

know it, that the riches I possessed then, were but words & opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter sorrow, and to present and remediless calamities. Which the wife **GREGIAN** considering then, and foreseeing a fate of by my doings at that time, the instant miserie I suffer now: gaue me warning I should make the end of my life, and that I should not to farre presume of my selfe, as puffed vp then with vaine glorie of opinion of happines, the ground thereof being so slippery, and of so little surtie. These wordes being reported vnto **CYTUS**, who was wiser than **Craſus**, & seeing **Solons** saying confirmed by so notable an example: he dyd not only deliuer **Craſus** from present perill of death, but euer after honoured him so long as he liued. Thus had **Solon** glorie, for sauing the honour of one of these Kings: & the life of the other, by his graue & wise counsaill. But during the time of his absence, great seditions rose at **ATHENS** amongst the inhabitants, who had gotten them severall heades amongst them: as those of **B** the vallie had made **Lycurgus** their head. The coast men, **Megacles**, the sonne of **Alcemon**. And those of the mountaines, **Pisistratus**: with whom all artificers & craftsmen living of their händ labour were ioynd, which were the flowtest against the riche. So that notwithstanding the citie kept **Solons** lawes and ordinaunces, yet was there not that man but gaped for a change, and desired to see things in another state: either parties hoping their condition would mende by chaunge, and that euery of them should be better than their aduersaries. The whole common weale broyling thus with troubles, **Solon** arrived at **ATHENS**, where euery mā did honour and reuerence him, howbeit he was no more able to speake alowde in open assembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, because his age would not suffer him: & therefore he spake with euery one of the heades of the severall factions a parte, trying if he could agree and reconcile them together againe. Whereunto **Pisistratus** seemed to be more willing then any of the rest, for he was courteous, and maruelous fayer spoken, and shewed him selfe besides, very good and pittiefull to the poore, and temperate also to his enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he dyd so finely counterfeite it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in those that naturally had it in them in deede. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aspiring no higher, and hating those which would attempt to chaunge the present state of the common weale, and would practise any innouation. By this arte and fine manner of his, he deceyued the poore common people. Howbeit **Solon** found him straight, and sawe the marke he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and fought still to winne him, and bring him to reason, saying oftentimes, both to him selfe, and to others. That who so could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which he aspired to be the chiefeſt, and could heale him of his greedy desire to rule: there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better citizen than he would proue. About this time began **Theſpis** to set out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the people for the rarenes thereof, being not many poets yet in number, to strue one against another for victorie, as afterwards there were. **Solon** being naturally desirous to heare and learne, and by reason of his age seeking to passe his time awaye in sportes, in musick, & making good cheere more then euer he dyd: went one daye to see **Theſpis**, who played a parte him selfe, as the olde facion of the Poets was, and after the playe was ended, he called him to him, and asked him: if he were not ashamed to lye so openly in the face of the worlde. **Theſpis** answered him, that it was not materiall to doe or saye any such things, considering all was but in sporte. Then **Solon** beating the grounde with his staffe he had in his hande: but if we commend lying in sporte (& he) we shall finde it afterwards in good earnest, in all our bargaines & dealings. Shortly after **Pisistratus** hauing wounded him selfe, and bloudied all his bodie ouer, caused his men to carie him in his coche into the market place, where he put the people in an vtper, & tolde them that they were his enemies that thus traitorously had hādled & arraigned him, for that he stood with them about the gouerning of the cōmon weale: inso much as many of the were maruelously offended, & mutined by & by, crying out it was shamefully done. Then **Solon** drawing neere sayed vnto him, O thou sonne of **Hippocrates**, thou doest ill fauoredly counterfeite the persone of **Homers** Vlyſſes: for thou hast whipped thy self to deceiue thy citizeis, as he did teare & scratch him self to deceiue his F enemies. Notwithstanding this, the common people were still in vtper, being ready to take armes for **Pisistratus**: and there was a generall counsell assembled, in the which one **Ariston** spake,

A spake, that they should graunte fiftie men, to cary holberds and mafes before **Pisistratus** for garde of his persone. But **Solon** going vp into the pulpit for orations, flowtely inuayed against it: and perswaded the people with many reasons, like vnto these he wrote afterwards in verse.

Each one of you (6 men) in private attes,
can playe the foxe, for slye and subtil craft:
But when you come, yf ore (in all your factes)
then are you blinde, dull witted and bedast.
For pleasant speache, and painted flatterie,
beguile you still, the which you neuer slye.

But in the ende, seeing the poore people dyd tumult still, taking **Pisistratus** parte, and that the riche fled there and there, he went his waye all so, saying: he had shewed him selfe wiser than some, and hardier than other. Meaning, wiser than those which sawe not **Pisistratus** reache and letche: and hardier than they which knewe very well he dyd aspire to be King, and yet neuertheles durst not resist him. The people went on with the motion of **Ariston**, and authorized the same, touching the graunte of halberders: limiting no number, but suffered him to haue about him and to assemble, as many as he would, vntill such time, as he had gotten possession of the castell. Then the citie was maruelously affrayed and amazed: and presently **Megacles**, and all those which were of the house of the **Alcemonides** dyd slye **Solon**, who for yeares was now at his last cast, and had no man to sticke vnto him: went notwithstanding into the market place, and spake to the citizeis whom he found there, and rebuked their beastliness, and sayne cowardly hartes, and encouraged them not to lose their libertie. He spake at that time notably, and worthie memorie, which euer after was remembered. Before sayed he; you might more easely haue stayed this present tyrannie: but now that it is already facioned, you shall winne more glorie, vtterly to suppress it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all so amazed. Wherefore he hid him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his house, and layed them before his gate in the middest of the streete, saying. For my parte, I haue done what I can possibly, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my cōuntry. So from that time he beneuole him selfe vnto his ease, and neuer after delt any more in matters of state, or common weale. His friends dyd counsell him to slye: but all they could not perswade him to it. For he kept his house, and gaue him selfe D to make verses: in which he fore reproued the **ATHENIANS** faults, laying:

Solons libe-
rie & con-
science.

If presently, your burden heavy be:
yet murmur not against the gods therefore.
The fault is yours, as you your selues may see,
which graunted haue of mightie mars the lore,
to such as noure, by your direction
doe holde your necks, in this subiection.

His friends hereupon dyd warne him, to beware of such speaches, and to take hede what he sayed: least if it came vnto the tyrannes eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he trusted, that he spake so boldly. He answered them, in my age. E Howbeit **Pisistratus** after he had obtained his purpose, sending for him vpon his worde and faith, dyd honour and entertaine him so well, that **Solon** in the ende became one of his counsaill, and approued many things which he dyd. For **Pisistratus** him selfe dyd straightly keepe, and caused his friends to keepe **Solons** lawes. Inso much as when he was called by proces into the court of the **Arepagites** for a murder, euen at that time when he was a tyrant: he presented him selfe very modestly to aunswer his accusation, and to purge him selfe thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further. **Pisistratus** him selfe also dyd make newe lawes: as this. That he that had bene maymed, and made lame of any member in the warres, (should be maintained all his life long, at the common charges of the citie. The selfe same was before decreed by **Thersippus** (as **Heraclides** writeth) by **Solons** persuation: who dyd F ferre it to the counsell. **Pisistratus** afterwards tooke holde of the motion, and from thence forth made it a generall lawe. **Theophrastus** sayeth also, it was **Pisistratus**, and not **Solon**, that

A good lawe
for reward of
seruice.

made the lawe for idlenes: which was the only cause that the countrie of ATTICA became A more fruitefull, being better manured: and the cittie of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But Solon hauing begonne to write the storie of the Iles ATLANTIDES in verse (which he had learned of the wise men of the cittie of SAIS in EGYPT, and was very necessary for the ATHENIANS) grewe weariye, and gaue it ouer in mid waye: not for any matters or busines that troubled him, as Plato sayed, but only for his age, and bicause he feared the tediousnes of the worke. For otherwife he had leysure enough, as appeareth by his verses where he sayeth:

I growe olde, and yet I learne still.

And in another place where he sayeth,

*Norue Venus yeldes me foruete delights,
and Bacchus lends me comfort still:
the muses eke yefreshe my brightnes,
and much relieue my vveariy will.*

*These be the pointes of perfect ease,
which all mens mindes of times doe please.*

Plato afterwards for beawtifying of the storie and fables of the Iles ATLANTIDES, was desirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by waye of speache haue broken vp a field or layelande of his owne, or that this giste had descended to him of right from Solon. He beganne to raise vp a stately fronte vnto the same, and enclosed it with high walles, and large squared courtes at the entrie thereof: such was it, as neuer any other worke, fable, or poetical inuention had euer so notable, or the like. But bicause he beganne a litle to late, he ended his life before his worke, leauing the readers more sorowfull for that was left vnwritten, than they tooke pleasure in that they founde written. For euen as in the cittie of ATHENS, the temple of Jupiter Olympian only remained vnperfect: so the wisdom of Plato (amongest many goodly matters of his that haue come abroad) left none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Iles ATLANTIDES. Solon liued long time after Pisistratus had vsurped the tyrannie, as Heracles Ponticus writeth. Howbeit Phanias Ephesian writeth, that he liued not aboue two yeres after. For Pisistratus vsurped tyrannicall power in the yere that Comius was chief gouernour in ATHENS. And Phanias writeth, that Solon dyed in the yere that Hegesistratus was gouernour, which was the next yere after that. And where some saye, the ashes of his bodie were after his death strawed abroad through the Ile of SALAMINA: that seemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuertheles it hath bene written by many notable authors, and amongst others, by Aristotle the philosopher.

The ende of Solons life.

THE

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS

Valerius Publicola.



NO WE haue declared what Solon was, we haue thought good to compare him with Publicola, to whom the ROMAINS people for an honour gaue that surname: for he was called before *Publius Valerius*, The house of P. Valerius: descended from that auncient Valerius, who was one of the chiefeft workers and meanes, to bring the ROMAINS and the SABYNES that were mortall enemies, to ioyne together as one people. For it was he that most moued the two Kings to agree, and ioyne together. Publicola being descended of him, whilest the Kings dyd rule yet at ROME, was in very great estimation, as well for his eloquence, as for his riches: vsing the one rightly and freely, for the maintenaunce of iustice, and the other liberally and curteously, for the relief of the poore. So that it was manifest, if the Realme came to be conuerted into a publicke state, he should be one of the chiefeft men of the same. It chaunced that king Tarquine furnished the provde, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarylie by indirect and wicked wayes, and behauing him selfe not like a King, but like a cruell tyrant: the people much hated and detested him, by reason of the death of Lucretia (which killed her selfe for that he was forcibly rauished by him) & so the whole cittie rose and rebelled against him. Lucius Brutus taking vpon him to be the head and captaine of this insurrection and rebellion, dyd ioyne first with this Valerius: who dyd greatly fauour and assist his enterpryse, and did helpe him to driue out king Tarquine with all his house & familie. Nowe whilest they were thinking that the people would chuse some one alone to be chief ruler ouer them, in stead of a King: Valerius kept him selfe quiet, as yielding willingly vnto Brutus the first place, who was meetest for it, hauing bene the chief authour and worcker of their recovered libertie. But when they sawe the name of Monarchie (as much to saye, as fouerantie alone) was displeasaut to the people, and that they would like better to haue the rule deuided vnto two, and how for this cause they would rather choose two Consuls: Valerius then began to hope, he should be the seconde person with Brutus. Howbeit this hope fayled him. For against Brutus will, Tarquinius Collatinus (the husband of Lucretia) was chosen Consul with him: not bicause he was a man of greater vertue, or of better estimation than Valerius. But the

Tarquinius Superbus.

Valerius, Brutus companion, in expelling the Kings.

Lucius Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus Consul.

noble men of the citie fearing the practises of the Kings abroad, which fought by all the fayer & flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the citie: dyd determine to make such an one Consul, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heauy enemy, perswading them felues that *Tarquinius Collatinus* would for no respect yeld vnto them. *Valerius* tooke this matter greuouly, but they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not doe any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: notwithstanding he had neuer any priuate iniurie offered him by the tyrannes. Wherefore, he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for priuate men, and wholly gaue vp to medle in matters of state: inso much as he gaue many occasion to thincke of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared least vpon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings side, and so bring all the citie in an vpror, considering it stood then but in very tickle termes. But when *Brutus*, who stood in iealousie of some, would by othe be assured of the Senate, & had appointed them a daye solemnely to take their othes vpon the sacrifices: *Valerius* then with a good cheerefull countenance came into the market place, and was the first that tooke his othe he would leaue nothing vndone, that might preiudice the *Tarquines*, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the libertie of the citie. This othe of his maruelously reioyced the Senate, & gaue great assurance also to the Consuls, but specially, because his dedes dyd shortly after performe his wordes. For there came ambassadours to Rome which brought letters from king *Tarquine*, full of siveete & lowly speeches to winne the fauour of the people, with commission to vie all the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardened hartes of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pryde and crueltie, & ment to aske nought but reasonable things. The Consuls thought best to geue them open audience, and to suffer them to speake to the people. But *Valerius* was against it, declaring it might perill the state much, and deliuer occasion of new sturre vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more affrayed of warres, then of tyrannie. After that, there came other ambassadours also, which sayed that *Tarquine* would from thenceforth for euer geue ouer and renounce his title to the Kingdome, and to make any more warres, but besought them only, that they would at the least deliuer him and his friends their money and goods, that they might haue wherewithall to keepe them in their banishment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeld to this request, and specially *Collatinus*, one of the Consuls who dyd fauour their motion. But *Brutus* that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his harte, ranne immediately into the market place, crying out that his fellowe Consul was a traytour, and contented to graunt the tyrannes matter, and meanes to make warre vpon the citie, where in deede they deserued not so much, as to be relieved in their exile. Hereupon the people assembled together, and the first that spake in this assembly, was a priuate man called *Gaius Minutius*, who speaking vnto *Brutus*, & to the whole assembly, sayed vnto them. O noble Consul & Senate, handle so the matter, that the tyrannes goods be rather in your custodie to make warre with them, than in theirs, to bring warre vpon your felues. Notwithstading, the *ROMAINES* were of opinion, that hauing gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrannes: they should not disapioint the offered peace, with keeping backe their goodes, but rather they should throwe their goods out after them. Howbeit this was the least parte of *Tarquines* intent, to seeke his goodes againe: but vnder pretence of that demand, he secretly corrupted the people, and practised treason, which his ambassadours followed, pretending only to get the Kings goodes and his fauourers together, sayng, that they had already solde some parte, and some parte they kept, and sent them daylie. So as by delaying the time in this sorte with such pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and auncientest houses of the citie: to wit, the familie of the *Aquilians*, whereof there were three Senatours: and the familie of the *Vitellians*, whereof there were two Senatours: all which by their mothers, were Consul *Collatinus* nephewes. The *Vitellians* also were allied vnto *Brutus*, for he had married their owne sister, & had many children by her. Of the which the *Vitellians* had drawn to their stringe, two of the eldest of them, because they familiarly frequented together, being cosin germanes: whom they had intited to be of their conspiracie, allyng them with the house of the *Tarquines*, which was of great power, and through the which they might perswade them felues to rise to great honour & preferment by meanes of the Kings, rather than to trust

The first embasside of king Tarquine for recovering his Reame.

Another embasside from Tarquine demanding his goodes.

Good counsel of Minutius.

Tarquines ambassadours practise treason.

The Aquily and Vitely with Brutus formes, neighbours to their countrie.

A to trust to their fathers willfull hardnes. For they called his seueritie to the wicked, hardnes for that he would neuer pardon any. Furthermore *Brutus* had sayned him selfe mad, and a foole of long time for safety of his life, because the tyrannes should not put him to death: so that the name of *Brutus* only remained. After these two young men had geuen their consent to be of the confederacie, and had spoken with the *Aquilians*: they all thought good to be bounde one to another, with a great and horrible othe, drincking the bloude of a man, and shaking hands in his bowells, whom they would sacrifice. This matter agreed vpon betwene them, they met together to put their sacrifice in execution, in the house of the *Aquilians*. They had firely pickt out a darcke place in the house to doe this sacrifice in, & where almost no bodie came: yet it happened by chaunce, that one of the seruants of the house called *Vindicius*, had hidden him selfe there, vnknowing to the traytours, and of no set purpose, to spye and see what they dyd, or that he had any manner of inkling thereof before: but falling by chaunce vpon the matter, euen as the traytours came into that place with a countenance to doe some secret thing of importunance, fearing to be seene, he kept him selfe close, and laye behinde a coffer that was there, so that he sawe all that was done, and what they sayed and determined. The conclusion of their counsell in the ende was this, that they would kill both the Consuls: and they wrote letters to *Tarquinius* aduertising the same, which they gaue vnto his ambassadours, being lodged in the house of the *Aquilians*, & were present at this conclusion. With this determination they departed from thence, and *Vindicius* came out also as secretly as he could, being maruelously troubled in minde, & at a maze howe to deale in this matter.

C For he thought it dangerous (as it was in deede) to goe and accuse the two sonnes vnto the father (which was *Brutus*) of so wicked and detestable a treason, and the nephewes vnto their vncle, which was *Collatinus*. On the other side also, he thought this was a secret, not to be imparted to any priuate persone, and not possible for him to conceale it, that was bounde in duety to reueale it. So he resolu'd at the last to goe to *Valerius* to bewraye this treason, of a speciall affection to this man, by reason of his gentle and courteous vsing of men, geuing easy acceffe and audience vnto any that came to speake with him, and specially for that he disdain'd not to heare poore mens causes. *Vindicius* being gone to speake with him, and hauing tolde him the whole conspiracy before his brother *Marcus Valerius*, and his wife, he was abashed and fearefull withall: whereupon he stayed him least he should slippe awaye, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watche the doore, that no bodie went in nor out vnto him. And willed his brother also, that he should goe and beset the Kings palace round about, to intercept these letters if it were possible, and to see that none of their seruants fled. *Valerius* selfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friendes and people that wayted on him, went straight vnto the house of the *Aquilians*, who by chaunce were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he founde the letters in the chamber, where king *Tarquines* ambassadours laye. Whilest he was thus occupied, the *Aquilians* hauing intelligence thereof, ranne home immediately, and founde *Valerius* coming out at their gate. So they would haue taken those letters from him by force, and strong hande. But *Valerius* and his company dyd resist them, and moreouer huddled them with their gownes ouer their heads, and by force brought them (doe what they could) into the market place. The like was done also in the Kings palace, where *Marcus Valerius* founde other letters alio wrapt vp in certaine fardells for their more safe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings seruants he founde there. There the Consuls hauing caused silence to be made, *Valerius* sent home to his house for this bond-man *Vindicius*, to be brought before the Consuls: then the traytours were openly accused, and their letters redde, and they had not the face to answer one worde. All that were present, being amazed, honged downe their heades, and behelde the grounde, and not a man durst once open his mouth to speake, excepting a fewe, who to grauise *Brutus*, beganne to say that they should banish them: and *Collatinus* also gaue them some hope, because he fell to weeping.

F and *Valerius* in like manner for that he held his peace. But *Brutus* calling his sonnes by their names: come on (sayed he) *Titus*, and thou *Valerius*, why doe you not answer to that you are accused of? and hauing spoken thrifye vnto them to answer, when he sawe they stood

The confederacy confirmed with drinking of mans blood.

Vindicius heareth all their treason.

The conclusion of their reason.

Vindicius bewrayeth the treason vnto Valerius.

Time of Valerius, Brutus sonnes.

mute, and sayd nothing: he turned him to the sergeants, and sayd vnto them. They are now A
in your hands, doe iustice. So soone as he had spoken these wordes, the sergeants layd holde
immediately vpon the two young men, and tearing their clothes of their backs, bounde their
hands behinde them, and then whipped them with rodde: which was such a pittiefull fight
to all the people, that they could not finde in their hartes to behold it, but turned them selues
another waye, because they would not see it. But contrariwise, they saye that their owne father
had neuer his eye of them, neither dyd chaunge his austere and fierce countenance, with any
pittie or naturall affection towards them, but stedfastly dyd beholde the punishment of his
owne children, vntill they were layd flat on the grounde, and both their heads stricken of with
an axe before him. When they were executed, *Brutus* rose from the benche, and left the exe-
cution of the rest vnto his fellowe Consul. This was such an acte, as men cannot sufficiently
praise, nor reprove enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde so
quiet, or els the greatnes of his miserie that rooke awaye the feeling of his sorowe: whereof
neither the one nor the other was any small matter, but passing the common nature of man,
that hath in it both diuinenes, and sometime beastly brutishnes. But it is better the iudgement
of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their iudgements should
diminish his vertue. For the *Romaines* holde opinion, it was not so great an acte done of
Romulus first to build *Rome*: as it was for *Brutus* to recouer *Rome*, and the best libertie there-
of, and to renewe the auncient gouernment of the same. When *Brutus* was gone, all the peo-
ple in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wonder, and
a great while without speaking to see what was done. The *Aquilians* straight grew bold, C
for that they sawe the other Consul *Collatinus* proceede gently, and mildly against them: and
so made petition they might haue time geuen them to answer to the articles they were ac-
cused of, and that they might haue their slaue and bondman *Vindicius* deliuered into their
hands, because there was no reason he should remaine with their accusers. The Consul se-
emed willing to yeld thereto, and was ready to breake vp the assembly thereupon. But *Valerius*
sayd, he would not deliuer *Vindicius* (who was among the assembly that attended vpon his
person) and stayed the people besides for departing awaye, least they should negligently let
those escape that had so wickedly sought to betraye their countrie. Vntill he him selfe had
layd hands vpon them, calling vpon *Brutus* to assist him, with open exclamation against
Collatinus, that he dyd not behaue him selfe like a iust and true man, seeing his fellowe *Brutus* D
was forced for iustice sake to see his owne sonnes put to death: and he in contrary manner,
to please a fewe women, sought to let goe manifest traitours, and open enemies to their coun-
trie. The Consul being offended herewith, commaunded they should bring awaye the bond-
man *Vindicius*. So the sergeants making waye through the prease, layd hands vpon him to
bring him awaye with them, and beganne to strike at them which offered to resist them. But
Valerius friends stept out before them, and put them by. The people shewt straight, & cried
out for *Brutus*: who with this noyse returned againe into the market place, and after silence
made him, he spake in this wise. For mine own children, I alone haue bene their iusticiu-
d, to see them haue the law according to their deservings: the rest I haue left freely to the iud-
gment of the people. Wherefore (sayd he) if any man be disposed to speake, let him stand E
vp, and persuaide the people as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more wordes, but only
to hearken what the people cried: who with one voyce & consent condemned them, & cried
execution, & accordingly they had their heades stricken of. Now was Consul *Collatinus* long
before had in some suspicion, as allied to the Kings, and disliked for his surname, because he
was called *Tarquinius*: who perceyving him selfe in this case much hated and mistrusted
of the people, voluntarily yelded vp his Consulshippe, and departed the citie. The people as-
sembling then them selues, to place a successour in his roome: they chose *Valerius* in his
roome, without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull traillaill and diligence bestowed in
this great matter. Then *Valerius* iudging that *Vindicius* the bondman had well deserved al-
some recompence, caused him not only to be manumitted by the whole graunte of the people, F
but made him a free man of the citie besides: and he was the first bondman manumitted, that
was made citizen of *Rome*, with permission also to geue his voyce in all elections of officers,
in any

*Brutus seeth
his owne
sonnes puni-
shed & ex-
cused.*

*Brutus, prai-
sed & reprob-
ed for the
death of his
sonnes.*

*Collatinus
siftens peri-
cium.*

*Valerius
boldly appea-
reth Colla-
tinus of inini-
quity.*

*Collatinus re-
sisteth his
Consulshippe,
& departeth.*

*the cho-
ice of
the
man
d.*

A in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, *Appius*
to currie fauour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumitted, to geue
their voyces also in elections, as other citizens dyd: and vnto this daye the perfect manumi-
fing and freeing of bondmen, is called *Vindicta*, after the name of this *Vindicius*, that was then
made a free man. These things thus passed ouer, & the goodes of the Kings were geuen to the
spoyle of the people, and their palaces were rased and ouerthrowen. Nowe amongst other
lands, the goodliest parte of the field of *Mars* was belonging vnto king *Tarquinius*: the same they
consecrated forthwith vnto the god *Mars*, & not long before they had cut downe the wheat
thereof. The sheaues being yet in shocks in the field, they thought they might not grinde the
wheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherefore they threwe both corne &
B sheaues into the riuier, & trees also which they had hewen downe & rooted vp, to the end that
the field being dedicated to the god *Mars*, should be left bare, without bearing any fruite at
all. These sheaues thus throwe into the riuier, were caried down by the streame not farre from
thence, vnto a forde and shallowe place of the water, where they first dyd staye, and dyd let
the other which came after, that it could goe no further: there these heapes gathered to-
gether, and laye so close one to another, that they beganne to sincke and settle fast in the water.
Afterwards the streame of the riuier brought downe continually such mudde & grauell, that it
euer increased the heape of corne more and more in suche sorte, that the force of the water
could no more remoue it from thence, but rather softly pressing and driuing it together, dyd
firme and harden it, and made it growe so to lande. Thus the heape rising still in greatnes and
C firmenes, by reason that all that came downe the riuier there, it grew in the ende, and
by time to spread so farre, that at this daye it is called *Truiculus* in *Rome*: in which are
many goodly temples of diuers goddesses, and sundry walks about it, and they call it in Latine,
Inter duos pontes: in our tongue, betwene the two bridges. Yet some write, that this thing fell
not out at that time when the field of the *Tarquines* was consecrated vnto *Mars*: but that it
happened afterwarde, when one of the *Veitall Nunnes*, called *Tarquinius*, gaue a field of hers
vnto the people, which was hard adioyning vnto *Tarquines* field. For which liberalitye and
bounty of hers, they dyd graunte her in recompence many priuiledges, and dyd her great ho-
nour besides. As amongst others, it was ordeined, that her word & wimes should stand good,
& be allowed, in matters iudiciall: which priuiledge, neuer woman besides her self dyd enioye.
D By speciall grace of the people also, it was graunted her, that she might marie if she thought
it good: but yet she would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the reporte
how this thing happened. *Tarquinius* then being past hope of euer entering into his Kingdome
again, went yet vnto the *Thyrcans* for succour, which were very glad of him: and so they
leaued a great armie together, hoping to haue put him in his Kingdome againe. The Consuls
also hearing thereof, went out with their armie against him. Both the armies presented them
selues in battell raye, one against another, in the holy places consecrated to the goddesses: whe-
of the one was called the wodde *Ardea*, and the other the meadowe *Aesimia*. And as both ar-
mies beganne to geue charge vpon eche other, *Arms* the eldest sonne of king *Tarquinius*, and
the Consul *Brutus* encountered together, not by chaunce, but sought for of set purpose to exe-
E cute the deadly fode and malice they dyd beare eache other. The one, as against a tyrant and
enemie of the libertie of his countrie: the other, as against him that had bene chief author &
worker of their exile and expulsion. So they set spurres to their horses, so soone as they had
spied eche other, with more fury then reason, and fought so desperately together, that they
both fell starke dead to the ground. The first onfet of the battell being so cruell, the end there-
of was no lesse bloody: vntill both the armies hauing receyued and done like damage to eche
other, were parted by a maruelous great tempest that fell vpon them. Nowe was *Valerius* ma-
rueulously perplexed, for that he knewe not which of them wanne the field that daye: seeing
his souldiers as scrowfull for the great losse of their men lying dead before them, as they were
glad of the slaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to viewe the multitude of the slaine
F bodies of either side, the number was so equal in fight, that it was very hard to iudge, of which
side fell out the greatest slaughter: so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the
remainie of their campe, were persuaied in their opinion, that they had rather lost then wone,
K j

*Vindicta so
called, by rea-
son of Vindi-
cius.*

*Tarquinius
field offered
to Mars.*

*Whereof the
holy land
came in Ro-
me, that lieth
betwene both
bridges.*

*Tarquinius
Arms with a
great power of
the Thyrcans
to wage bat-
telle with the
Romans.*

*Arms & Bru-
tus encoun-
tered, and slue
eche other.*

The victory
of the Romanes
against
the Thyscans

Valerius the
first Consul
that euer tri-
umphed vpon
a charret.

The first be-
ginning of
funerall ora-
tion among the
Romanes.

Anaximenes
saith, Solon
was the first
that introm-
itted praeser
for the dead.

Valerius Ra-
cely house sit-
ting on mount
Velia.

Valerius a
good example
for magi-
strates.

Valerius o-
uerthrow his
faery house.

The temple
called Vicus
Publicus.

coniecturing a farre of the fall of their enemies. The night being come, such things fell out as A
may be looked for after so terrible a battell. For when both camps were all layed to rest, they
saye the wodde wherein they laye incamped, quaked and trembled: and they heard a voyce
saye, that onely one man more was slaine on the THYSCANS side, than on the ROMAINES
parte. Out of doubt this was some voyce fro heauen: for the ROMAINES thereupon gaue a shrill
shout, as those whose hartes receyued a newe quickening spirite or corage. The THYSCANS
on the contrarie parte were so affrayed, that the most parte of them stole out of the campe, &
& scattered here and there: & there remained behind about the number of fise thousand men,
whom the ROMAINES tooke prisoners every one, and had the spoile of their campe. The car-
kasses were viewed afterwards, & they found that there were slaine in that battell, eleuen thou-
sand and three hundred of the THYSCANS: and of the ROMAINES, so many sauing one. This
battell was fought (as they saye) the last daye of Februarie, and the Consul *Valerius* triumphed,
being the first of the Consuls that euer entered into ROME triumphing vpon a charret drawn
with foure horses, which sight the people found honorable & goodly to beholde, & were not
offended withall (as some seeme to reporte) nor yet dyd enuy him for that he beganne it. For if
it had bene so, that custome had not bene followed with so good acceptatio, nor had continued
to many yerres as it dyd afterwards. They much commended also the honour he dyd to his fel-
lowe Consul *Brutus*, in setting out his funerall & obsequies, at the which he made a funerall
oration in his praise. They did so like & please the ROMAINES, that they haue euer since con-
tinued that custome at the buriall of any noble man, or great personage, that he is openly prai-
sed at his buriall, by the worthiest man that lieth among them. They reporte this funerall o-
ration is farre more auncient then the first, that was made in GRECE in the like cases: onles they
will confirme that which the orator *Anaximenes* hath written, that the manner of praising the
dead at their funeralls, was first of all intromitted by *Solon*. But they dyd most enuy *Valerius*, and
beare him grudge, because *Brutus* (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their liber-
tie) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twise, that they should appoint *Valerius*
fellowe Consul with him. This man in contrariwise (saye the people) taking vpon him alone
the rule & soueraintie, sheweth plainly he will not be *Brutus* successor in his Consulshipp,
but *Tarquinius* self in the Kingdome. For to great purpose was it to praise *Brutus* in wordes, &
to followe *Tarquinius* in deedes: hauing borne before him selfe only all the mafes, the axes and
the roddes, when he cometh abroad out of his owne house, which is farre greater, and more D
stately, then the Kings palace which he him self ouerthrowe. And to saye truly, *Valerius* dwelt
in a house a litle to sumptuously build & seated, vpon the hāging of the hill called mount Ve-
lia: & because it stood highe, it ouerlooked all the market place, so that any man might easily
see from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he
came out of his house, it was a maruelous pompe and state to see him come downe from so
highe a place, & with a traine after him, that caried the maiestie of a Kings courte. But herein
Valerius left a noble example, shewing how much it importeth a noble man & magistrate, rul-
ling weighty causes, to haue his eares open to heare, and willingly to receyue free speache in
steade of flatteries, & playne trothe in place of lyes. For, being enformed by some of his friēds
how the people misliked & complained of it, he stood not in his owne conceit, neither was E
angrie with them: but forthwith fet a worlde of workmen vpon it, early in the morning be-
fore breake of daye, & comāunded them to plucke down his house, & to raise it to the ground.
Insomuch as the next day following, whē the ROMAINES were gathered together in the mar-
ket place, & sawe this great sodaine ruine, they much commended the noble acte & minde of
Valerius, in doing that he dyd: but so were they angrie, and forie both, to see so fayer and
stately a buylt house (which was an ornament to the citie) ouerthrowen vpon a sodaine. Much
like in comparisō to a man, whom through spite and enuie they had vniuſtly put to death:
and to see their chief magistrate also like a stranger and a vacabonde, compelled to seeke his
lodging in another mans house. For his friends receyued him into their houses, vntill such
time as the people had geuen him a place, where they dyd build him a newe house, farre F
more orderly, and nothing so stately and curious as the first was, and it was in the same place,
where the temple called *Vicus Publicus* standeth at this daye. Now because he would not only
reforme

A reforme his persone, but the office of his Consulshipp, & also would frame him selfe to the
good acceptance and liking of the people: where before he seemed vnto them to be feare-
full, he put awaye the carying of the axes from the roddes, which the sergeants vsed to beare
before the Consul. Moreover when he came into the market place, where the people were
assembled, he caused the roddes to be borne downewards, as in token of reuerence of the
soueraigne maiestie of the people: which all the magistrates obserue yet at this daye. Nowe
in all this humble shewe and lowlines of his, he dyd not so much imbase his dignitie and
greatnes, which the common people thought him to haue at the first: as he dyd thereby
cut of enuie from him, winning againe as much true authoritie, as in semblance he would
seeme to haue lost. For this made the people willing to obey, and readier to submit them
B selues vnto him: in somuch as vpon this occasion he was surnamed *Publicola*, as much to saye,
as the people pleaser. Which surname he kept euer after, and we from henceforth also writ-
ting the rest of his life, will vse no other name: for he was contented to suffer any man that
would, to offer him selfe to aske the Consulshipp in *Brutus* place. But he yet not knowing
what kynde of man they would ioine fellowe Consul with him, and fearing least through en-
uie or ignorance, the party might thwart his purpose and meaning: employed his sole
power and authoritie whilst he ruled alone, vpon highe and noble attempts. For first of all
he supplied vnto the number of Senators that were greatly decayed, because king *Tarquinius*
had put some of them to death not long before, and other also had bene lately slaine in the
warres: in whose places he had chosen newe Senatours, to the number of a hundred three
C score and foure. After that, he made newe decrees and lawes, which greatly dyd aduance the
authoritie of the people. The first lawe gaue libertie to all offenders, condemned by iudge-
ment of the Consuls, to appeale vnto the people. The second, that no man vpon payne of death
should take vpon him the exercise of any office, vnles he had come vnto it by the gifte of the
people. The third was, and all in fauour of the poore, that the poore citizens of ROME should
paye no more custome, nor any impost whatsoever. This made every man the more willing to
geue him selfe to some craft or occupation, when he sawe his trauaill should not be taxed,
nor taken from him. As for the law that he made against those that disobeyed the Consuls, it
was founde to be so fauorable to the communaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the
poore, than for the riche & great men. For the offenders & breakers of that lawe, were con-
D demned to paye for a penaltie, the value of fise oxen, and two muttons. The price of a mutton
was then, tenne oboles, and of an ox, a hundred oboles. For in those dayes, the ROMAINES
had no store of coined mony, otherwise, they lacked no sheepe, nor other rother beaſts. Here-
of it came, that to this daye they call their riches or substance, *Peculium*, because *Pecus* signi-
fieth sheepe and muttons. And in the olde time the stampe vpon their money was an ox, &
a mutton, or a hogge: & some of them called their children *Bubulci*, which signifieth cowheards:
others *Caprarij*, to saye goateheards: and others *Porchj*, as you would saye, swineheards. Nowe
though in all his other lawes, he was very fauorable & temperate toward the people: yet in
that moderation, sometimes he dyd set grieuous paynes & punishments. For he made it law-
full to kill any man without any accusation, that dyd aspire to the Kingdome, & he dyd let the
E murderer free of all punishment: so he brought forth manifest prooffe, that the party slaine,
had practised to make him selfe King. As being impossible a man should pretend to greata
matter, and no man should finde it: and contrariwise being possible, albeit he were spied, that
otherwise he might attempt it, by making him selfe so strong, that he needed not passe for the
law. In this case he gaue every man libertie by such acte or meane, to prevent him if he could
of discretion: who by strength otherwise sought to aspire to reigne. They greatly commen-
ded him also for the lawe that he made touching the treasure. For being very necessarie that
euerie priuate citizen should according to his abilitie, be contributor to the charges and
maintenance of the warres: he him self would neither take such collection into his charge,
nor suffer any man of his to medle with the same, nor yet that it should be layed in any priuate
F mans house, but he dyd ordeine that *Saturnes* temple should be the treasure thereof. This order
they keepe to this present daye. Furthermore, he graunted the people to chuse two young men
Questores of the same, as you would saye the treasurers, to take the charge of this money:

Valerius
was sur-
named Pu-
blicola.

Publicolus
after and
laet.

Whereof
Peculium
was called.

The first
Questores.

Publius Ve-
nerius, Marc-
Minimius.

Lucretius &
Publicola
Consuls.

Publicola &
Marcus Ho-
ratiuſe Conſul.

and the two firſt which were choſen, were *Publius Venerius*, and *Marcus Minimius*, who gathered great ſummes of money together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were found a hundred and thirtie thouſand perſones which had payed ſubſidie, not reckoning in this accompt, orphanes, nor widowes, which were excepted from all payments. After he had eſtabliſhed all theſe things, he cauſed *Lucretius* (the father of *Lucretia*) to be choſen fellowe Conſul with him, vnto whom, for that he was his auncient, he gaue the vpper hande, and commaunded they ſhould carie before him the roddeſ, which were the ſignes of the chief magiſtrate: and euer ſince they haue geuen this honour vnto age. But *Lucretius* dying not long after his election, they choſe againe in his place *Marcus Horatiuſe*, who held out the Conſulſhippe with *Publicola* the reſt of the yere. Nowe about that time king *Tarquine* remained in the cōitrie of *Thyſcane*, where he prepared a ſecōde armie againſt the *Romaines*, & there fell out a marvelous ſtraunge thing thereupon. For when he raigned king of *Rome*, he had almoſt made an ende of the building of the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and was determined (whether by any oracle receyued, or vpon any fantaſy it is not knowne) to ſet vp a coche of earth baked by a potter, in the higheſt place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certaine *Thyſcan* workemen of the citie of *Vebes*: but whileſt they were in hand with the worcke, he was driuen out of his Realme. When the workemen had formed this coche, and that they had put it into the founnes to bake it, it fell out contrarie to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worcke put into the founnes. For the earth dyd not ſhut and cloſe together in the fire, nor dried vp all the moiſture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it dyd ſwell to ſuch a bignes, and grew ſo harde and ſtrong withall, that they were driuen to breake vp the head and walles of the founnes to get it out. The ſoothſayers dyd expounde this, that it was a celeſtiall token from aboue, and promiſed great proſperitie and increaſe of power vnto thoſe, that ſhould enioye this coche. Whereupon the *Vebians* reſolued not to deliuer it vnto the *Romaines* that demaunded it, but answered that it dyd belong vnto king *Tarquine*, and not vnto thoſe that had baniſhed him. Not many dayes after, there was a ſolemne feaſt of games for running of horſes in the citie of *Vebes*, where they dyd alſo many other notable actes, worthy ſight according to their cuſtome. But after the game was played, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie as they dyd vſe at that time, brought his coche and horſes fayer and ſoftely out of the ſhowe place: and ſodainly the horſe being affrayed vpon no preſent cauſe or occaſion ſcene, whether it was by chaunce, or by ſome ſecret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their coche to the citie of *Rome*. The coche driuer dyd what he could poſſible at the firſt to ſtaye them, by holding in the raynes, by clapping them on the backs, and ſpeaking gently to them: but in the ende, perceyuing he could doe no good, and that they would haue their ſwinge, he gaue place to their furie, & they neuer linne ronning, till they brought him neere to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrew him and his coche, not farre from the gate called at this preſent, *Ratumena*. The *Vebians* wounding much at this matter, and being affrayed withall: were contented the workmen ſhould deliuer their coche made of earth vnto the *Romaines*. Now concerning *Iupiter Capitolins* temple, king *Tarquine* the firſt (which was the ſonne of *Demarſtus*) vowed in the warres that he made againſt the *Sabynes*, that he would buyld it. And *E Tarquine* the provde, being the ſonne of him that made this vowe dyd buyld it: howbeit he dyd not conſecrate it, becauſe he was driuen out of his Kingdome before he had finiſhed it. When this temple was built and thoroughly finiſhed, & ſet forth with all his ornaments: *Publicola* was marvelouſly deſirous to haue the honour of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours enuying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content him ſelfe with all thoſe honours that he had receyued in peace, for the good lawes he had made, and in warres for the victories he had obtained & well deſerued, but further that he would ſeek the honour of this dedication, which nothing dyd pertaine vnto him: they then dyd egge *Horatiuſe*, & perſuaded him to make ſure for the ſame. Occaſion fell out at that time, that *Publicola* muſt haue the leading of the *Romaine* armie into the field: in the meane time, while *Publicola* was abſent, it was procured that the people gaue their voyces to *Horatiuſe*, to conſecrate the temple, knowing they could not ſo well haue brought it to paſſe he being preſent. Other ſaye,

A ſaye, the Conſuls drew lots betweene them, and that it lighted vpon *Publicola* to leade the armie againſt his will, and vpon *Horatiuſe* to conſecrate this temple, which maye be coniectured by the thing that fortune in the dedication thereof. For all the people being aſſembled together in the Capitoll with great ſilence, on the fifteenth daye of the moneth of September, which is about the newe moone of the moneth which the *Grecians* call *Metagition*: *Horatiuſe* hauing done all the ceremonies needefull in ſuche a caſe, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the vſe was euen to vter the ſolemne wordes of dedication: *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, hauing ſtoode a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to ſpeake, beganne to ſay alowde in this wiſe. My lorde Conſul, your ſonne is dead of a ſickneſſe in the campe. This made all the aſſembly ſorie to heare it, but it nothing amaſed *B Horatiuſe*, who ſpake only this muche. Caſt his bodie then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to ende his conſecration. This was but a deuile and nothing true, of *Marcus Valerius*, only to make *Horatiuſe* leaue of his conſecration. *Horatiuſe* in this ſhewed him ſelfe a marvelous reſolute man, were it that he ſtreight founde his deuile, or that he beleeued it to be true: for the ſodainenes of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in conſecrating of the ſecond temple. For this firſt which *Tarquine* had built and *Horatiuſe* conſecrated, was conſumed by fyre in the ciuill warres: and the ſecond was built vp againe by *Sylla*, who made no dedication of it. For *Catulus* ſet vp the ſuperſcription of the dedication, becauſe *Sylla* dyed before he could dedicate it. The ſecond temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumultes which were at *Rome*, by *Vitellius* the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by *Velpſian*, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had aboute other: to ſee his worke perſited and finiſhed before his death, and not ouerthrowen as it was immediately after his death. Wherein he dyd farre paſſe the happines of *Sylla*, who dyed before he could dedicate that he had built: and thother deſealed before he ſawe his worcke ouerthrowen. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the firſt temple, coſt *Tarquinius* ſortie thouſand *Pondos* of ſiluer. And to gyld only the temple which we ſee now in our time, they ſaye all the goodes and ſubſtance that the richeſt citizen of *Rome* then had, will come nothing neere vnto it: for it coſt aboue twelue thouſand talents. The pillars of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of marbell, called pentlike marbell, and they were ſquared parpine, as thicke as long: theſe I ſawe at *Athenes*. But afterwarde they were cut againe, and poliſhed in *Rome*, by which doing they got not ſo much grace, as they loſt proportion: for they were made to ſlender, and left naked of their firſt beawtie. Nowe he that would wonder at the ſtarely buildyng of the Capitoll, if he came afterwarde vnto the palace *Domitian*, and dyd but ſee ſome galerie, porche, hall, or hotte houſe, or his concubines chambers: he would ſaye (in my opiſion) as the poet *Epicharmus* layed of a prodigall man.

How oft Iup-
iter Capitolins
temple was
burnt and
built againe.

How much
was ſpent in
building the
Capitoll.

It is a fault, and folly both in thee
to laſhe out gifts, and prodigall reuerdars:
For ſande delights, without all rule that be,
regarding not what happens afterwarde.

E So might they iuſtly ſaye of *Domitian*. Thou art not liberall, nor deuoute vnto the goddeſ: but it is a vice thou haſt to loue to buyld, and deſireſt (as they ſaye of olde *Midus*) that all about thee were turned to gold, and precious ſtones. And thus much for this matter. *Tarquine* after that great foughten battell wherein he loſt his ſonne (that was ſlaine by *Brutus* in fighting together hande to hande) went to the citie of *Clusivm*, vnto king *Clarius Porſena*: the mightieſt prince that raigned at that time in all *Italye*, and was both noble and a courteous prince. *Porſena* promiſed him ayde: & firſt of all he ſent to *Rome* to ſummonne the citizens to receiue their King againe. But the *Romaines* reſuſing the ſummonnes, he ſent forthwith an Heraulde to proclaime open warres againſt them, and to tell them where, and when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwarde immediately with a great armie. *Publicola* now being abſent, was choſen Conſul the ſecond time, and *Titus Lucretius*

Domitians
mad building
honour.

Porſena pro-
claimeth
warre with
Rome.
Publicola &
Titus Lucretius
Conſuls.

with him. When he was returned home againe to ROME, because he would exceede king *Porfena* in greatnes of minde, he began to buyld a citie called *Sigilvria*, euen when the King with all his armie was not farre frō ROME: & hauing walled it about to his maruelous charge, he sent thither feuen hundred citizens to dwell there, to shewe that he made litle account of this warre. Howbeit *Porfena* at his coming dyd geue suche a lustie assault to the mount *Laniculum*, that they draue out the fouldiers which kept the fame: who flying towards ROME, were pursued so harde with the enemies, that with them they had entered the towne, had not *Publicola* made a faly out to resist them. Who beganne a hotte skirmish harde by the riuier of Tyber, & there fought to haue stayed the enemies to follow any further: which being the greater number, dyd ouerlaye the ROMAINES, & dyd hurte *Publicola* very sore in this skirmish, so as he was caried away into the citie in his fouldiers armes. And eue so was the other *Cōsul Lucetius* hurte in like case: which so discouraged & frayed the ROMAINES, that they all tooke the to their legges, & fled towards the citie. The enemies pursued them at their heeles as farre as the woden bridge: so that the citie was in maruelous hazarde of taking vpon the sodaine. But *Horatius Cocles*, & *Herminius*, and *Lucretius*, two other of the chieftest noble young men of the citie, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, & made head againt the enemy. This *Horatius* was furnamed *Cocles* (as much to saye, as one eye) because he had lost one of them in the warres. Howbeit other writers saye, it was because of his flat nose which was so foncke into his head, that they sawe nothing to parte his eyes, but that the eye browes dyd meete together by reason whereof the people thinking to furname him *Cyclops*, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they saye) *Cocles*. But howsoeuer it was, this *Horatius Cocles* had the courage to shew his face againt the enemy, & to kepe the bridge, vntill such time as they had cut & broken it vp behind him. When he saw they had done that, armed as he was, & hurte in the hippe with a pike of the THYSCANS, he leaped into the riuier of Tyber, and saued him selfe by swimming vnto the other side. *Publicola* wounding at this manly acte of his, perswaded the ROMAINES straight, euery one according to his abilitie, to giue him so much as he spent in a daye: & afterwards also he caused the common treasury to geue him as much lande as he could compass about with his plowe in a daye. Furthermore he made his image of bras to be set vp in the temple of *Vulcan*, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after. Nowe whilst king *Porfena* was hotely bent, very straightly to besiege ROME, there beganne a famine among the ROMAINES: & to encrease the danger, there came a newe armie out of THYSCANE, which ouerranne, burnt, and made waste, all the territorie of ROME. Whereupon *Publicola* being chosen *Consul*, then the third time, thought he should neede to doe no more to resist *Porfena* brauely, but to be quiet only, & to looke well to the safe keeping of the citie. Howbeit spying his opportunity, he secretly stole out of ROME with a power, & did set vpon the THYSCANS that destroyed the countrie about: & ouerthrew & slue of them, siue thousand men. As for the historie of *Mutius*, many doe diuersely reporte it: but I will write it in such sorte, as I thincke shall best agree with the trothe. This *Mutius* was a worthie man in all respects, but specially for the warres. He deuising howe he might come to kill king *Porfena*, disguised him selfe in THYSCANS apparel, and speaking Thulcan very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kings chayer, in the which he gaue audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durst not aske which was he, least he should be discovered: and not knowing him, & examined him. And a panne full of fire being brought for the King that entended to doe sacrifice vnto the goddess, *Mutius* held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whilst the flesh of his hand dyd frye off, he neuer changed hewe nor countenance: the King wondering to see so straunge a sight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he him selfe dyd deliuer him his sworde againe. *Mutius* tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they saye afterwards, he had geuen him the surname of *Scuola*, as much to saye, as left handed, and told him in taking of it. Thou couldest not *Porfena* for feare haue ouercome me, but nowe through curesy thou hast wonne me. Therefore for goodwill I will reueale that vnto thee, which no force, nor extremitie could haue made me vtter. There are three hundred ROMAINES dispersed through thy campe, all which are prepared with like

Horatius Cocles why so called.

Good service rewarded.

Publicola Consul.

The noble acte of *Mutius Scuola*.

How *Mutius* came by the name of *Scuola*.

A like mindes to followe that I haue begonne, only gaping for opportunitie to put it in practise. The lot fell on me to be the first to breake the life of this enterprife: & yet I am not sorie my hande sayled, to kill so worthe a man, that deserueth rather to be a friend, then an enemy vnto the ROMAINES. *Porfena* hearing this, did beleue it, & euer after he gaue the more willing eare to those that treated with him of peace: not so much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in waite to kill him, as for the admiration of the ROMAINES noble minde and great courage. All other writers call this man, *Mutius Scuola*: howbeit *Athenodorus*, surname d *Sandon*, in a booke he wrote vnto *Octavian*, *Augustus* sister, sayeth that he was also called *Opfig omus*. But *Publicola* taking king *Porfena* not to be so daingerous an enemy to ROME, as he should be a profitable friēd & allie to the same: let him vnderstand, that he was cōfited to make him iudge of the controuersie betweene them & *Tarquine*. Whom he dyd many times prouoke to come & haue his cause heard before king *Porfena*, where he would iustifie to his face, that he was the naughtiest & most wicked man of the world, & that he was iustly driuen out of his countrie. *Tarquine* sharply answered, that he would make no man his iudge, and *Porfena* least of all other, for that hauing promised him to put him againe in his Kingdom, he was now gone from his worde, and had chaunged his minde. *Porfena* was very angrie with this answer, judging this a manifest token that his cause was ill. Wherefore *Porfena* being solicited againe by his owne sonne *Aruns*, who loued the ROMAINES, dyd easely graunte them peace vpon condition: that they should redeliuer backe againe to him the lands they had gotten before within the countrie of THYSCAN, with the prisoners also which they had taken in this warre, & in lieu thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the ROMAINES, that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the ROMAINES deliuered him hostages, tenne of the noblest mens sonnes of the citie, & so many of their daughters: emōg which, was *Valeria*, *Publicolae* owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, *Porfena* brake his armie, & withdrew his strength, trusting to the peace cōcluded. The ROMAINES daughters deliuered for hostages, came downe to the riuers side to washe them, in a quiet place where the streame ranne but gently, without any force or swiftnes at all. When they were there, and faw they had no garde about them, nor any came that waye, nor yet any botes going vp nor down the streame: they had a desire to swime ouer the riuier, which rāne with a swift streame, & was maruelous deepe. Some saye, that one *Clelia* swamme the riuier vpon her horse backe, & that she did imbolden & incourage the other to swimme hard by her horse side: & recovering the other bancke, and being past all danger, they went & presented them selues before *Publicola* the *Consul*. Who neither commended them, nor liked the parte they had played, but was maruelous sorie, fearing least men would iudge him lesse carefull to keepe his faith, then was king *Porfena*: & that he might suspect the boldnes of these maidens, was but a crafty slight deuised of the ROMAINES. Therefore he tooke them all againe, & sent them immediatly vnto king *Porfena*. Whereof *Tarquine* hauing intelligence, he layed an ambuise for them, that had the conduction of them. Who so loone as they were paste the riuier, did shew them selues, & brake vpon the ROMAINES: they being farre fewer in number than the other, did yet very stoutly defend them selues. Now whilst they were in earnest fight together, *Valeria* *Publicolae* daughter, and three of her fathers seruants, escaped through the midst of them, and saued them selues. The residue of the virgines remained in the midst among their swordes, in great danger of their liues. *Aruns* king *Porfena* sonne aduertised hereof, ranne thither incōtinently to the rescue: but when he came, the enemies fled, and the ROMAINES held on their iorney to redeliuer their hostages. *Porfena* seeing them againe, asked which of them it was that beganne first to passe the riuier, and had encouraged the other to followe her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was *Clelia*. He looked vpon her very earnestly, and with a pleasant countenance, and commanded they should bring him one of his best horse in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gaue it vnto her. Those which holde opinion that none but *Clelia* passed the riuier a horse backe, doe alledge this to proue F their opinion true. Other doe denie it, saying that this THYSCAN king, did onely honour her noble courage. Howsoeuer it was, they see her image a horse backe in the holy streete, as they goe to the palace: & some saye it is the statue of *Valeria*, other of *Clelia*. After *Porfena*

Publicola maketh *Porfena* iudge, betweene them and the *Tarquines*.

Peace graunted to the *Romaines* by *Porfena*.

The boldnes of *Clelia* and other *Romaines* vnto *Porfena*.

The liberall
sie of king
Porſena
the Romaines.

Marcus Val-
erius, Poſt-
humius Tu-
berius Con-
ſule.

Marcus Val-
erius, the bro-
ther of Pub-
licola, whom
pleaseth of the
Sabynes.

had made peace with the R O M A I N E S , in breaking vp his campe, he ſhewed his noble A
minde vnto them in many other things , and ſpecially in that he commaunded his ſouldiers
they ſhould carie nothing but their armour and weapon only , leauing his campe full of
corne, vitrells, and other kynde of goodes. From whence this cuſtome came, that at this daye
when they make open ſale of any thing belonging to the common weale, the ſergeant or
common crier crieth, that they are king *Porſena*s goodes, and taken of thankfullnes and per-
petuall memorie of his bowntie and liberalltie towards them. Further, *Porſena*s image ſtandeth
adioyning to the palace where the Senate is vied to be kept, which is made of great an-
tique worke. Afterwardes the S A B Y N E S inuading the R O M A I N E S territorie with a great
force, *Marcus Valerius Publicola*s brother, was then choſen Conſul, with one *Poſthumius Tu-
bertus*. Howbeit all matters of weight and importance paſſed by *Publicola*s counſell and au-
thoritie, who was preſent at any thing that was done: and by whoſe meanes *Marcus* his bro-
ther, wanne two great battells, in the laſt whereof he ſleweth thirteene thouſand of his enemies,
not loſing one of his owne men . For which his victories , beſides the honour of triumphe he
had, the people alſo at their owne charges , built him a houſe , in the ſtreete of mounte Pala-
tine, and granted him morcouer that his doore ſhould open outwards into the ſtreete, where
all others mens doores dyd open inwards into their houſe : ſignifying by graunte of this ho-
nour and priuiledge, that he ſhould alwayes haue benefit by the common weale . It is re-
ported that the G R E C I A N S doores of their houſes in olde time, dyd all open outwards after
that facion, & they doe cōiecture it by the comedies that are played. Where thoſe that would
goe out of their houſes , dyd firſt knocke at their doores , and make a noyſe within the houſe ,
leaſt in opening their doore vpon a ſodaine, they might ouerthrowe or hurte him that taried
at the ſtreete doore, or paſſed by the waye : who hearing the noyſe, had warning ſtraight to a-
uoyde the danger. The next yere after that, *Publicola* was choſen Conſul the fourth time, bi-
cauſe they ſtoode in great doubt that the S A B Y N E S and L A T I N E S would ioyn together to
make warres vpon them: beſides all this, there was a certaine ſuperſtitious feare ranne through
the cittie, of ſome ill happe toward it, becauſe moſt parte of the women with childe were deli-
uered of vnperfect children, lacking ſome one limme or other, & all of them came before their
time. Wherefore *Publicola* looking in ſome of *Syllas* books, made priuate ſacrifice vnto *Pluto*,
& did ſet vp againe ſome feaſtes & ſolemne games that were left off, & had bene commaunded
before time to be kept by the oracle of *Apollo*. Theſe meanes hauing a litle reioyced the cittie D
with good hope, becauſe they thought that the anger of the goddes had bene appeaſed: *Publi-
cola* then begane to prouide for the daungers that they were threatned withall by men, for that
newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in all places, & made great preparation to
inuaide them. Nowe there was at that time amongſt the S A B Y N E S , a great riche man called
Appius Claudius, very ſtrong and aſtute of bodie, & otherwiſe a man of great reputation & elo-
quence, aboue all the reſt of his countrie men : but notwithstanding, he was much enuided, and
could not auoyde it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to ſtaye thoſe inten-
ded warres againſt the R O M A I N E S . Whereupon, many which before tooke occaſion to mur-
mure againſt him , dyd nowe much more increaſe the ſame: with ſaying he ſought to main-
taine the power of the R O M A I N E S , that afterwards by their ayde he might make him ſelfe ty-
ranne & King of the countrie. The common people gaue eaſy eare vnto ſuch ſpeeches, & *Ap-
pius* perceyuing well enough how the ſouldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would com-
plaine, & accuſe him. Wherefore being well backed & ſtoode to by his kynſemen, friends, and
followers, he practiſed to make a ſturre among the S A B Y N E S , which was the cauſe of ſtaying
the warres againſt the R O M A I N E S . *Publicola*, alſo for his parte was very diligēt, not only to vn-
derſtand the originall cauſe of his ſedition, but to feede on further & increaſe the ſame, hauing
gotten men meete for the purpoſe, which caried *Appius* ſuch a meſſage from him. That *Publi-
cola* knewe very well he was a iuſt man, and one that would not be reuenged of his citi-
zens, to the generall hurte of his countrie, although the iniuries he receyued at their hands,
deliuered him iuſt occaſion to doe it : neuertheleſ if he had any deſire to prouide for his F
ſafety and to repaire to R O M E , leauing them which cauſeles wiſhed him ſo muche euill,
they would both openly and priuately receyue him with that due honour which his ver-
tue

A true deſerued and the worthines of the R O M A I N E people required . *Clauius* hauing long and
many times conſidered this matter with him ſelfe, reſolued that it was the beſt waye he could
take, making vertue of neceſſitie : & therefore being determined to doe it, he dyd procure his
friends to doe as he dyd, & they got other alſo vnto them, ſo that he brought away with him
out of the countrie of the S A B Y N E S , ſiue thouſand families with their wiues and children (of
the quieteſt and moſt peaceable people among the S A B Y N E S) to dwell at R O M E . *Publicola* being
aduertiſed thereof before they came, dyd receyue them at their coming to R O M E with great
ioye, and all manner of good curteous entertainment. For at their firſt coming, he made them
all and their families free citizens, & aſſigned vnto euery perſone of them two iugera of lande,
(which cōteined one acre, one roud, eleuen pole, & 69 . partes of a pole) by the riuier of Tyber :
B & vnto *Appius* ſelfe he gaue him 25 . iugera (to wit, 16 . acres & 4 . pole, 16 . acres & a halfe, 4 . pole
& 76 . partes of a pole) & receiued him into the nūber of the Senatours . And thus came he firſt
vnto the government of the common weale in R O M E , where he did ſo wiſely beſeue him ſelfe,
that in the end he came to be the chiefeſt man of dignitie & authoritie in R O M E , ſo long as he
liued. After his death, he left behind him the familie of the *Claudians*, deſcēding frō him: which
for honour, and worthines, gaue no place to the nobleſt familie in R O M E . But nowe the ſedi-
tion amongſt the S A B Y N E S being pacified, by the departure of thoſe that were gone to
R O M E : the ſeditious gouernours would not ſuffer thoſe that remained to liue in peace , but
full cried out, it were to much ſhame for them, that *Clauius* being a fugitiue , and become an
emie, ſhould honour their enemies abroad, that being preſent durſt not ſhewe ſo much at
C home, and that the R O M A I N E S ſhould ſcape vnreunged, who had done them ſuch apparant
wrongs . So they raiſed great force and power, and went and encamped with their armie
neere the cittie of F I D E N E S , and layed an ambuſhe harde by R O M E , in certain hidden and hol-
low places, where they put a two thouſand choyce footemen, very well armed, and dyd ap-
point the next morning to ſend certaine light horſe men to runne and praye to R O M E gates:
commaunding them, that when the R O M A I N E S came out of the cittie to charge them, they
ſhould ſeeme leiſurely to retire, vntill they had drawn them within daunger of their ambuſh.
Publicola receyuing full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them vnto
him, made due preparation to encounter with their priue ambuſhe, and ſo deuided his ar-
mie in two partes: for he gaue his ſonne in lawe *Poſthumius Balbus*, three thouſand footemen,
whom he ſent away by night, commaunding them the ſame night to take the hilles, in the
D bottome whereof the S A B Y N E S were layed in ambuſhe. *Lucretius*, fellowe Conſull with *Publi-
cola*, hauing the lighteſt and luſtieſt men of the cittie, was appointed to make head againſt the
vaſt curriers of the S A B Y N E S , that minded to approche the gates. And *Publicola* with the reſt
of the armie, marched a great compaſſe about to incloſe his enemies behinde. The next mor-
ning betimes, by chaunce it was a thick miſte, & at that preſent time *Poſthumius* coming down
from the hilles, with great ſhowtes, charged them that laye in ambuſh. *Lucretius* on the other
ſide, ſet vpon the light horſemen of the S A B Y N E S : & *Publicola* fell vpon their campe. So that
of all ſides the S A B Y N E S enterpriſe had very ill ſucceſſe, for they had the worſt in euery place,
& the R O M A I N E S killed them flying, without any turning againe to make reſiſtance. Thus the
E place which gaue them hope of beſt ſafety, turned moſt to their deadly ouerthrowe. For e-
uery one of their companies ſuppoſing the other had bene whole & vnbroken, when a charge
was geuen vpon them, dyd ſtraight breake, & neuer a company of them turned head toward
their enemy. For they that were in the campe, ranne toward them which laye in ambuſhe:
& thoſe which were in ambuſhe on the contrarie ſide, ranne towards them that were in cape.
So that in flying, the one met with the other, and founde rhoſe, towards whom they were fly-
ing to haue bene ſafe , to ſtand in as much neede of helpe as them ſelues . That which ſaued
ſome that were not ſlaine, was the cittie of F I D E N E S , which was neere the campe, and ſpe-
cially ſaued thoſe which fled thither . But ſuch as came thorte of the cittie , and could not in
time recouer it , were all ſlaine in the field, or taken priſoners . As for the glorie of this ho-
norable victorie, albeit the R O M A I N E S were wonte to aſcribe all ſuche great notable mat-
ters to the ſpeciall prouidence and grace of the goddes, yet at that time notwithstanding
they dyd iudge , that this happy ſucceſſe fell out by the wiſe foreſight and valiantnes

Appius Clau-
ſus goeth to
dwell at Rome.

The familie
of the Clau-
dians.

The Sabynes
ſlaine.

of the captaine. For every man that had serued in this iorney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that *Publicola* had deliuered their enemies into their handes, lame, and blinde, and as a man might save, bounde hande and feete to kill them at their pleasure. The people were maruelously enriched by this victorie, aswell for the spoile, as for the ranfome of the prisoners that they had gotten. Nowe *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the gouernment of the cittie to those, which were chosen Consuls for the yere following: dyed incontinently, hauing liued as honorably and vertuously all the dayes of his life, as any man liuing might doe. The people then tooke order for his funeralles, that the charges thereof should be defrayed by the cittie, as if they had neuer done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene still debtors vnto him for the noble seruice he had done vnto the state and common weale whilst he liued. Therefore towards his funeralle charges, euery citizen gaue a peece of money called a *Quatrine*. The women also for their parte, to honour his funeralles, agreed among them selues to mourne a whole yere in blackes for him, which was a great and honorable memoriall. He was buried also by expresse order of the people, within the cittie, in the freate called *Velia*: and they graunted priuiledge also vnto all his posteritie, to be buried in the selfe same place. Howbeit they doe no more burie any of his there. But when any dye, they bring the corse vnto this place, and one holding a torch burning in his hande, doth put it vnder the place, and take it straight awaye againe, to shewe that they haue libertie to burie him there, but that they willingly refuse this honour: and this done, they carie the corse awaye againe.

The death of
Publicola.

His funeralle.

THE COMPARISON OF *Solon with Publicola.*



NOWE presently to compare these two personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not founde in any other of their liues which we haue written of before. And the same is, that the one hath bene a witnes, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the sentence that *Solon* spake to king *Crasus*, touching *Tellus* felicitie & happines, might haue better bene applied vnto *Publicola*, than to *Tellus*: whom he iudged to be very happy, bicause he dyed honorably, he had liued vertuously, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet *Solon* speaketh nothing of his excellencie, or vertue, in any of his poemes: neither dyd he euer beare any honorable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowne after his death. Whereas *Publicola* so long as he liued, was alwayes the chief man amongst the *ROMAINES*, of credit and authoritie: and afterwards since his death, certaine of the noblest families, and most auncient houses of *ROME*, in these our dayes, as the *Publicoles*, the *Metellus*, and

Publicola
happie.

A & the *VALERIANES*, for six hundred yeres continuance, doe refferre the glorie of the nobilitie & auncientie of their house vnto him. Furthermore, *Tellus* was slaine by his enemies, fighting valliantly like a worthy honest man. But *Publicola* died after he had slaine his enemies: which is farre more great good happe, then to be slaine. For after he as generally had honorably serued his country in the warres, & had left them conquerors, hauing in his life time receyued all honourous & triumphes due vnto his seruice: he attained to that happy end of life, which *Solon* accomplished & esteemed most happy & blessed. Also in wishing manner, he would his end should be lamented to his praye, in a place where he confuteth *Ammermus*, about the continuance of mans life, by saying:

*Let not my death without lamenting passe,
but rather let my friends be vrvaile the same:
Vt those grieuous seares, and cries of out alas,
maye ofte resound the Echo of my name.*

If that be good happe, then most happy maketh he *Publicola*: for at his death, not only his friends and kinsfolkes, but the whole cittie also, and many a thousand persone besides, dyd bitterly bewaile the losse of him. For all the women of *ROME* dyd mourne for him in blackes, and dyd most pittiefully lament his death, as euery one of them had lost father, brother, or husband.

True it is, that I couet goodes to haue:

but yet I got, as maye me not deprave.

Solon sayeth this, bicause vengeance followed ill gotten good. And *Publicola* tooke great heede, not only to get his goodes most iustly, but had regarde that those which he had, he spent most honestly in helping the needie. So that if *Solon* was iustly reputed the wisest man, we must needs confesse also that *Publicola* was the happiest. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good, a man can haue in this worlde: the other hath wonne it, kept it, and vied it all his life time, vntill the hower of his death. And thus hath *Solon* honoured *Publicola*, and *Publicola* hath done like vnto *Solon*, shewing him self a perfect example and looking glasse, where men maye see howe to gouerne a popular state: when he made his Consulshippe voyde of all pride & itately shewe, and became him self affable, curteous, and beloued of euery bodie. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes. As when he ordeined, that the people only should haue authoritie to choose and create, all common officers and magistrates, and that they might appeale from any iudge to the people: as *Solon* when he suffered them to appeale vnto the iudges of the people. In deede *Publicola* dyd not create any newe Senate, as *Solon* dyd: but he dyd augment the first number, with as many persones almost as there were before. He dyd also first erect the office of *Quaestores*, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Bicause the chiefeest magistrate, if he were an honest man, should not for so light an occasion be taken, from the care of better and more weightie affayres: and if he were wickedly geuen and ill disposed, that he should haue no such meane or occasion to worke his wicked will, by hauing the treasure of the cittie in his handes, and to commaund what he lyst. Moreover in hating the tyrānes, *Publicola* therein was farre more sharpe & terrible. For *Solon* in his lawes punished him that went about to make him selfe tyranne, yet after he was conuicted thereof by lawe: but *Publicola* ordeined that they should kill him, before the lawe dyd passe on him, that sought to be King. And where *Solon* iustly, and truly vauntech him self, that being offered to be King & Lord of *ATHENS*, and that with the whole consent of the citizens: yet he dyd notwithstanding refuse it. This vaunte and glorie is as due vnto *Publicola*: who finding the dignitie of a Consul tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauorable to the people, not taking vpon him all the authoritie he might lawfully haue done. And it seemeth that *Solon* knewe before him, what was the true and direct waye to gouerne a common weale vprightly. For he sayeth in one place:

*Both great and small of pouer, she better vwill obeye:
if vve to litle or to much, vpon them doe not laye.*

F The discharging of dettes was proper to *Solon*, which was a full confirmation of libertie. For litle preuaileth lawe to make equalitie among citizens, when dettes doe hinder the poore people to enioye the benefit thereof. And where it seemeth that they haue most liber-

Publicola
refused the office of
Quaestores.

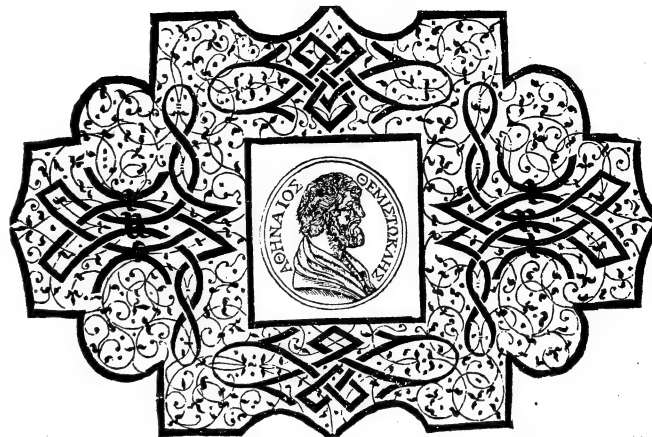
tie, as in that they may be chosen iudges and officers to speake their opinion in the counsell, and geue their voyces also: there in deede are they most bounde and subiect, bicause they doe but obeye the rich, in all they doe commaund. But yet in this acte there is a thinge more wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly discharging of dettes, was wont to breede great tumultes, and seditions in common weales. And *Solon* hauing vsed it in a very good time (as the phisitian ventring a daungerous medecine) dyd appease the sedition already begonne, and did vterly quenche through his glorie, and the common opinion they had of his wisdom and vertue, all the infamie and accusation that might haue growen of that acte. As for their first entrie into the gouernment, *Solons* beginning was farre more noble. For he went before, and followed not another: and him selfe alone without any others helpe, dyd put in execution the best, and more parte of all his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was *Publicolaes* ende and death much more glorious and happie. For *Solon* before he dyed, sawe all his common wealthe ouerthrowen: but *Publicolaes* common weale continued whole as he left it, vntill the broyle of ciuill warres beganne againe among them. *Solon*, after he had made his lawes, and written them in woddien tables, leauing them without defence of any man, went his waye immediately out of the citie of *ATHENS*. *Publicola* abiding continually in *ROME* gouerning the state, dyd thoroughly stablishe & confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore *Solon* hauing wisely forseeke *Pisistratus* practises, aspiring to make him selfe King: he could neuer let him for all that, but was him selfe overcome and oppressed with the tyrannie he sawe established in his owne sight, and in disight of him. Where *Publicola* ouerthrowe and dyd put downe a mightie Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was thoroughly established: his vertue and desire being equall with *Solons*, & hauing had besides fortune fauorable, and sufficient power to execute, his vertuous and well disposed minde. But as for warres and marshall deedes, there is no comparison to be made betweene them. For *Daimachus Plateian*, doth not attribute the warres of the *MEGARIANS* vnto *Solon*, as we haue written it: where *Publicola* being generall of an armie, and fighting him selfe in person, hath wonne many great battells. And as for matters of peace and ciuill gouernment, *Solon* neuer durst present him selfe openly to persuaide the enterprise of *SALAMINA*, but vnder a counterfeit madnes, and as a foole to make sporte. Where *Publicola* taking his aduantage from the beginning, shewed him selfe without dissimulation, an open enemy to *Tarquine*, and afterwarde he reuealed all the whole conspiracie. And when he had bene the only cause and autor of punishing the traitours, he dyd not only driue out of *ROME* the tyrannes selues in person, but tooke from them also all hope of returne againe. Who hauing allwayes thus nobly & vallyantly behaued him self, without shrinking backe, or flying from ought that required force, a manly corage, or open resistance: dyd yet shewe him selfe discrete, where wisdom was requisite, or reason and persuation needefull. As when he conningly wanne king *Porfena*, who was a dredfull enemy vnto him, and inuincible by force: whom he handled in such good sorte, that he made him his friend. Peraduenture some might stand in this and saye: that *Solon* recouered the Ile of *SALAMINA* vnto the *ATHENIANS*, which they would haue lost. *Publicola* to the contrarie, restored the lands vnto *Porfena* againe, which the *ROMAINES* had conquered before, within the countie of *THYSCAN*. But the times in which these things were done, are allwayes to be considered of. For a wise gouernour of a Realme, and politike man, doth gouerne diuersely according to the occasions offered, taking euery thing in his time wherein he will deale. And many times, in letting goe one thing, he saue the whole: and in losing a litle, he gayneth much. As *Publicola* dyd: who losing a litle pece of another mans countie which they had vsurped, saued by that meanes all that was assuredly his owne. And whereas the *ROMAINES* thought he should doe very much for them, to saue their citie only: he got them moreover, all the goodes that were in their enemies cape, which dyd besiege them. And in making his enemy iudge of his quarrell, he wane the victorie: winning that moreover, which he would gladly haue geuen to haue overcome, and haue sentence passe of his side. For the King their enemy dyd not only make peace with them, but dyd also leaue them all his furniture, prouision, and munition for the warres: euen for the vertue, manhood, and iustice, which the great wisdom of this Consul persuaied *Porfena* to beleue to be, in all the other *ROMAINES*.

The ende of *Publicolaes* life.

THE

THE LIFE OF

Themistocles.



THEMISTOCLES parentage dyd litle aduance his glorie: for his father *Neocles* was of small reputation in *ATHENS*, being of the hundred of *Phreax*, & tribe of *Leontis*: of his mother an allien or stranger: as these verses doe witnesse,

Abrotonon I am, borne in *Thracia*,
and yet this highe good happe I haue, shat into *Grecia*:
I haue brought forth a sonne, *Themistocles* by name,
the glorie of the *Greekishe* bloods, and man of greatest fame.

Howbeit *Phanias* writeth, that his mother was not a *THRACIAN*, but borne in the countie of *CARIA*: and they doe not call her *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpe*. And

B *Neantes* sayeth furthermore, that she was of *HALICARNASSYS*, the chiefe citie of all the Realme of *CARIA*. For which cause when the strangers dyd assemble at *Cynsargos* (a place of exercise without the gate dedicated to *Hercules*, which was not a right god, but noted an allien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) *Themistocles* persuaied diuers youthe of the most honourable houes, to goe down with him, & to annointe them selues at *Cynsargos*, conningly thereby taking away the difference betwene the right & allien sorte. But setting a parte all these circumstaunces, he was no doubt allied vnto the house of the *Lycomedians*: for *Themistocles* caused the chappell of this familie, which is in the village of *PHLYE*, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be buylt vp againe at his owne charges: and as *Simonides* sayeth, he dyd set it forth and enriche it with pictures. Moreover euery man doth confesse it, that euen from his childhood they dyd perceyue he was geuen to be very whotte headed, stirring, wise, and of good spirite, and enterprising of him selfe to doe great things, and borne to rule weighty causes. For at such dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leaue to playe, he neuer played, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they allwayes founde him conning some oration without booke, or making it alone by him selfe, and the ground of his matter was euer comonly, either to defend, or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his schoolemaster obseruing him, ofte sayed vnto him: suer some great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boye, for it cannot be chosen but that one daye thou shalt doe some notable

L ij

A politike
precept.

Cynsargos, a
place of exer-
cise, dedica-
ted to *Hercu-
les*.

Themistocles
reuerend.

good thing, or some extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teache him any thing, only to checke his nature, or to facion him with good manner and ciuillitie, or to studie any matter for pleasure or honest pastime: he would slowly and carelessly learne of them. But if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state: they sawe he would beate at it maruelously, and would vnderstande more then any could of his age and carriage, trusting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cause, that being mocked afterwards by some that had studied humanitie, and other liberrall sciences, he was driven for reuenge and his owne defence, to answer with great and stowte wordes, saying, that in deede he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to playe of a psalterion: but if they dyd put a citty into his handes that was of small name, weake, and litle, he knewe wayes enough how to make it noble, stronge, and great. Neuertheles, *Stesimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Anaxagoras* schoole, and that vnder *Melissus* he studied naturall philosophie. But herein he was greatly deceaued, for that he tooke no great heide vnto the time. For *Melissus* was captaine of the *SAMIANs* against *Pericles*, at what time he dyd laye seige vnto the citty of *SAMOS*. Now this is true, *Pericles* was much younger then *Themistocles*, and *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles* in his owne house. Therefore we haue better reason and occasion to beleue those that write, *Themistocles* dyd determine to followe *Mnesiphilus Phrearian*. For he was no professed O-rator, nor naturall philosopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profession of that which then they called wisdom. Which was no other thing, but a certain knowledge to handle great causes, and an endeavour to haue a good wit and iudgment in matters of state and gouernment: which profession beginning in *Solon*, dyd continue, and was taken vp from man to man, as a secte of philosophie. But those that came sithence, haue mingled it with arte of speache, and by litle and litle haue translated the exercise of deedes, vnto bare and curious wordes: whereupon they were called *Sophisters*, as who would saye, counterfeite wise men. Notwithstanding, when *Themistocles* beganne to medle with the gouernment of the common weale, he followed much *Mnesiphilus*. In the first parte of his youth, his behauiour and doings were very light and vnconstant, as one caried away with a raile head, and without any order or discretion: by reason whereof his manners & conditions seemed maruelously to chaunge, and oftentimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as him self dyd afterwards confesse by saying: that a ragged colte oftymes proues a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As that his father dyd disinherite him, and that his mother for very care and sorowe the tooke to see the lewde life of her sonne, dyd kill her self. For there are that write to the contrary, that his father being desirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, dyd goe and shewe him all alongest the sea shore, the shippewracks and ribbes of olde gallyes cast here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and sayed to him: thus the people vie their gouernours, when they can serue no longer. Howsoeuer it was, it is most true that *Themistocles* earnestly gaue him self to state, and was sodainly taken with desire of glorie. For euen at his first entrie, because he would set foote before the proudest, he tooke at pyke against the greatest and mightiest persones, that bare the swaye and gouernment, and specially against *Aristides*, *Lyfmachus* sonne, who euer encountered him, and was still his aduerfarye opposit. Yet it seemeth the euil will he conceyued toward him, came of a very light cause. For they both loued *Stesilaus*, that was borne in the citty of *TEOS*, as *Ariston* the philosopher writeth. And after this ialousie was kindled betweene them, they alwayes tooke contrary parte one against another, not only in their priuate likings, but also in the gouernment of the common weale. Yet I am perswaded, that the difference of their manners & conditions, did much encrease the grudge and discord betwext them. For *Aristides* being by nature a very good man, a iust dealer, & honest of life, and one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor serue his owne glorie, but rather to the contrary would doe, would saye, & counsaill alwayes for the most benefit & comoditie of the common weale: was oftentimes enforced to resist *Themistocles*, & disaappoint his ambition, being euer buslie mouing the people, to take some new matter in hande. For they reporte of him, that he was so inflamed with desire of glorie, & to enterprife great matters, that being but a very yoog man at the battell of *Marathon*, where there was no talke but of the worthines of

Themistocles
was *Anaxagoras*
& *Melissus* scholar.

Mnesiphilus
Phrearian.

When wife
died was in
silde time.

How the
name of *Sophisters* came
up.
Themistocles
youth.

The priue
grudge be-
tweene *Themistocles*
and
Aristides.

Aristides a
iust man.

Themistocles
ambition.

A captaine *Miltiades* that had wonne the battell: he was found many times solitarie there alone deuising with him self: besides, they saye he could then take no rest in the night, neither would goe to playes in the daye time, nor would keepe companie with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that would to see him so in his mufes, and chaunged, and asked him what he ayld: that *Miltiades* victorie would not let him sleepe, because other thought this ouerthrow at *MARATHON*, would haue made an end of all warres. Howbeit *Themistocles* was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daylie studied howe to prevent them, and how to see to the safetie of *GREECE*, & before occasion offered, he did exercise his citty in feare of warre, foreseeing what should followe after. Wherefore, where the cittizens of *ATHENS* before dyd vie to B deuide among them selues the reuenue of their mines of siluer, which were in a parte of *AT-TICA* called *LAVRION*: he alone was the first that durst speake to the people, & persuade them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among them selues, & employe the money of the same in making of gallyes, to make warres against the *ÆGINETES*. For their warres of all *GREECE* were most cruell, because they were lords of the sea, & had so great a number of shippes. This persuation drue the cittizens more easely to *Themistocles* minde, than the threatening them with king *Darius*, or the *Persians* would haue done: who were farre from them, & not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this opportunitee taken of the hatred & ialousie betwene the *ATHENIANS* & the *ÆGINETES*, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an hundred gallyes, with which they fought against king *Xerxes*, & did C ouercome him by sea. Now after this good beginning & successe, he wanne the cittizens by degrees to bende their force to sea, declaring vnto them, howe by lande they were scant able to make heade against their equals, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defende them selues from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to commaund all *GREECE*. Hereupon he made them good mariners, & passing sea men, as *Plato* sayeth, where before they were stowte & valliant fouldiers by lande. This gaue his enemies occasion to cast it in his teethe afterwards, that he had taken away from the *ATHENIANS* the pike & the target, & had brought them to the bāke & the ower: & so he got the vpper hand of *Miltiades*. Who inueyed against him in that, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this sea seruice to passe, whether thereby he dyd ouerthrow the iustice of the comō weale or not, I leaue that D to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preferuacion of all *GREECE* stood at that time vpon the sea, & that the gallyes only were the cause of setting vp *ATHENS* againe: *Xerxes* him self is a sufficient witnes, besides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his armie by lāde being yet whole, & vnset on, when he saw his armie by sea broken, disperfed, & souncke, he fled straight vpon it, confessing as it were that he was nowe to weake to deale any more with the *GRECIANS*, & left *Mardonius* his lieutenant in *GREECE*, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the *GRECIANS* should not followe him, then for any hope he had to ouercome the. Some write of *Themistocles*, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, & careful to looke to his things: for he dyd spende liberally, & loued ofte to make sacrifices, & honorably to receyue & entertaine straingers: wherefore he had good reason to be careful to get, to defraye E his charges. Other to the contrary, blame him much, that he was to nere, & miserable: for some saye, he would sell presents of meate that were geuen him. He dyd aske one *Phylides* on a time, which had a brede of mares, a colte of giste: who denying him flatly, he was so angrie, that he threatened him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wodde, with the which *TROIA* was taken. Meaning courtly to let him vnderstande, that he would shortly set strife & quarrel betwext him, & his nearest kinsmen & familiar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a yoig man, & scanty knowen, he earnestly intreated one *Epicles*, borne at *HERMIONNA*, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at that time the conningest man in all *ATHENS* at that instrument, that he would come & teache his arte at his house: and all was no more, but that many people being desirous to heare him F playe, should aske for his house, & come thither to him. And one yere when he went vnto the feast & assembly of the playes Olympical, he would nedes keepe open house for all comiters, haue his tents richely furnished, & a great traine of seruants & all other furniture, only to con-

Themistocles
persuaded his
cittizens to
make gallyes.

The *Athenians* bēd their
force to sea,
by *Themistocles*
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sion.

Themistocles
a good husband
to looke for
his profits.

Themistocles
extremely
ambitious.

stone, which he founde there by chance, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbor for shippes, and fit places also to lye in. These were the words, that the IONIANs should take the GREECIANs partes being their founders and auncesters, & such as fought for their libertie: or at the least they should trouble the armie of the barbarous people, & doe them all the mischief they could, when the GREECIANs should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the IONIANs to take their parte, or at the least he should make the barbarous people iealous & mistrustfull of them. *Xerxes* being already entred in the vppermost parte of the prouince of DORICA, into the cuntry of PHOCIDA, burning & destroying the townes & cities of the PHOCIANs: the other GREECIANs laye still & suffered the inuasion, notwithstanding the ATHENIANs did request them to meete with the barbarous armie in BORTIA, to saue the cuntry of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they wēt by sea to ARTEMISIUM. But they would not hearkē to it in no wise, & all was because they were desirous they should drawe to the straite of PELOPONNESVS, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of GREECE within the barre of the same, & make a strong substantiall wall from the one sea to the other. The ATHENIANs were very angrie at this deuise, & were half discouraged & out of hart, to see the selues thus forsake and cast off, by the rest of the GREECIANs. For it was out of all speache that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: & therefore their only remedy was, to leaue their citie: & to get them to the sea. The people were very vnwilling to listen hereto, making their reckoning it was needles to be carefull to ouercome, or to saue them selues, hauing once forsaken the temples of their gods, & the graues of their parents. Wherefore *Themistocles* seeing that neither reason, nor mans persuation could bring the people to like his opinion: he beganne to frame a deuise (as men doe vsē sometimes in tragedies) & to threaten the ATHENIANs with signes from heauen, with oracles & answers from the goddesses. And the occasion of *Minerues* draggō seruēd his turne for a celestiall signe & token, which by good fortune dyd not appeare in those dayes in the temple as it was wont to doe: & the priests found the sacrifices which were daylie offered to him, whole & vnouched by any. Wherefore being informed by *Themistocles*: what they should doe, they spred a brute abroad amongest the people, that the goddesse *Minerua*, the protectour & defendour of the citie, had forsaken it, pointing them the waye vnto the sea. And againe he wanne them by a prophetic, which commaunded them to saue them selues in walles of wodd: saying, that the walles of wodd dyd signifie nothing els but shippes. And for this cause he saied, *Apollo* in his oracle called *SALAMINA* diuine, not miserable nor vnforsunate, because it should geue the name of a most happy victorie which the GREECIANs should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this decree, that they should leaue the citie of ATHENS to the custodie of the goddesse *Pallas*, that was lady & gouernour of the country, & that all those which were of age to carie any weapon should get thē to the gallyes: & for the rest, that euery man should see his wife, children, & bondmen placed in some suer place as well as he could. After this decree was past & authorized by the people, the most parte of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wiues & litle children, into the citie of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANs receyued them very louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they should be entertained of the cōmon charge, allowing them a pece, & two obolus of their money a daye, & suffered the young children to gather fruite wherefoeuer they founde it: & furthermore dyd hier schoolemasters at the charge of the cōmon wealth, to bring them vp at schoole. He that was the pēner of this decree, was one called *Nicagoras*. The ATHENIANs at that time, had no comō money, but the Senate of the *Areopagites* (as *Aristotle* sayeth) furnished euery souldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet *Clidemus* writeth, that this was a crafte deuised of *Themistocles*. The ATHENIANs being come downe vnto the haven of PIREA, he made as though *Pallas* tergat (on the which *Medusus* heade was grauen) had bene lost, & was not found with the image of the goddesse: and faiming to seeke for it, he ranfacked euery corner of the gallyes, and founde a great deale of siluer which priuate persones had hidden amongst their fardells. This money was brought out vnto the people, and by this meane the souldiers that were shipped had wherewithall, to prouide them of necessary things. When time came that they were

*Vdden
walles signifie
shippes.*

*The Athenians forsake
Athens by
Themistocles
persuasion, &
dōe goe to the
sea.*

10

A to departe the hauen, & that all the citie of ATHENS had taken sea: one waye it was a pittie to behold them. Another waye it made all fortes to wounder, that considered the boldnes and corage of those men, which before sent awaye their fathers, and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at the teares, cries, shrikes, & imbragings of their wiues, their children, & departures, but stowly and resolutely helde on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding, there were many olde citizens left still of necessity in ATHENS, because they could not be remoued for very extreme age, which sturred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certen pittie that made mens harts to yerne, when they saw the poore doggs, beasts, & cattell runne vp & downe bleating, mowing, and howling out alowde after their masters, in token of sorowe, when they dyd imbarke. Amongest these, there goeth a straunge tale of *Xanthippus* dogge, who was *Pericles* father: which for sorowe his master had left him behinde him, dyd cast him self after into the sea, & swimming still by the gallyes side wherein his master was, he helde on to the Ile of SALAMINA, where so lone as the poore curre laded, his breath fayled him, & dyed presently. They saye, at this daye the place called the doggs graue, is the very place where he was buried. These were straunge acts of *Themistocles*, that beholding the ATHENIANs sory for the absence of *Aristides*, and fearing least of spyte he taking parte with the barbarous nation, might haue bene the ruine & distruction of the state of GREECE, being banished fye yerres also before the warres, by *Themistocles* procurement: that he dyd fet forth a decree, that all those which had bene banished for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to saye, & to geue counsell to the citizens in those things, which they thought best for the preferation of GREECE. And also where *Eurybiades*, being general of the GREECIANs whole army by sea, for the worthines of the citie of SPARTA, but otherwise a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any case departe from thence, & retire into the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANs was by lande assembled: that *Themistocles* withstood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that *Themistocles* made so notable answers, which specially are noted, & gathered together. For when *Eurybiades* sayed one day vnto him, *Themistocles*, those that at playes & games doe rise before the company, are whistled at. It is true, saied *Themistocles*: but those that tariē last so, doe neuer winne any game. Another time *Eurybiades* hauing a staffe in his hande lift it vp, as though he would haue striken him. Strike & thou wilt, saied he, so thou wilt heare me. *Eurybiades* wōlding to see him so paciēt, suffered him D then to saye what he would. Then *Themistocles* beganne to bring him to reason: but one that stood by sayed vnto him. *Themistocles*, for a man that hath neither citie nor house, it is an ill parte to will others that haue, to forsake all. *Themistocles* turning to him, replied. We haue willingly forsaken our houses and walles, sayed he, cowardly beaste that thou arte, because we would not become slaues for feare to lose things, that haue neither soule nor life. And yet our citie I tell thee is the greatest of all GREECE: for it is a flete of two hundred gallyes ready to fight, which are come hither to saue you if you list. But if you will needes goe your wayes, & forsake vs the seconde time: you shall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANs haue another free citie, & haue possessed againe as much good land, as that they haue already lost. These wordes made *Eurybiades* presently thincke, and feare, that the ATHENIANs would E not goe, & that they would forsake them. And as another *Eretrian* was about to vtter his reason against *Themistocles* opinion: he could not but answer him. Alas, and must you my masters talke of warres to, that are like to a Saeue? In deede you haue a sword, but you lacke a harte. Some write, that whilst *Themistocles* was talking thus from his gallye, they spied an owle flying on the right hande of the shippes, which came to light on one of the mastes of the gallyes: and that hereupon all the other GREECIANs dyd agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by sea. But when the flete of their enemies shippes shewed on the coastes of ATTICA, harde by the hauen *Phalericus*, and covered all the riuers therabouts, as farre as any bodie could see, and that king *Xerxes* him selfe was come in person with all his army by lande, to campe by the sea side: so that his whole power both by lande F and sea might be seene in sight: then the GREECIANs had forgotten all *Themistocles* goodly persuations, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONNESIANs, considering how they might recouer the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, and they dyd growe very angrie, when any man

*Xanthippus
dogge.*

*The dogges
grave.*

*Aristides re-
turneth from
banishment
by Themistocles
decrees.*

*Notable an-
swers of Themistocles.*

*The Saeue is
a fische fac-
ted like a
sword.*

good thing, or some extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teache him any thing, only to checke his nature, or to facion him with good manner and ciuilitie, or to studie any matter for pleasure or honest pastime: he would slowly and carelessly learne of them. But if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state: they sawe he would beate at it maruelously, and would vnderstande more then any could of his age and carriage, trusting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cause, that being mockt afterwards by some that had studied humanitie, and other liberall sciences, he was driven for reuenge and his owne defence, to answer with great and stowte wordes, saying, that in deede he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to playe of a psalterion: but if they dyd put a citty into his handes that was of small name, weake, and litle, he knewe wayes enough how to make it noble, stronge, and great. Neuertheles, *Thesimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Anaxagoras* schoole, and that vnder *Melissus* he studied naturall philosophie. But herein he was greatly deceaued, for that he tooke no great hede vnto the time. For *Melissus* was captaine of the *SAMIANs* against *Pericles*, at what time he dyd laye siege vnto the citty of *SAMOS*. Now this is true, *Pericles* was much younger then *Themistocles*, and *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles* in his owne house. Therefore we haue better reason and occasion to beleue those that write, *Themistocles* dyd determine to followe *Mnesiphilus Phreasian*. For he was no professed O-rator, nor naturall philosopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profession of that which then they called wisdom. Which was no other thing, but a certain knowledge to handle great causes, and an endeavour to haue a good wit and iudgment in matters of state and government: which profession beginning in *Solon*, dyd continue, and was taken vp from man to man, as a secte of philosophie. But those that came sithence, haue mingled it with arte of speache, and by litle and litle haue translered the exercise of deedes, vnto bare and curious wordes: whereupon they were called *sophisters*, as who would saye, counterfeate wile men. Notwithstanding, when *Themistocles* beganne to medle with the government of the common weale, he followed much *Mnesiphilus*. In the first parte of his youth, his behauiour and doings were very light and vnconstant, as one caried away with a rathe head, and without any order or discretion: by reason whereof his manners & conditions seemed maruelously to chaunge, and oftentimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as him self dyd afterwards confesse by saying: that a ragged colte oftentimes proues a good horse, specially if he be well ridden, and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As that his father dyd disinherit him, and that his mother for very care and sorowe the tooke to see the lewde life of her sonne, dyd kill her self. For there are that write to the contrary, that his father being desirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, dyd goe and shewe him all alongest the sea shore, the shippwracks and ribbes of olde gallyes cast here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and sayed to him: thus the people vse their gouernours, when they can serue no longer. Howfoeuer it was, it is most true that *Themistocles* earnestly gaue him self to state, and was sodainly taken with desire of glorie. For euen at his first entrie, because he would set foote before the proudest, he stood at pyke against the greatest and mightiest persones, that bare the swaye and government, and specially against *Aristides*, *Lysimachus* sonne, who euer encountered him, and was still his aduersarie opposite. Yet it seemeth the euil will he conceyued toward him, came of a very light cause. For they both loued *Stesilaus*, that was borne in the citty of *TEOS*, as *Ariston* the philosopher writeth. And after this ieaousie was kindled betweene them, they allwayes tooke contrary parte one against another, not only in their priuate likings, but also in the government of the common weale. Yet I am perswaded, that the difference of their manners & conditions, did much encrease the grudge and discorde betweene them. For *Aristides* being by nature a very good man, a iust dealer, & honest of life, and one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor serue his owne glorie, but rather to the contrary would doe, would saye, & counsaill allwayes for the most benefit & comodiote of the common weale: was oftentimes enforced to resist *Themistocles*, & disaioyn his ambition, being euer busilie mouing the people, to take some new matter in hande. For they report of him, that he was so inflamed with desire of glorie, & to enterprise great matters, that being but a very yong man at the battell of *Marathon*, where there was no talke but of the worthines of

Themistocles was *Anaxagoras* & *Melissus* scholar.

Mnesiphilus Phreasian.

Ysthes wife, done as in side note.

How the name of *Sophisters* came up. *Themistocles* youlike.

The priuie grudge betweene *Themistocles* and *Aristides*.

Aristides a iust man.

Themistocles ambitious.

A captaine *Miltiades* that had wonne the battell: he was found many times solitarie there alone deuising with him self: besides, they saye he could then take no rest in the night, neither would goe to playes in the daye time, nor would keepe companie with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that would see him so in his muses, and chaunged, and asked him what he ayed: that *Miltiades* victorie would not let him sleepe, because other thought this ouerthrow at *MARATHON*, would haue made an end of all warres. Howbeit *Themistocles* was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daylie studied howe to prevent them, and howe to see to the safetie of *GREECE*, & before occasion offered, he did exercise his citty in feare of warre, foreseeing what should followe after. Wherefore, where the cittizens of *ATHENS* before dyd vse to B deuide among them selues the reueneue of their mines of siluer, which were in a parte of *ATTICA* called *LAVRION*: he alone was the first that durst speake to the people, & persuaude them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among them selues, & employe the money of the same in making of gallyes, to make warres against the *ÆGINETES*. For their warres of all *GREECE* were most cruell, because they were lords of the sea, & had fo great a number of shippes. This persuaasion drew the cittizens more easely to *Themistocles* minde, than the threatening them with king *Darius*, or the *Persians* would haue done: who were farre from them, & not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this opportunite taken of the hatred & ieaousie betweene the *ATHENIANS* & the *ÆGINETES*, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an hundred gallyes, with which they fought against king *Xerxes*, & did C ouercome him by sea. Now after this good beginning & successe, he wanne the cittizens by degrees to bende their force to sea, declaring vnto them, howe by lande they were scant able to make heade against their equals, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defende them selues from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to commaund all *GREECE*. Hereupon he made them good mariners, & passing sea men, as *Plato* sayeth, where before they were stowte & valliant souldiers by lande. This gaue his enemies occasion to cast it in his teethe afterwards, that he had taken away from the *ATHENIANS* the pike & the target, & had brought them to the bake & the ower: so he got the vpper hand of *Miltiades*. Who inueyed against him in that, as *Thesimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this sea seruice to passe, whether thereby he dyd ouerthrow the iustice of the commo weale or not, I leaue that to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preservation of all *GREECE* stood at that time vpon D the sea, & that the gallyes only were the cause of setting vp *ATHENS* againe: *Xerxes* him self is a sufficient wimes, besides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his armie by lade being yet whole, & vnset on, when he saw his armie by sea broken, disperfed, & souncke, he fled straight vpon it, confessing as it were that he was nowe to weake to deale any more with the *GRECIANS*, & left *Mardonius* his lieutenant in *GREECE*, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the *GRECIANS* should not followe him, then for any hope he had to ouercome the. Some write of *Themistocles*, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, & careful to looke to his things: for he dyd spende liberally, & loued ofte to make sacrifices, & honorably to receyue & entertaine straungers: wherefore he had good reason to be careful to get, to defraye E his charges. Other to the contrary, blame him much, that he was to nere, & miserable: for some saye, he would sell presents of meate that were geuen him. He dyd aske one *Philides* on a time, which had a brede of mares, a colte of gifte: who denying him flatly, he was so angrie, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wodde, with the which *TROIA* was taken. Meaning covertly to let him vnderstande, that he would shortly set fire & quarrel betweene him, & his nearest kinsmen & familiar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a yong man, & scanty knownen, he earnestly intreated one *Epicles*, borne at *HERMIONNA*, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at that time the conningest man in all *ATHENS* at that instrument, that he would come & teache his arte at his house: and all was no more, but that many people being desirous to heare him playe, should aske for his house, & come thither to him. And one yere when he went vnto the F feast & assembly of the playes Olympicall, he would needs keepe open house for all committers, haue his tents richly furnished, & a great traine of seruants & all other furniture, only to con-

Themistocles perswaded his citty to make gallyes.

The *Athenians* bit their force to sea, by *Themistocles* persuaasion.

Themistocles a good husband, as he looks for his profit.

Themistocles extremely ambitious.

A wife saying
of Themistocles.

Themistocles
made Aristides
to be banished.

Epicides on
crucified to be
generall.

Artemisus de-
fenced for
braving.

Themistocles
generall of
the Athenians
against Xerxes.

tende with *Simon*. This maruelously spighted the GREECIANS, who thought *Themistocles* ex-
pences fit for *Simons* countenance, & abilitie, bicause he was a young gentleman, and of a no-
ble house: but for him that was but a new come man, & would beare a greater porte, then ei-
ther became his calling or abilitie, they thought it not only vnallowable in him, but meere
presumption & vaine glorie. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedie which
was played openly: & being set out therein to haue wonne the prise, & the A THENIANS being
maruelous desirous of the honour in such plays, he caused this victorie of his to be painted in
a table, which he did dedicate & set vp in a temple, with this inscription. *Themistocles Phre-
arian defrayed the charges: Phrynus made it: Adimantus was chief ruler.* Yet notwithstanding he
was well taken of the common people, partly bicause he would speake to euery citizen by his
name, no man telling him their names: & partly also bicause he shewed him self an vpright
iudge in priuate mens causes. As one day he answered the poet *Simonides*, borne in CHIO,
who dyd request an vnreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was gouernour of
the citie. Thou couldest be no good poet, *Simonides*, if thou diddest singe against the rules of
musike: neither my self a good gouernour of a citie, if I should doe any thing against the lawe.
And mocking the same *Simonides* another time, he told him he was but a foole to speake ill of
the CORINTHIANS, considering they were lords of so great & strong a citie. Likewise he was
not wile to make him self to be drawn, being so deformed & ill fauored. But being growne in
credit, & hauing wōne the fauour of the people, he was such an enemy to *Aristides*, that in the
end he made him to be expulged & banished A THENS, for 5. yeres. Whē newes were brought
that the king of PERSIA was onwarde on his iorney & coming downe to make warres vpon
the GREECIANS: the A THENIANS consulted with them they should make their generall. And it is
reported, that all their cōmon counsellors which were wont to speake in matters, fearing the
daunger, dyd drawe backe, saue an orator called *Epicides*, *Euphemides* sonne, very eloquent in
speache, but somewhat womanishe, fainte harted, & gredie of money, offered him self to sue for
this charge, & had some hope to obtaine it. Wherefore *Themistocles* fearing all would not be
well, if it fell to this man to be generall of the armie, he bought out *Epicides* ambitiō with ready
money, & so made him let fall his sute. It fell out *Themistocles* was greatly comēded, about that
was done to the interpreter, that came with the king of PERSIAES ambassadours, & deman-
ded the empire of the GREECIANS both by sea & lande, that they should acknowledge obe-
dience to the King. For he caused him to be taken, & put to death by a comon cōsent, for vsing
the Greeke tongue in the seruice & cōmaundement of the barbarous people. It was a notable
thing also, that at his motion, *Arthmius* born at ZELEA, was noted of infamie, both he, his chil-
dren, & all his posteritie after him, bicause he brought gold frō the king of PERSIA, to corrupt
& winne the GREECIANS. But the greatest & worsteste acte he did in those parts, was this: that
he pacified all ciuill warres among the GREECIANS, perswading the cities to leaue of their
quarrels vntill the warres were done, in the which they saye *Chileus Arcadian* did helpe him
more then any other man. He being now chosen generall of the A THENIANS, wēt about pre-
sently to imbarke his citizens into gallyes, declaring to them they should leaue their citie, &
goe mete with the barbarous King by sea, so farre frō the coast of GREECE as they could: but
the people did not thincke that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of souldiers by lande,
into the countrie of TEMPE with the LACEDEMONIANS, to keepe the passage & entrie into
THESSALIE, against the barbarous people, which countrie stooode yet fownde to GREECE, &
not resuolued to the MEDES. Afterwards the GREECIANS coming frō thence without any acte
done, and the THESSALIANS also being wonne somewhat on the Kings side, for that all the
whole country vnto BOEOTIA was at the deuotion & goodwill of the barbarous people: then
the A THENIANS beganne to finde, howe *Themistocles* opinion to fight by sea was very good.
Whereupon they sent him with their nauie to the citie of ARTEMISIYN, to keepe the straight.
There the other GREECIANS would haue had the LACEDEMONIANS & their admirall *Eury-
biades* to haue had the authoritie & cōmaundement of the rest. But the A THENIANS would
not set sayle vnder any other admirall then their own, bicause theirs were the greatest number
of shippes in the armie, & about all the other GREECIANS. *Themistocles* foreseeing the daunger
that was likely to fall out amongst them selues, dyd willingly yelde the whole authoritie vnto

Eury-

Eurybiades, & got the A THENIANS to agree vnto it: assuring them, that if they behaued them
selues valliantly in these warres, the other GREECIANS of their own accord would afterwards
submit them selues vnto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at
that time, the original cause of the fauing of GREECE, & dyd most aduance the honour and
glorie of the A THENIANS, by making them to ouercome their enemies by force, & their frinds
& allies with liberalitie. In the meane time, *Eurybiades* being the barbarous flete riding at anker,
all alongest the Ile of A PHEYS, with such a great nūber of shippes in the vaward, he beganne
to be affrayed. And vnderstanding moreouer, there were other 200. sayle that wēt to caft about
the Ile of SCIATHE, & so to come in: he presently would haue retired further into GREECE, &
would haue drawē neerer vnto PELOPONNESVS, to the end their army by sea might be neare
their army by lāde, as thinking it vnpossible to fight with king *Xerxes* power by sea. Whereupō
the inhabitants of the Ile of E VBOEA, fearing least the GREECIANS would to the spoyle of the
enemy, they caused *Themistocles* secretly to be spokē with all, & sent him a good sōme of mo-
ney by one called *Pelagon*. *Themistocles* tooke the money, as *Herodotus* writeth, & gaue it to *Eury-
biades*. But there was one *Architelus* amōgest the A THENIANS, captain of the galley called
the holy galley, that was much against *Themistocles* intended purpose: who hauing no money
to paye his mariners, dyd what he could that they might departe with speede from thence.
Themistocles sturred vp then his souldiers more against him then before, inso much as they wēt
aboard his galley, & tooke his supper from him. *Architelus* being maruelous angrie & offēded
withall, *Themistocles* sent him both bread & meat in a pānier, & in the bottome thereof he had
put a talent of siluer, bidding him for that night to suppe with that, and the next morning he
should provide for his mariners, or els he would cōplaine, & accuse him to the citizees that he
had takē money of the enemies. Thus it is writtē by *Phanias Lesbū*. Moreouer these first fights
in the straite of E VBOEA, betwene the GREECIANS, & the barbarous people, were nothing
to purpose to end the warres betwene them. For it was but a taste geuē vnto them, which ser-
ued the GREECIANS turne very much, by making them to see by experiece, & the manner of
the fight, that it was not the great multitude of shippes, nor the pōpe & sumptuous setting out
of the same, nor the prowde barbarous shewes & songes of victorie that could stande them to
purpose, against noble harts & valliant minded souldiers, that durst grapple with them, & come
to hands strokes with their enemies: & that they should make no reckoning of all that brauery
& braggies, but should sticke to it like men, & laye it on the iacks of them. The which (as it see-
meth) the poet *Pindarus* vnderstoode very well, when he sayed touching the battell of ARTE-
MISIYN.

The stovvte Athenians, haue nowue foundation layed,
vnto the libertie of Greece, by thes assaults assayed.

For out of doubt the beginning of victorie, is to be hardie. This place ARTEMISIYN is a
part of the Ile of E VBOEA, looking towards the North, about the citie of ESTIÆ, lying di-
rectly ouer against the country which somtimes was vnder the obedience of the PHILOCTE-
TES, and specially of the citie of OLIZON. There is a little temple of Diana, surnamed *Orien-
tal*, round about the which there are trees, & a compasse of pillars of white stone, which
when a man rubbes with his hande, they shewe of the culler and fauour of sifferance. And in
E one of those pillars there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect.

When boldest bloods of Athens by their might beganne to builde, this noble monument:
had ouercome, the numbers infinite and to Diane the same they dyd present,
of Asiatic they then in memorie, for that they had the Medes likewise subdued,
of all their dedes, and valliant victorie & with their blood, their hardy hands embured.

There is a place seene also vpon that coast at this daye, a good waye into the lande, in the
middest whereof are great sands full of blacke dust as ashes: and they thincke that they burnt
in that place all dead bodies and olde shippwracks. Newes being brought: what had bene
done in the countrie of THERMOPYLES, how that king *Leonidas* was dead, and how that *Xer-
xes* had wonne that entrie into GREECE by lande: the GREECIANS then brought their whole
F army by sea more into GREECE, the A THENIANS being in the rereward in this retire, as me-
whoe hartes were liſte vp with the glorie of their former valliant dedes. Nowe *Themistocles*
passing by those places where he knewe the enemies must of necessitie fall vpon the lee shore
for harborow: he dyd ingraue certain wordes spoken vnto the IONIANS, in great letters in

The coast of
Artemisus.

Themistocles
fragaunce.

stone, which he founde there by chance, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbor for shippes, and fit places also to lye in. These were the wordes, that the IONIANs should take the GREECIANs partes being their founders and auncesters, & such as fought for their libertie: or at the least they should trouble the armie of the barbarous people, & doe them all the mischief they could, when the GREECIANs should come to fight with them. By these wordes he hoped either to bring the IONIANs to take their parte, or at the least he should make the barbarous people ielous & mistrustfull of them. *Xerxes* being already entred in the vppermost parte of the prouince of DORICA, into the countie of PHOCIDA, burning & destroying the townes & cities of the PHOCIANs: the other GREECIANs laye still & suffered the inuasion, notwithstanding the ATHENIANs did request them to mete with the barbarous armie in BOEOTIA, to saue the countie of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they wēt by sea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearkē to it in nowise, & all was because they were desirous they should drawe to the straite of PELOPONNESVS, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of GRECE within the barre of the fame, & make a strong substantiall walle from the one sea to the other. The ATHENIANs were very angry at this deuise, & were half discouraged & out of harte, to see the felues thus forsake and cast of, by the rest of the GREECIANs. For it was out of all speache that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: & therefore their only remedy was, to leave their cities: & to get them to the sea. The people were very vnwilling to listen hereto, making their reckoning it was needeles to be carefull to ouercome, or to saue them selues, hauing once forsaken the tēples of their godds, & the graues of their parents. Wherefore *Themistocles* seeing that neither reason, nor mans persuation could bring the people to like his opinion: he beganne to frame a deuise (as men doe vsē sometimes in tragedies) & to threaten the ATHENIANs with signes from heauen, with oracles & aunswers from the goddes. And the occasion of *Mineruas* draggō serued his turne for a celestiall signe & token, which by good fortune dyd not appeare in those dayes in the tēple as it was wont to doe: & the priests found the sacrifices which were daylie offered to him, whole & vntouched by any. Wherefore being enformed by *Themistocles* what they should doe, they spred a brute abroad amongst the people, that the goddesse *Minerua*, the protectour & defendour of the cittie, had forsaken it, pointing them the waye vnto the sea. And againe he wanne them by a prophetic, which cōmaunded them to saue them selues in walles of wodd: saying, that the walles of wodd dyd signifie nothing els but shippes. And for this cause he saied, *Apollo* in his oracle called SALAMINA diuine, not miserable nor vnfürfortunate, because it should geue the name of a most happy victorie which the GREECIANs should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this decree, that they should leaue the cittie of ATHENS to the custodie of the goddesse *Pallas*, that was lady & gouernour of the country, & that all those which were of age to carie any weapon should get the to the gallyes: & for the rest, that euery man should see his wife, children, & bondmen placed in some suer place as well as he could. After this decree was past & authorized by the people, the most parte of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wiues & litle children, into the cittie of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANs receyued them very louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they should be entertained of the cōmon charge, allowing them a pece, & two obolos of their money a daye, & suffered the young children to gather fruite wherefoeuer they founde it: & furthermore dyd hier schoolemasters at the charge of the cōmon wealth, to bring them vp at schoole. He that was the pēner of this decree, was one called *Nicagoras*. The ATHENIANs at that time, had no comō money, but the Senate of the *Aeropagites* (as *Aristotle* sayeth) furnished euery soldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet *Clidemus* writeth, that this was a craffe deuised of *Themistocles*. The ATHENIANs being come downe vnto the haue of PIRÆA, he made as though *Pallas* terga (on the which *Medusus* heade was grauen) had bene lost, & was not found with the image of the goddesse: and faining to seeke for it, he ransacked euery corner of the gallyes, and founde a great deale of siluer which priuate perſones had hidden amongst their fardells. This money was brought out vnto the people, and by this meanes the soldiars that were shipped had wherewithall, to provide them of necessary things. When time came that they were

VVdden
walles signifie
shippes.

The Athenians forsake
Athens by
Themistocles
persuasion, &
doe goe to the
sea.

A to departe the haue, & that all the cittie of ATHENS had taken sea: one waye it was a pittie to beholde them. Another waye it made all sortes to wounder, that considered the boldnes and corage of those men, which before sent away their fathers, and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at the teares, cries, shrikes, & imbrailings of their wiues, their children, & departures, but stowly and resolutely helde on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding, there were many olde citizens left still of necessitie in ATHENS, because they could not be remoued for very extreme age, which sturred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certen pittie that made mens harts to yerne, when they saw the poore doggs, beaſts, & cattell runne vp & downe bleating, mowing, and howling out alowde after their masters, in token of sorowe, when they dyd imbarke. Amongst these, there goeth a straunge tale of *Xanthippus* dogge, who was *Pericles* father: which for sorowe his master had left him behinde him, dyd cast him selfe into the sea, & swimming still by the galleys side wherein his master was, he helde on to the Ile of SALAMINA, where so lone as the poore curie laded, his breath fayled him, & dyed presently. They saye, at this daye the place called the doggs graue, is the very place where he was buried. These were straunge acts of *Themistocles*, that beholding the ATHENIANs fory for the absence of *Aristides*, and fearing least of spyte he taking parte with the barbarous nation, might haue bene the ruine & destruction of the state of GRECE, being banished fūe yeres also before the warres, by *Themistocles* procurement: that he dyd set forth a decree; that all those which had bene banished for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to saye, & to geue counsell to the citizens in those things, which they thought best for the preferuation of GRECE. And also where *Eurybiades*, being generall of the GREECIANs whole army by sea, for the worthines of the cittie of SPARTA, but otherwise a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any case departe from thence, & retire into the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANs was by lande assembled: that *Themistocles* withstood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that *Themistocles* made so notable aunswers, which specially are noted, & gathered together. For when *Eurybiades* layed one day vnto him, *Themistocles*, those that at playes & games doe rise before the company, are whistled at. It is true, saied *Themistocles*: but those that tarie last so, doe neuer winne any game. Another time *Eurybiades* hauing a staffe in his hande lift it vp, as though he would haue striken him. Strike & thou wilt, saied he, so thou wilt heare me. *Eurybiades* woulding to see him so paciēt, suffered him then to saye what he would. Then *Themistocles* beganne to bring him to reason: but one that stood by layed vnto him, *Themistocles*, for a man that hath neither cittie nor house, it is an ill parte to will others that haue, to forsake all. *Themistocles* turning to him, replied, We haue willingly forsaken our houses and walles, sayed he, cowardly beaſte that thou arte, because we would not become slaues for feare to lose things, that haue neither soule nor life. And yet our cittie I tell thee is the greatest of all GRECE: for it is a flete of two hundred galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to saue you if you list. But if you will needes goe your wayes, & forsake vs the seconde time: you shall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANs haue another free cittie, & haue possessed againe as much good land, as that they haue already lost. These wordes made *Eurybiades* presently thincke, and feare, that the ATHENIANs would E not goe, and that they would forsake them. And as another *Eretian* was about to vtter his reason against *Themistocles* opinion: he could not but aunswer him. Alas, and must you my masters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleur? In deede you haue a sword, but you lacke a harte. Some write, that whilst *Themistocles* was talking thus from his galley, they spied an owle flying on the right haunde of the shippes, which came to light on one of the mastes of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other GREECIANs dyd agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by sea. But when the flete of their enemies shippes shewed on the coastes of ATTICA, harde by the haue *Phalericus*, and covered all the riuers thereabouts, as farre as any bodie could see, and that king *Xerxes* him selfe was come in persone with all his army by lande, to campe by the sea side: so that his whole power both by lande & sea might be seene in sight: then the GREECIANs had forgotten all *Themistocles* goodly persuasions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONNESIANs, considering how they might recouer the goulfe of PELOPONNESVS, and they dyd growe very angry, when any man

Xanthippus
dogge.

The dogges
grave.

Aristides re-
turneth from
banishment
by *Themistocles*
decree.

Notable an-
swers of *Themistocles*.

The Sleur is
a fūlle facie-
wed like a
saurde.

*Themistocles
strategeme,
by the which
he wonne the
battell at Sa-
lamina.*

*Themistocles
& Aristides
consent toge-
ther to gene
battell.*

went about to talke of any other matter. To be shorthe, it was concluded that they should sayle awaye the next night following, & the masters of the shippes had order geuen them to make all things readie for them to departe. *Themistocles* perceyuing their determination, he was maruelous angry in his minde, that the *GREECIANS* would thus disperse them selues a fonder, repairing euery man to his owne cittie, and leauing the aduantage which the nature of the place, & the straight of the arme of the sea, where they laye in harbor together, did offer them: and so he bethought him selfe howe this was to be holpen. Sodainly the practise of one *Scimus* came into his minde, who being a *PERSIAN* borne, and taken prisoner before in the warres, loued *Themistocles* very well, and was schoolemaster to his children. This *Scimus* he secretly sent vnto the king of *PERSIA*, to aduertise him that *Themistocles* (generall of the *ATHENIANS*) was very desirous to become his maiesties seruante, and that he dyd let him vnderstand betimes, that the *GREECIANS* were determined to flye: and therefore that he wished him not to let them scape, but to set vpon them, whilst they were troubled and affrayed, and farre from their army by lande, to the ende that vpon a sodaine he might ouerthrowe their whole power by sea. *Xerxes* supposing this intelligence came from a man that wished him well, receyued the messenger with great ioye, and thereupon gaue present order to his capitaines by sea, that they should imbarke their men into the other shippes at better leysure, and that presently they should put out with all possible speede, two hundred sayle to followe the *GREECIANS* in the taile, to shut vp the foreland of the straite, and to compasse the lles all about, that not one of his enemies shippes should scape: and so it fell out. Then *Aristides* (*Lyfimachus* sonne) being the first that perceyued it, went to *Themistocles* tente, though he was hisemie, and through his only meanes had bene banished before, as ye haue heard: and calling him out, told him how they were enuironned. *Themistocles*, who knewe well enough the goodnes of this man, being very glad he came at that time to seeke him out, declared vnto him the pollicie he had vsed by the message of *Scimus*, praying him to put to his helpe to staye the *GREECIANS*, and to procure with him, considering his worde had more authoritie among them, that they would fight within the straight of *SALAMINA*. *Aristides* commending his great wisdom, went to deale with the capitaines of the other gallyes, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he sayed, vntill such time as there arriued a galley of *TENEDIANA*, whereof one *Panetius* was capitaine, who being stolen out of the hoste of the barbarous army, brought certen newes, that the straight out of doubt was shut vp. So that besides the necessitie which dyd vrge them, the spight which the *GREECIANS* conceived thereof, dyd prouoke them to hazard the battell. The next morning by breake of daye, king *Xerxes* placed him selfe on a maruelous steepe highe hill, from whence he might descerne his whole flete, and the ordering of his army by sea, aboue the temple of *Hercules*, as *Phanodemus* writeth. Which is the narrowe waye or channell betwixt the Ile of *SALAMINA*, and the coast of *ATTICA*: or as *Acetodorus* sayeth, vpon the confines of the territories of *MEGARA*, aboue the pointe which they commonly call the hornes. There *Xerxes* set vp a throne of golde, and had about him many secretaries, to write all that was done in the battell. But as *Themistocles* was sacrificing vnto the goddes in his galley that was admiral, they brought to him three young prisoners, laye of complexion, richly arrayed with gold and iuells, whom they sayed were the children of *Sandracce* the kings sister, and of prince *Amarsius*. So soone as *Euphrantides* the soothsayer had seene them, and at their arriual obserued there rose a great bright flame out of the sacrifice, and at the very selfe same instant that one on his right hand had sneeced: he tooke *Themistocles* by the hand, and willed him to sacrifice all those three prisoners vnto the god *Bacchus*, furnamed *Omeltes*, as much to saye, as the cruell *Bacchus*: for in doing it, the *GREECIANS* should not only be saued, but they should haue the victorie ouer their enemies. *Themistocles* wounded much, to heare so straunge and terrible a commaundement of the soothsayer. Neuertheles, the comon sorte following his custome, which is, to promise safety soner in the greatest daungers, & most desperate cases, by straunge & vnreasonable, rather then by reasonable and ordinary meanes: they beganne to call vpon the god with one voyce, and bringing the three prisoners neere vnto the altar, they compelled him to performe the sacrifice in that sorte as the soothsayer had appointed.

A appointed. *Phanias* Lesbian, an excellent philosopher, and well seene in stories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the shippes of the barbarous nauie: *Eschylus* the poet, in a tragedie which he intituled the *PERSIANS*, knowing certainly the trothe, sayeth thus:

*King Xerxes had a thousand shippes I knowe,
amongest the which xvvv hundred were (I knowe)
and seven: which all the rest dyd ouersayle
with swifter course. This is vwithowen sayle.*

*Xerxes king
of Persia had
a thousand
shipp.*

The *ATHENIANS* had nine score, in euery one of the which there were eightene souldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. *Themistocles* also did with no lesse skill & wisdom choose his time & place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntill the hower was come, that of ordinarie custome the sea winde arose, and brought in a rough syde within the channell, which dyd not hurt the *GREECIAN* gallyes, being made lowe and snugge, but greatly offended the *PERSIAN* gallyes, being highe carged, heauie, & nor yare of steredge, and made them lye sidelong to the *GREECIANS*, who fiercely set vpon them hauing allwayes an eye to *Themistocles* direction, that best foresawe their aduantage. At the same time, *Ariamenes*, *Xerxes* admiral, a man of great valure and worthiest of the Kings brethren, he stowed arrowes and darts as it were from the wallles of a castell, charging the galley of *Aminias* Decelians, and *Soficles* Pedian, which were ioyned and grappled with him, and fiercely entering the same, was by them valiantly receyued vpon their pikes, and thrust ouer borde into the sea. V whose bodie floating amongst other shippetracks *ARTEMISIA* knowing, caused to be caried to king *Xerxes*. Nowe whilst this battell stood in these termes, they saye that there appeared a great flame in the element, toward the cittie of *ELEYSIN*, and that a lowde voyce was heard through all the plaine of *THIRASIA* vnto the sea, as if there had bene a nuber of men together, that had songe out alowde, the holy songe of *Iacchus*. And it seemed by litle and litle, that there rose a clowde in the ayer from those which fange: that left the land, & came & lighted on the gallyes in the sea. Other affirmed, that they sawe armed men, which did reache out their hands from the Ile of *EGINA*, towards the *GREECIAN* gallyes: & they thought they were the *ÆACIDS*, for whose helpe they all prayed before the battell was begonne. The first man of the *ATHENIANS* that tooke any of the enemies shippes, was *Lycomedes*, a capitaine of a galley: who hauing takē very rich furniture & flagges, did afterwards cōsecrate them to *Apollo* laurell: as ye would saye, victorious. The other *GREECIANS* in the fronte being equal in nuber with the barbarous shippes, by reason of the straightnes of the arme of the sea wherein they fought, & so straightened as they could not fight but by one & one, where by the *BARBARIANS* disorderly layed one another abourde, that they did hinder them selues with their ouer multitude: & in the end were so fore pressed vpon by the *GREECIANS*, that they were cōstrayned to flye by night, after they had fought & maintained battell, vntill it was very darke. So the *GREECIANS* wanne that glorious & famous victorie: of the which maye truly be affirmed that, as *Simonides* sayeth:

*VV as neuer yet, nor Greeke nor Barbarous crevv
that could by sea, so many men subdevv:
Nor that obtaynd, so famous victorie
in any fight, against theiremie.*

*The Grecians
victorie of
the Persians
nauy by sea.*

Thus was the victorie wonne through the valliantnes and corage of those that fought that battell, but especially through *Themistocles* great policie and wisdom. After this battell *Xerxes* being mad for his losse, thought to fill vp the arme of the sea, and to passe his armie by lande, vpon a bridge, into the Ile of *SALAMINA*. *Themistocles*, because he would feelee *Aristides* opinion, tolde him as they were talking together, that he thought best to goe and occupie the straight of *HELLESPONT* with the armie by sea, to breake the bridge of shippes which *Xerxes* had caused to be made: to the ende, said he, that we maye take *ASIA* into *EVROPE*. *Aristides* liked not this opinion, for we haue (said he) fought all this while against this barbarous King, who thought but to playe with vs: But if we shut him within *GREECE*, and bring him to fight of necessitie to saue his life: such anemie that commaundeth so great an armie, will no more stand still as a looker on, and set at his ease vnder his golden pavilion, to see the pastime

of the battell, but will proue euerie waye, and be him selfe in euery place at all assayes to take him self from such a straight & daunger. Thus with politicke care & foresight, he maye easily amend his former faulte committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he shall see his life and Kingdome both depend vpon it. Therefore *Themistocles*, I would thinke not best to breake his bridge at all, which he hath caused to be made: but rather if we could, to build another to it, to driue him out of *Evrota* as fone as we could. *Themistocles* then replied: Seeing you thinke this were good to be done, we must all laye our heades together, to deuise, how he maye be forced to come out as fone as we could. They breaking of with this resolutio, *Themistocles* sent immediately one of the Kings enuches, called *Arseus*, that was one of the gromes of his chaber, whom he found out amongst the prisoners, & by him he sent this message vnto the King. That the *Grecians* hauing wone the battell of him by sea, had decreed in their counsell, how they would goe to the straight of *Hellespont*, to breake the bridge of shippes he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to aduertise him, for the goodwill he did beare him, and to the ende he might bethinke him betimes, to get him away to the sea within his own dominion, and so passe backe againe into *Asia* as fone as he could, whilst he gaue order to his allies and confederates, to staye following him at the poope. The barbarous King vnderstanding these newes, was so affrayed, that he hoied away with all possible speede. The further foresight and great wisdom of *Themistocles*, and *Aristides*, in marine causes, dyd manifestly appeare afterwards in the battell the *Grecians* fought before the citie of *Platea*, against *Mardonius*, king *Xerxes* lieutenant: who hauing but a small power of the King his foueraignes there, dyd yet put the *Grecians* to great distresse, and in hazard to haue lost all. Of all the townes and cities that fought in this battell, *Herodotus* writeth, that the citie of *Ægina* wanne the fame for valliantnes about the rest: & of priuate men, among the *Grecians*, *Themistocles* was iudged the worthiest man: although it was fore against their willes, because they enuid much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being gotten into the straight of *Peloponnesus*, and hauing sworne vpon the altar of their sacrifices, that they would geue their voyces after their consciences, to those they thought had best deserued it: euery one gaue him selfe the first place for worthines, and the seconde vnto *Themistocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* caried him into *Sparta*, where they iudged the honour and dignitie to their admirall *Eurybiades*: but the wisdom and policie they attributed to *Themistocles*. In token thereof they gaue him an olue branche, and the goodliest coche that was in their citie: and moreover they sent three hundred of their lusty youtnes to accompany him, and conducte him out of their countrie. They saie, at the next feastes and assembly of the playes Olympicall that were made after this victorie: when *Themistocles* was once come into the shoue place where these games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, shewing him to the strangers which knewe him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their handes dyd wisse how much they esteemed him. Whereat he him selfe tooke so great delite, that he confessed to his familiar friends, he then dyd reape the fruite and benefit of his sundry and painefull seruices he had taken in hande, for the preferuacion of *Greece*: so ambitious was he of nature, & couetous of honour, as we maye easily perceyue by certen of his dedes and notable sayings they haue noted of him. For being choien admirall of *Athens* he neuer dispatched any causes priuate or publicke, howsoever they fell out, vntill the very daye of his departure, and taking shippe: and all because that men seeing him yd much busines at once, and to speake with so many persones together, they should esteeme him to be the notabler man, & of the greater authoritie. Another time he walked vpon the sandes by the sea side, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the sea had cast vp vpon the shore: and seeing some of them that had on still their chaynes of golde, and bracelets, he passed by on his waye, but shewed them yet to his familiar friends that followed him, and sayed vnto him: take thou those, for thou art not *Themistocles*. And vnto one *Aniphas*, who in his youth had bene a goodly young boye, and at that time dyd scornfully behaue him selfe vnto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he sawe him in authoritie came to seee him, he sayed, O my young sonne, and friend: we are both euen at one time, (but to late) growen wise. He sayed the *Athenians* dyd not esteeme

Aristides
counsell vnto
Themistocles,
for the breake
king of *Xerxes*
bridges.

Themistocles
strangers came.

Themistocles
honored a
bove all the
Grecians.

Themistocles
ambitious no-
ted.

Themistocles
saying.

A esteeme of him in time of peace: but when any storme of warres were towards, and they stood in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as they ranne to the shadowe of a plane tree, vpon any sodaine raine: and after fayer weather come againe, they cut awaye then the branches, and bowghes thereof. There was a man borne in the Ile of *Seripha*, who being fallen out with him, dyd cast him in the teethe, that it was not for his worthines, but for the noble citie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne such glorie. Thou sayest true he said: but neither should I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a *Seriphian*, nor thou also if thou haddest bene an *Athenian*. An other time one of the captaines of the citie, hauing done good seruice vnto the common weale, made boast before *Themistocles*, and compared his seruice equall with his. *Themistocles* to answer him, tolde him a prety tale. That the working daye brawled on a time with the holy daye, repining against her, that he laboured for his liuing continually, and howe he dyd nothing but fill her bellie, and spende that they had gotten. Thou hast reason sayed the holy daye. But if I had not bene before thee, thou haddest not bene here nowe. And so, if I had not bene then: where had you my masters bene nowe? His owne sonne was a litle to sawie with his mother, and with him also, bearing him selfe ouer boldly of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereup being merely disposed, he would saye that his sonne could doe more then any man in all *Greece*. For, sayeth he, the *Athenians* commaunde the *Grecians*, I commaunde. *Themistocles* sayeth of his sonne. The *Athenians*, my wife commaundeth me, and my sonne commaundeth her. Moreouer because he would be singular by him selfe about all other men: hauing a peece of lande he would sell, he willed the crier to proclaime open sale of it in the market place, and with all he should adde vnto the sale, that his lande laye by a good neighbour. An other time, two men being futers to his daughter, he preferred the honeste before the richer, saying: he had rather haue to his sonne in lawe a man that lacked goodes, then goodes to lacke a man. These were *Themistocles* pleasaunt conceits and answers. But after he had done all these things we haue spoken of before, he tooke in hande to buyld againe the citie and walles of *Athens*, and dyd corrupt the officers of *Lacedæmonia* with money, to the end they should not hinder his purpose, as *Theopompus* writeth. Or as all other saye when he had deceyued them by this subtiltie, he went vnto *Sparta* as ambassadour, sent thither of purpose vpon the complaints of the *Lacedæmonians*, for that the *Athenians* had dyd inclose their citie againe with walles, who were accused vnto the counsaill of *Sparta*, by an orator called *Polarichus*, who was sent thither from the *Æginets*, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the *Athenians*. *Themistocles* stowly denied it to them, and prayed them for better vnderstanding of the trothe, they would sende some of their men thither to see it. This was but a fetche only to winne by this delaye, the *Athenians* should keepe as oftages for surtie of his persone, tho they should send to *Athens*, to bring backe the reporte thereof: and so it fell out. For the *Lacedæmonians* being informed of the trothe as it was, dyd him no hurte, but dissembling the misliking they had to be thus abused by him, sent him awaye safe and sounde. Afterwards he made them also mende and fortifie the hauen of *Piræa*, hauing considered the situation of the place, and all to incline the citie to the sea. Wherein he dyd directly contrary to all the counsell of the auncient kings of *Athens*: who seeking (as they saye) to withdrawe their people from the sea, and to accustomethem to lue vpon the lande, by planting, sowing, and plowing their groundes, dyd deuise and geue out abroade, the fable they tell of the goddess *Pallas*. And that is this, how the contending with *Neptune* about the patronage of the country of *Athens*, brought forth and shewed to the iudges the olyue tree, by meanes whereof the preuayled, and obtained the preheminece. Euen so *Themistocles* dyd not ioyne the hauen of *Piræa*, vnto the citie of *Athens*, as the comicall poet *Aristophanes* sayeth: but rather ioynd the citie vnto the hauen *Piræa*, and the lande vnto the sea. By this meanes he made the people strong against the nobilitie, and brought the communalitie to waxe bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authoritie fell into the handes of saylers, mariners, pilottes, shippemasters, and such kinde of seafaring men: so as the pulpet where all the oracles were

A prety tale
of *Themistocles*.

Themistocles
saying of his
sonne.

Themistocles
buyld againe
the walles of
the citie of
Athens.

A subtilie
fetche of
Themistocles.

The hauen of
Piræa fortifi-
ed.

The equitie
of the Athe-
nians.

Themistocles
goddess,
Love and
Force.
The Andrian
goddesses,
Powerie,
Impossibilitie.

made, Roode in the market place of Pnyx, and dyd looke towards the sea. But the thirtie A tyrannies that came in afterwarde, dyd remoue it, and turne it towards the lande: holding opinion to be strong by sea, was it that dyd mainteine the authoritie of the popular state. And that contrariwise they which liue by the labour and toyle of the earth, doe more willingly like the government of Nobilitie. Themistocles called to minde another matter also of greater importance, to make the cittie of Athens of a greater power by sea. For after the retire of Xerxes, and that all the flete and naue of the Grecians wintered in the haue of Pagase: he sayed one daye in an open assembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them, but it was not to be tolde openly. The people willed him then to imparte it to Aristides: and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedely. Themistocles then tolde Aristides: the thing he had considered of, was to burne the Arcenal where the Grecians navy laye, and to set on fire all their shippes. Aristides hearing his purpose, returned to the people, and tolde them: how nothing could be more profitable, but with all more vniust, then that which Themistocles had deuiled. The Athenians then willed Aristides it should be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the Lacedemonians had exhibited their petition to the counsell of the Amphityons (that is the generall counsaill of all the states of Greece assembled) howe the townes and citties of Greece which had not bene parties with the Grecians to the league, against the barbarous people, should be put of wholly from this counsaill. Themistocles dowing of the Argives, the Thessalians, and the Thebans also should by this meanes be exempted, that the Lacedemonians would be then the greater number in voyces, and by this meanes might doe what they would in this counsell: he spake so considerably for the cities which they would haue thus discharged, that he made the petitioners in the assembly vtterly to chaunge their opinion. Declaring, howe there were but one and thirtie cities comprised only the league, and yet that some of them were very weake and small: and howe it were no reason, that reiecting all the rest of Greece, the greatest authoritie of this counsaill should fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefe cities alone. For this cause chiefly the Lacedemonians dyd euer beare him extreme hatred, and dyd set vp Cimon all they could, to be alwayes aduersary opposit vnto him, and as it were to bearde him in all matters of state, and the government of Athens. They procured him besides, the ill will and displeasure of all the friends and confederates of the Athenians, for that he went sayling still to and from longest the Iles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the same. And this is to be known by the matter propounded by him to the Andrians (of whom he would haue had money) and by the answer they made him, as Herodotus writeth. Which was, howe he had brought them two mightie goddesses: Loue, and Force. And they answered him againe, that they also had two great goddesses, which kept them from geuing of him any money: Pouertie, and Impossibilitie. And to make this good also: Timocreon the Rhodian poet galled him to the quicke, when he sharply taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were banished: and howe for couetousnes of money he had betrayed, and forsaken, his hoste and friende. The verses wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effecte.

Who list commend vvorthy Paufanias,
Xanthippus or good Leotychides,
yes shall I seme but light thereof to passe,
compared vwith valliant Aristides.
For yet was naye the like in Athens to vrune,
nor neuer shall come none of like renouvrne.
Themistocles by right and due deserite,
is hated of Latona for his lyes,
and for he bare a traitorous vrucked horse,
vrubo like a vrresche, & nigerd did deuise,
for small renouvrdes his host Timocreon
to holde out of his countrie talifon.

Et

A

He tooke for bribe (vniustly yet there vrubile)
of redy coyne three talents fayre and bright,
renouking such as pleased him from exile
and banishing full many a vrworthy vrught.
Or putting them to death, vrwithoute cause tolde,
he gate thereby great heapes of coyne and golde.
But in the ende (o right renouvrde for such)
this bribing vrretch, was forced for to holde,
a tipling bovrthe, most like a clowme or smolbe,
at hoily feastes and pastimes manifold,
vrubich vrwere amongst the people in those dayes
Istmiciane folke, dyd vse the like all vrwayes.
And there he serued his gestic vrwith cold meat still,
vrubilest they that tasted of his cookerie,
gan vrwise that they (to ease their vrueary vrwill)
had neuer liued to see the treacherie,
of false Themistocles, and that he might
no longer liue, vrubich vrrought them such desight.

B

After this, he dyd more openly blafe him to the worlde, when he was banished and condemned: in a songet that had beginning thus.

C

O Muse, let these my verses be disperst,
throughout all Greece, since they deserue no lesse:
and since the truthe vrubich is in them vrhears,
deseruethe fame, vrubich no man should suppress.

They saye the cause was, why this Timocreon was banished: the friendshippe which he had with the Barbarous people, and for geuing them intelligence. Whereof Themistocles was one that iudicially condemned him. Wherefore when Themistocles him selfe was accused afterwards of the same faulte, Timocreon then made these verses following against him.

D

Timocreon was not vrwithout his pheere,
vrubich did conferre vrwith Medes priuely,
Since others mo, the selfe same blame might beare,
mo foxes lurke in denmes as vrwell as I.

Besides these verses, Themistocles owne citizens for the ill will they bare him, were contented to heare him ill spoken of. Therefore while he sought wayes, to redresse all this: he was driuen to vse such meane, which more increased their hatred toward him. For in his orations to the people, he dyd ofte remember them of the good seruice he had done them: and perceyuing howe they were offended withall, he was driuen to saye. Why, are ye weary so ofte to receyue good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he furnished Diana (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) Aristobule, as much to saye, as the good counsellor: meaning thereby, howe he had geuen graue and wise counsell, both vnto his cittie, and to all the rest of the Grecians. He built this temple also neere his house, in a place called Melita, where the hangemen doe cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throwe the ragges and halters endes of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by lawe. There was also in our dayes in the temple of Diana Aristobule, a litle image of Themistocles, which shewed plainly, that he was not only wise, and of a noble minde, but also of a great maiestie and countenance in face. In the ende, the Athenians banished him Athens for fure yeres, because they would plucke downe his ouergreat corage and authoritie, as they dyd vse to serue those, whose greates they thought to be more, then common equalitie that ought to be among citizens would beare. For this manner of banishment for a time, called Ostracifmon, was no punishment for any faulte committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the enuie of the people, which delited to plucke downe their stomaks that too much seemed to excede in greates: and by this meanes they tooke awaye the poyson of his malice, with diminishing his glorie and honour. So Themistocles being banished Athens, went

M ij

Themistocles
banished for
furye.

to dwell in ARGOS. In this meane season, *Pausanias* treachery fell out, which gaue his enemies occasion to lye heauie on his backe. But he which became his accuser, & was partener of the treason, was one called *Leobotes* (*Alcemon* sonne) borne in a village called A GRAYLA. Besides this, the SPARTANS also dyd fit on his skirres, & charged him sorely. For *Pausanias* neuer before reuealed to *Themistocles* the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familiar friende. But after he sawe *Themistocles* was banished, and dyd take his exile very vnpatiently: then *Pausanias* was bolde to open his treason to him, to procure him to take his parte, and shewed him the letters the king of PERSIA had written to him, and all to sturte him vp against the GRECIANS, as against vngratefull and vnnatural people. Howbeit *Themistocles* shooke him of, and tolde him plainly he would be no partener of his treason. Notwithstanding, he neuer reuealed it to any liuing creature, nor discovered the practise he intended: hoping either he would haue geuen it ouer; or that shortly it would appeare by some other meane, considering he so fondly aspired to things of great danger, and without purpose or possibility. After *Pausanias* was condemned, and had suffered paynes of death for the same: they found amongst his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made *Themistocles* to be very sore suspected. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS on the one side cried out of him: and his enemies and ill willers at ATHENS accused him on th'other side. To the which he made answer by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people, it was not likely that he (who fought all the wayes to rule, and was not borne to serue, neither had any minde thereto) would euer haue thought in his heade, to sell his owne libertie, and the GRECIANS also vnto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the states of all GRECE, to be iudged by that counsaill. Whereof *Themistocles* hauing intelligence in time, he dyd conuey him selfe into the Ile of CORPHU, because the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certain pleasure in time past he had done them. For they being at lute and strife with the CORINTHIANS, he tooke vp the matter betweene them, and gaue iudgement on their side, & condemned the CORINTHIANS to paye them twety talents damages: and did set downe an order, that they should occupie the Ile of LEUCADE in comon together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, as well of the one citie, as of the other. From thence he fled to EPIRUS, whether being followed by the ATHENIANS, & the LACEDÆMONIANS, he was compelled to venter him selfe vpon a doubtfull and very dangerous hope. For he went to yelde him selfe into the hands of *Ametus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS. Who hauing heretofore made certain requestes vnto the ATHENIANS, and being shamefully denied them by meanes of *Themistocles* (who then was at his chiefeest height and authoritie) the King was maruelously offended with him: and it was a clere case in dedde, that if he could then haue layed handes on him, he would haue bene reuenged of him thoroughly. Howbeit feeling the present miserie of his exile, he thought he might lesse feare the Kings olde quarrell and displeasure, then the sicke hate & enuie of his contriemen. Whereupon he went vnto king *Ametus*, trusting to his mercie, and became an humble suer to him in a straunge extraordinarie forte. For he tooke the Kings litle young sonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of suinge the MOLOSSIANS take to be most effectual, and such as they dare not denie, nor refuse. Some saye that Queene *Phibia* her selfe, the Kings wife, dyd enforce him of this their country custome and manner, & brought her litle sonne also neere vnto the altar. Other write also, that it was *Ametus* him selfe that taught & shewed him this inforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuse him selfe to those that should come to demaunde *Themistocles* of him: that by duetie of religion he was so straightly bounde & restrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protection. In this meane time, *Epirotas* *Atharnian* founde the meanes secretly to conuey *Themistocles* wife and children out of ATHENS, & dyd send them priuilege vnto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused, & put to death, vpon *Cimons* accusation & motion, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Who not remembering those matters I knowe not howe, or making as though *Themistocles* had not remembered him selfe, doo saye, that *Themistocles* layed into SICILE, where he fought to marry *Hierons* daughter, the tyranne of SYRACUSA: promising him if he would let him haue her, he would

Pausanias
reuealeth his
treason vnto
Themistocles.

Themistocles
fleeeth from
reueion.

Themistocles
fled into the
Ile of Corphu.

The manner
of supplicass
among the
Molossians.

As would assure him to conquer all GRECE for him, and to bring them vnder his obedience. But *Hieron* refusing this offer, *Themistocles* went from thence into ASIA: but that is not likely. For *Theophrastus* writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdomes, that *Hieron* hauing sent certain running hories to the feast of games Olympical, & hauing let vp a maruelous riche and sumptuous tent there: *Themistocles* made an oration to the GRECIANS, declaring vnto them how they should teare the tyrannes tente in peces, and not to suffer his hories to runne with other swite and light hories, and to cary away the price in those holy games. *Thucydides* againe declareth, howe he went vnto the other sea, and imbarked in the citie of PYDNE, being knowne of neuer a man in the shippe, vntill such time as the winde beganne to carie them into the Ile of NAXOS, which the ATHENIANS by chaunce dyd besiege at that time, where being afeard to be set on lande, he was forced to bewraye him selfe to the master of the shippe, & the masters mate, and wrought them, what with fayer wordes and what with threats (by saying he would accuse them to the ATHENIANS, that they dyd not ignorantly receiue him in, but hired for money) so as he compelled them to sayle on further, and to cary him into ASIA. As for his goodes, his friends saued the most parte of them, and sent them into ASIA to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate vnto the state: *Theopompus* writeth, they dyd amounte to the value of one hundred talents. And *Theophrastus* sayeth, but to foure score talents only. So that all his goodes was not worth three talents, when he beganne to gouerne the state of the common weale. when he came vnto the citie of CYMA, he perceyued that all the coastes by sea were layed for him to apprehend him, and that he had many spyalls vpon him: among the which, there were two speciall noted men, *Ergoteles*, and one *Pythodorus*, the reward being very great, for men that fought their gayne any waye they could. For the king of PERSIA had proclaymed by sound of trüpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him *Themistocles*. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of ÆOLIA, called ÆORS, where no liuing bodie knewe him, but his host only, called *Nicogenes*: who was the richest man of all the ÆOLIANS, and knewe all the noble men of authoritie that were about the king of PERSIA. *Themistocles* continued hidden certen dayes in his house: in which time, on a night after the feast of a sacrifice, one *Olbius*, schoolemaster to *Nicogenes* children, by some secret working of the goddes, sodainly fell besides him selfe, and beganne to singe these verses out alowde.

*Doe thou belecue, what so the night the tells
and geue thy voyce, thy counsell and conceits
Vnto the night, in darcksonnes that durvells,
thereon also thy victorie auarits.*

The next night following, *Themistocles* being fast asleepe in his bed, dreamed that a snake wounde it selfe round about his bellie, and glided vpwardes to his necke, vntill it touched his face, and sodainly then it became an eagle, and embraced him with his winges: and so at length dyd liue him vp into the ayer, and caried him a maruelous waye of, vntill he thought he sawe a golden rodde (suche as Heraldes vse to carie in their handes) whereupon the eagle dyd let him, and so was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought him selfe in. The trothe was, *Nicogenes* had this deulse in his heade, howe he might bring him safe to the king of PERSIAs court. The Barbarous nations for the most parte (and specially the PERSIANS) are of a very straunge nature, and maruelous ielous ouer their women, and that not onely of their wiues, but also of their bonde women, and concubines: which they keepe so straightly locked vp, that no man euer seeth them abroad at any time, but are all wayes like housedoues kept within doores. And when they haue any occasion to goe into the country, they are caried in close coches couered all about, that no man can looke into them. *Themistocles* was conueyed into one of these coches drest after this manner, and had warned his men to answer those they met by the waye, that asked whom they caried: howe it was a young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the countrie of IONIA, which they caried to the court for a noble man there. *Thucydides*, and *Charon Lampsaecian* saye, he went thither after the death of *Xerxes*, and spake with his sonne there. But *Ephorus*, *Dino*, *Clisarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many other write, that he spake with him selfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that *Thucydides* wordes doe best agree with the chronicles & tables, recording the succession of times,

Themistocles
dreams.

The Persians
ielous of
their wiues.

Howe *Themistocles*
was
conueyed to
the king of
Persias
court.

although they be of no great certaintie. *Themistocles* being come nowe to the sworde pointe (as it were) and to the extremite of his daunger: dyd first present him selfe vnto one *Artabanus*, Colonell of a thousand foote men, and sayed vnto him, *Syr*, I am a *Grecian* borne, and desire to speake with the King: I haue matters of importance to open to his maiestie, and such as I knowe he will thanckfully receyue. *Artabanus* answered him in this manner. My friend, *syr* stranger, the lawes and customes of men are diuers, and some take one thing for honest, others some another thing: but it is most honestly for all men, to keepe and obserue the lawes and manners of their owne countrie. For you *Grecians* haue the name to loue libertie, and equalitie about all things: & for vs, amongst all the goodly lawes and customes we haue, we esteeme this about the rest: to reuerence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt facill thy selfe after our manner to honour the King, thou mayest both see him, and speake with him: but if thou haue another minde with thee, then must thou of necessitie vise some thirde persone for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrie: the King neuer geueth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. *Themistocles* hearing what he sayed, answered him againe. My lord *Artabanus*, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the desire I haue to aduance his glorie and power, is the only cause of my present repaire vnto his court: therefore I meane not only to obey your lawes (since it hath so pleased the goddes to rayse vp the noble empire of *Persia* vnto this greatnes) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there doe at this present. Therefore let there be no stay, but that my selfe in persone maye deliuer to the King that I haue to saye vnto him. Well, sayed *Artabanus*: whom then shall we saye thou arte? For by thy speache it seemeth, thou art a man of no meane state and condition. *Themistocles* answered him: as for that *Artabanus*, none shall knowe before the King him selfe. Thus doth *Phanias* reporte it. But *Erastophanes*, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: howe *Themistocles* had access vnto this *Artabanus*, being recommended to the King by a woman of *Eretria*, whom the King kept. *Themistocles* being brought to his presence, after he had presented his humble duty and reuerence to him, stood on his feete, and sayed neuer a worde, vntill the King commaunded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he answered. Maye it please your maiestie, o noble King: I am *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, a banished man out of my country by the *Grecians*, who humbly repayreth to your highnes, knowing I haue done great hurt to the *Persians*, but I perswade myself I haue done them farre more good then harme. For it was that kept the *Grecians* backe they dyd not follow you, whē the state of *Greece* was deliuered from thralldome, and my native country from daunger, and that I knew I stood then in good state to pleasure you. Nowe for me, I finde all mens good willes agreeable, to my present misery and calamitie: for I come determined, most humbly to thancke your highnes, for any grace and fauour you shall shewe me, & also to craue humble pardone, if your maiesty be yet offended with me. And therefore licence me (most noble King) to beseech you, that taking mine enemies the *Grecians* for witnesses of the pleasures I haue done the *Persian* nation, you will of your princely grace vise my harde fortune, as a good occasion to shewe your honorable vertue, rather then to satisfie the passion of your heate and choller. For in sauing my life, your maiestie faueth an humble suter that put him selfe to your mercie: and in putting me to death, you shall ryd away an enemy of the *Grecians*. Hauing spoken thus these words, he sayed further. That the goddes, by diuers signes and tokens had procured him, to come to submit him selfe vnto him, and tolde the King what vision he had seene in his dreame in *Nicogenes* house: and declared also the oracle of *Iupiter Dodonian*, who had commaunded him that he should goe vnto him that was called as a god, and howe he thought it was the persone of his maiestie, because that god and he in trothe were called both great Kings. The King hauing thus heard him speake, gaue him then no present answer againe, notwithstanding he maruelously wondred at his great wisdome and boldenes. But afterwarde amongst his familiars the King sayed, he thought him selfe very happy to mete with the good fortune of *Themistocles* coming to him: and so besought his great god *Arimanius*, that he would allwayes send his enemies such mindes, as to banish the greatest, & wisest men amongst them.

It is

It is reported also he did sacrifice vnto the goddes, to geue them thanks therefore, and disposed him selfe presently to be merry, in so much as dreaming in the night, in the middle of his dreame he cried out three times together for ioye I haue *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. The next morning the King hauing sent for the chiefe lordes of his court, he made *Themistocles* also to be brought before him: who looked for no goodnes at all, especially when he sawe the soldiers warding at the court gates, geue him ill countenance and language both, when they behelde him, and vnderstood his name. Moreouer, *Roxanes*, one of the captaines as *Themistocles* passed by him going to the King (who was set in his chayer of state, and every man keeping silence) softly sighing, sayed vnto him. O thou *Greek* the serpent, subtil and malicious: the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hether. Neuertheless when he came to the King, he had once againe made him a very humble and lowe reuerence: the King saluted him, & spake very curteously to him, saying. I am nowe your detter of two hundred talents, for presenting your selfe. It is good reason I should deliuer you the money promised him that should haue brought you: but I geue you a further warrant, be bolde I charge you, & speake your minde freely, saye what you thinke of the state of *Greece*. *Themistocles* then answered him. That mens wordes did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a peece of arras: for both in the one & in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seene, when they are vnfolded and layed open. Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut vp, & close folded: whereupon he sayed to the King, he must nedes require some further time of answer. The King liked his comparison passingly well, & willed him to appointe his owne time. *Themistocles* asked a yere, in which time hauing prettily learned the *Persian* tongue, he afterwards spake to the King him selfe without any interpreter. So, such as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of *Greece*. But because the change & alteration of the court fell out great, at that time, the noble men imagined he had bene so bolde to comon with the King of them, also. Thereupon they greatly enuid him, & afterwarde murmured much against him. For indeede the king dyd honour *Themistocles* about all other straigers whatsoeuer they were. On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him see his mother, with whom he grew familiar: and by the kings owne commaundement he was to heare the disputations of the wise men of *Persia* touching secret philosophie, which they call magike. *Demaratus* the *Lacedemonian* being at that time in the court of *Persia*, the king willing him to aske what gifte he would. He besought the king to graunt him this fauour: to licence him to goe vp & down the citie of *Sardis*, with his royall hat on his head, as the kings of *Persia* doe. *Demaratus* the kings cofin, taking him by the had, sayed vnto him. *Demaratus*, the kings hatte thou demaundest, and if it were on thy heade, it would couer but litle wit: Naye though *Iupiter* dyd geue thee his lightning in thy hande, yet that would not make thee *Iupiter*. But the king gaue him so sharpe a repulse for his vnreasonable request, & was so angrie with him for it, that it was thought he would neuer haue forgiven him: howbeit *Themistocles* was so earnest a suter for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the reporte goeth, that the kings successfull which haue bene since that time, vnder whom the *Persians* haue had more dealings with the *Grecians*, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great estate or personage of *Greece* into their seruice, they wrote vnto him, and promised him they would make him greater about them, then euer was *Themistocles* about *Xerxes*. That which is written of him, doth also confirme it. For he being stept vp to great countenance and authority, & followed with great traines of suters after him by reason of his greatnes: seing him selfe one daye very honorably serued at his table, & with all sortes of dainty meates, he turned him to his childre, & sayed vnto them. My sonnes, we should haue bene vndone, if we had not bene vndone. The most writers doe agree, that he had giuen him the reueneue of 3. citiees for his allowance of bread, wine & vittrailes to wit, *Magnesia*, *Lampsacys*, & *Mvnta*. But *Neithes* *Cyzicenia*, & *Phanias*, doe adde two other citiees more, *Percota*, & *Palesscepstia*: the one to defraye his charges of apparell, & the other for his lodging. Afterwarde *Themistocles* going into the lowe countries towards the sea, to take order against the practises of the *Grecians*: there was a *Persian* lord called *Epixies* (gouernour of highe *Phrygia*) that had layed a traine to kill him (hauing of long time hired certaine murderers of *Pisidia* to doe it) so soone as he

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*Themistocles
escaped murder by a war-
ning he had
in his sleep.*

should come into a towne of his gouernment, called the Lyons head. But as he slept on a daye, A in his house in the after none, the mother of the goddess appeared vnto him, and sayed, *Themistocles*, goe not to the Lyons heade, for feare thou meete with the Lyon: and for this warning, I doe aske thy daughter *Mnesipolema* for my seruante. *Themistocles* waking sodainly out of his dreame, made his prayer vnto the goddesse, and turning out of the highe waye, fetched another compasse about. Afterwardes hauing passed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beastes which caried his tente, fell by the waye, vnfurnatly in a riuer, and all his arras and tapestry hangings being thoroughly wet, his seruants were driuen to laye them out a drying by moone light. The *Pisidians* that laye in wayte, and could not discerne by moone light that they were hangings layed out to drye, thought it had bene the very tente *Themistocles* selfe dyd ly in: whereupon they went vnto it with their swordes B drawn in their handes, hoping to haue taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and beganne to liſt vp a peece of the hangings: some of the people of *Themistocles* (which kept watche) perceyuing them, ranne vpon them, and tooke them. So *Themistocles* hauing escaped this danger, wondred greatly at the fauour of the goddesse which had appeared vnto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the citie of *Magnesia*, he built a temple vnto *Dindymena*, and made his daughter *Mnesipolema* prioreſſe of the same. As he passed by the citie of *Sardis* for his recreation, he went to visite the temples, and offerings that had bene geuen there. So he sawe an image of a mayden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the goddess, being two yeardes highe, which they called the *Hydrophora*: as much to saye, as the water carier. And it was a statue, which him selfe had heretofore dedicated, and caused to be made, with the fines of those that had payed forfeitures, for stealing or turning awaye the water course at *Athens*, at ſuche time as he was maſter ſurueyer of the water workes and conduites there. Wherefore, whether *Themistocles* was ſory to ſee this goodly image a priſoner in the handes of the Barbarous people, or that he would ſhowe vnto the *Athenians* the greatnes of his credit and authoritie through all the Kings dominions: he ſpake to the gouernour of *Lydia*, & prayed him for his ſake that he would lend this image againe to *Athens*. But this Barbarous gouernour was very angry with his request, and tolde him he would aduertise the King thereof. Then *Themistocles* beganne to be aſeard, & was driuen to ſeeke to the gouernours women and concubines, whom he got for money to intreate him, and ſo made ſayre weather againe with the gouernour. But from thenceforth, he tooke D better garde of him ſelfe in all his doings, greatly fearing the enuy of the Barbarous people. For he progreſſed not vp and downe *Asia*, as *Theopompus* writeth, but laye a long time in the citie of *Magnesia*, quietly enioying the Kings gracious giſtes beſtowed on him: where he was honoured & reuerenced for one of the greateſt perſones of *Persia*, whileſt the King was els where occupied in the affaires of the highe prouinces of *Asia*, and had no leysure to thincke vpon thoſe of *Greece*. But when newes was brought him, that *Aegypt* was rebelled, by meanes of the fauour & aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, & that the *Grecians* gallyes dyd ſcowre the ſeaes euen vnto the Ile of *Cyprus*, & vnto the coaſtes of *Cilicia*, & that *Cimon* had all the ſea in ſubiectiō: that made him then to bende all his thoughts howe to reſiſt the *Grecians*, that their greatnes might not turne to his hurte. Then commiſſions went out E to leauy men, to aſſemble capitaines, & to diſpatche poſtes vnto *Themistocles* at *Magnesia*, with the Kings letters, ſtraightly charging him to haue an eye to the *Grecians* doings, and moreouer that he ſhould faithfully keepe his promiſe he had made to him. But he, to ſhewe that he neither maliced his citizeins, nor was moued with the deſire of greatnes and authoritie he might haue growen vnto in thoſe warres, or els for that he thought the Kings expectation would proue to a greater matter, then he could ende or waſte through, conſidering *Greece* was full at that time of famous capitaines, and that *Cimon* amongſt the reſt had maruelous good fortune, and that it ſhould be a reproche to him to ſtayne the glorie of ſo many noble actes, ſo many triumphes, and ſo great victories as *Cimon* had done and wonne: he tooke a wiſe reſolution with him ſelfe, to make ſuche an ende of his life, as the F fame thereof deſerued. For he made a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and feaſted at the ſame all his friends. And, after he had taken his leaue of them all, he dranke bulles bloude,

*Themistocles
lone to his
country.*

*The manner
of Themistocles
death.*

A as moſt men thincke (or as other ſaye) by ſon, which diſpatcheth a man in foure and twenty howers, and ſo ended his dayes in the citie of *Magnesia*, after he had liued threeſcore and ſue yeres, and the moſt parte of them in wayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the king of *Persia* vnderſtanding the cauſe and manner of his death, dyd more eſteeme him afterwardes, then he dyd before, and that euer after he continued to vie his friends and familiars in very good ſorte. For he left children behinde him, which he had of *Archippa* (*Lyſanders* daughter) of the towne of *Aloracia*: *Archeptola*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*, of whom *Plato* the philoſopher maketh mention, ſaying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwiſe that there was no goodnes in him. His other ſonnes that were elder, as *Neocles*, dyed being bitten with a horſe: and as for *Diocles*, another ſonne, his grandfather *Lyſander* dyd adopt him for his ſonne. He had many daughters, of the which *Mnesipolema* (which he had by a ſeconde wiſe) was married vnto her halſe brother *Archeptola*, for they were not both of one venter: An other called *Italia*, was married vnto one *Pamphides* of *Chios*. *Sybaris*, vnto *Nicomedes* an *Athenian*. And *Nicomacha*, vnto *Pharſicles*, *Themistocles* nephew: vnto whom her brethern dyd mary her within the citie of *Magnesia*, after the death of their father. This *Pharſicles* dyd bring vp *Asia*, which was the youngſt of all his daughters. Furthermore, his ſumptuous tombe ſtandeth yet in the market place of *Magnesia*. But that *Andocides* writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friendes, is not to be credited, which was: that the *Athenians* hauing founde the aſhes of his bones, dyd caſt them vp into the ayer, as a deuſe to ſturte vp the noble men againſt the people. And C *Phylarchus* in his hiftorie (much like vnto the ſayned ſubtilties of a tragedie) bringeth in I can not tell what *Neocles*, and *Demopolis*, for *Themistocles* ſonnes, to moue the readers with compaſſion. Howbeit no man is ſo ſimple, but will iudge it ſtraight a very fayning and deuſe. *Diodorus* the eoſmographer alſo, in a booke he hath written of tumbes and monuments ſayeth, by coniecture, rather then of any certen knowledge: that alongſt the hauē of *Piræus*, coming towards the head of *Alcimus*, there is a foreland in forme of an elbowe, within the which when they haue doubled the pointe, the ſea is alwayes calme, and there they finde a great and long foundation or baſe, vpon the which there is as it were the forme of an altar, and that is (ſayeth he) *Themistocles* tombe. And he ſuppoſeth that *Plato* the comicall poet doth wiſeſſe it in theſe verſes.

*Themistocles
children.*

*Themistocles
tomb and
reliques.*

*D Thy graue is ſet and pleaſt comodiously,
where paſſengers and marchants ſhat come by
maye viſite thee, and where is maye regard,
all ſuch as ſeeke that porte to be their riuarde.
Sometimes alſo, it maye reioyce to ſee,
the bloody fights, vpon the ſea that be.*

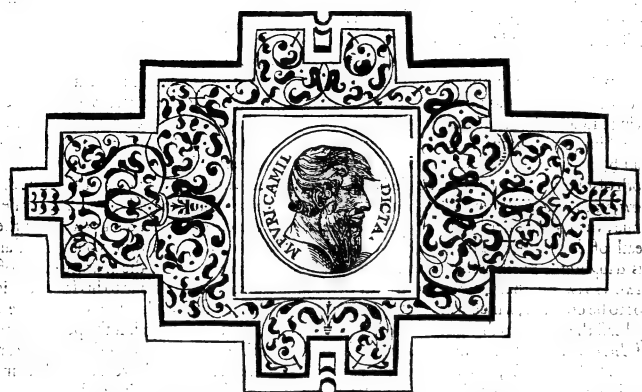
And furthermore, thoſe of *Magnesia* dyd inſtitute certen honours vnto the iſſue of *Themistocles*, which continew yet vnto this daye. And in my time, another *Themistocles* alſo of *Athens* dyd enioy the ſame honours, with whom I was familiarly conuerſante in the houſe of *Ammonius* the philoſopher.

*Howe done
to Themistocles
after his
death.*

The ende of Themistocles life.

THE LIFE OF

Furius Camillus.



Why Camillus never came to be Consul. The authority of a free, adious to the common people.

Camillus wisdom and modestie.

Camillus humble.

AMONGEST many great matters which are spoken of this *Furius Camillus*, this seemeth most straunge and wonderfull about the rest. That he hauing borne the chiefe offices of charge in his country, and hauing done many notable and worthy deedes in the same: as one that was chosen five times *Dictator*, and had triumphed foure times, and had wonne him selfe the name & title of the seconde founder of Rome, and yet neuer came to be Consul. But the only cause thereof was, that the common weale of Rome stood then in such state and forte. The people were then at disension with the Senate.

They would chuse no more Consuls, but other kynde of gouernours whom they called *Tribuni militares*: these dyd all things with like power & authoritie as the Consuls, yet were they nothing so odious vnto the people, by reason of the number that was of them. For it was some hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the small number of nobilitie, that the government of the state being put into fixe, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the easier, and tollerabler. Nowe *Camillus* being at that time in his best credit and authoritie, and in the prime and glorie of his doings, dyd not desire to be made Consul without the goodwill of the people, although whilste he was in authoritie, there were many times Consuls created. But to all other offices and dignities, he was called, and chosen. He behaued him selfe in such forte, that when he was alone, he made his authoritie comon to other: and when he had companions & associates, the glorie of all redounded to him selfe alone. The cause whereof, was his modestie on the one side, for he commaunded euer without enuie: and his great wisdom and sufficiencie on the other side, for the which all others willingly gaue him place, and yelded to him. The house of the *Furians* being at that time of no great fame, he was the first that beganne to set him selfe forwards. For in a great battell which was fought against the *Aques* and *Volsces*, he being but a priuate man at armes vnder the *Dictator Posthumius Tubertus*, was the first that riding out of the army, aduanced him selfe, and gaue the charge. And being runne into the thighe at that time with a staffe broken vpon his thighe, he plucked the truncheon out, and retired not for all that: but geuing charge againe vpon the stoutest of the enemies, he fought it out so valiantly to the encouraging of other, that he was the chief cause they turned their backs. Whereupon, to requite his seruice done at that time (besides other

honours

A honours they dyd him) they made him *Censor*: an office at that time of great preheminent & dignitie. In his office of *Censorshippe*, he dyd two notable acts. The one very honest: which he brought men that were not married, to marie the women whom the warres had left widows, which were in nuber many. To this he got them partly by persuation, & partly by threatnings, to set round fines vpon their heads that refused. The other very necessary: in that he brought the orphans to be contributories, vnto taxes, & subsidies, which before payed nothing. The cause thereof was, the continuall warres, about the which the common weale sustained great charges: but specially about the siege of the citie of the *VEIANS* (which some call *VENETIANIAN*) that was a very foreburden to the at that time. For it was the capital citie of all *THYSCAN*, the which for store of armour, & nuber of souldiers, was nothing inferiour vnto the citie of Rome.

Camillus acts in his Censorshippe.

The citie of Veies besieged.

B For the *VEIANS* being growen to stomake & corage in time, by reason of their wealth & prosperitie, & for the sundry great battells they had fought against the *ROMAINES*, that conckred with them for glory and empire: now it fell so out, that they finding them selues weakened by many great ouerthrowes, which they had receyued of the *ROMAINES*, they did let fall their former peacockes brauery, & ambition, to byd them battell any more in the fildes. Howbeit the inhabitants of the citie of *VEIES* hauing raised the walles, & made very great high rampers, beganne to fortifie them selues, & made good prouision for armour & munition, besides store of corne, shotte, & other necessary things: they valiantly, & without feare of any thing, defended the siege of the *ROMAINES*, that continued long time, & was no lesse hard & painefull vnto the that did besiege, then it was vnto those that were besieged. For where the *ROMAINES* were wont before time to keepe their houses in the winter season, and the fildes only in the sommer time: that was the first time they were compelled by the captaines and *Tribuni militares*, to buyld fortres, and to intrenche their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies countie, and to winter abroad as they were wont to lye in the campe in sommer. Nowe this siege had continued seuen whole yeres together. The captaines were burdened that they dyd not their duties, nor stood manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end they were discharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to followe the siege. Among those, *Camillus* was one, whom then the seconde time they created *Tribunus militaris*. Who notwithstanding dyd nothing then in that siege, because it was his happe by lot, to make warres vpon the *PHALERIANS*, and the *CAPENATES*. These people whilste the *ROMAINES* were occupied other where, had

The siege continued seuen yeres together.

Camillus twice chosen Tribune of the souldiers.

D invaded their countie, and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the *THYSCANS*. But *Camillus* hauing ouerthrowen a great number of them in the fildes, had the rest in chafe, and draue them to take their citie, and dyd shut them vp within their owne walles. The chance that happened at the lake of the *ALBANVS*, about the time the *THYSCAN* warres were greatest, dyd maruelously amare the *ROMAINES*, being no lesse wonderfull, then the most straunge and vncrediblest thing that could be tolde by man. For they could not finde out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall ground: considering it was in the latter end of Autumne, and sommer was ended, and that there had not bene much rayne, nor notable fowth winds. And although there are many lakes, many brooks & riuers, many springs, and other waters in *ITALIE*: yet some of them dried vp altogether, other ranne but faintly

The wonderfull overflowing of the lake Albanus.

E by reason of the drought, and all the riuers then were (as they are wont to be commonly in sommer) very lowe, and there was scanty any water. But the lake *ALBANVS* contrariwise, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whether out of him selfe, being enuironed all about with hilles and mountaines, and where the earthe is good: beganne to swell, and rise to euery mans sight, without any cause at all (but secret and hidden vnto the goddes alone) and went allwayes increasing alongest those hilles sides, vntill suche time as it came to be euen with the height of the highest mountaine, gathering vpwardes still without any waues or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poore shepheardes and heardeamen, keeping their cattell thereabouts, maruelously affrayed. But at the length when the earthe and weight of one of the hilles (which kepte in the lake as a walle,

F from running ouer into the felde) beganne to breake by reason of the waight, and great quantitie of water, that ranne straight with a maruelous extreme force and violence ouer all the arrable landes and groundes planted with trees, and so tooke his course into the

sea: the ROMAINES then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wonderfully affrayed, and iudged that it was some signe and prognostication of some wonderfull thing to come. And there was no other newes currante in the campe, which laye at siege of the citie of VETES: in so much as the very brute of it flew ouer the walles of the citie, vnto them that were besieged. And as it happeneth very ofte in long sieges, that those which lye in campe doe oftentimes talke with them that are besieged: there was a ROMAINE who self acquainted, and commonly vied to talke familiarly with one of the citie, who could tell of many olde & straunge things done and happened, and was very skillfull aboue any other in the citie, in the arte of diuination, or soothelaying. The ROMAINE then tolde him one daye the violent breaking out of the lake ALBANVS, and perceyuing that the other after he had heard him, was as merry as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their siege: he tolde him further, that this wonderfull chauce was not only happened vnto the ROMAINES at that time, but that they had bene acquainted with many other farre more straunge then this, which he would very willingly open vnto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common weale had but harde successe, yet he would procure that his owne priuate matters might prosper well with him. The VETIAN answered him, he would heare them with a goodwill, & gaue good eare vnto him, hoping to haue heard some great secret. So the ROMAINE training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his waye, vntill he sawe he was a good distance of from the gates of the citie, he sodainly caught holde on him, and by strong hand caried him awaye with him, and with helpe of other souldiers which came running out of the campe vnto him, he brought him to the captaines. The VETIAN seeing him self thus forcible vsed, and knowing also that fatal destiny cannot be auoyded, beganne to declare vnto the ROMAINES, the auncient oracles and prophecies touching the fortune of their citie: by which it was reported vnto them, that the citie of VETES should neuer be taken, vntill the enimie had cauled the water of the lake ALBANVS (which should breake out) to be brought backe againe, and to turne it some other waye from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was caried vnto the Senate at ROME, to be consulted of in counsaile: and there it was determined they should fend to the oracle of *Apollo*, at the citie of *Delphes*, and aske him what they should doe therein. So thither were sent great and notable men, *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Politus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*: who hauing ended their iorney by sea, and receyued answer of that they demanded, returned home againe, and amongst other oracles they brought one that sayed thus. That through negligence they had omitted some auncient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they should by all possible meanes they could, keepe the water of the lake ALBANVS that it fell not into the sea, and should (if it were possible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be droncke vp in the midst of the fields. When these oracles were vnderstanded, the priests prepared all things for diuine seruice, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After these things were done, the Senate in the tenth yere of the warres against the VETIANS, put of all those which dyd beare office, and created *Camillus Dictator*, who named for generall of the horse men, *Cornelius Scipio*. And before he went in hande with any thing, he made a vow vnto the goddes, E that if it pleased them to graunte a happy ende of these warres, in honour of them he would celebrate great playes, and buyld a temple vnto the goddesse which the ROMAINES call *Matuta*: which seemeth to be her whom we call *Lencosthea*, considering the ceremonies done in these sacrifices. For they cause a chamber mayde to enter into her temple, & there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, and doe embrace their brothers children rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they are much like vnto those that are done vnto *Bacchus* nurces, and to the misfortunes that chaunced vnto *Ino*, by reason of her husbands concubine. After all these vowes and prayers made, he entred with his army into the *FALISSIANS* territories, whom he ouerthrew in a great battell, together with the *CAPENATES* also, which came to ayde them. From thence he went to the siege F of the citie of *VETES*, where perceyuing to take it by assault, was not to be wonne without great daunger, he beganne to vndermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and with

The crosse of
a Romaine.

An oracle
brought from
Delphes.

Camillus chosen
Dictator.

Matuta.
Lencosthea.

A all so deepe, that the enemies could perceyue nothing. Nowe when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gaue an assaulte to the walles in all places alike about the citie at one instante, to bring out all the inhabitants of the citie to man the walles. Whilest they were all thus vpon the walles to make defence: *Camillus* souldiers entred secretly through the mines within the castell, harde by the temple of *Iuno*: which was the chiefe Church of all the citie, and whereunto the citizens had most deuotion. They saye that euen at that present time the generall of the *THYSCANS* dyd sacrifice vnto the goddes, & that his soothelayer hauing considered the intrells of the beastes offered vp in sacrifice, cried out alowde, that the goddes gaue the victorie vnto him, which should happen to come vpon them in this sacrifice. The ROMAINES which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out, crying, and making noyse with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled vpon it, and so the ROMAINES tooke the intrells, and caried them vnto *Camillus*. And these be euen much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit *Camillus* hauing by this meanes taken the citie, and seeing from the toppe of the castell the infinite goodes & riches within the citie, which the souldiers spoyle & made hauock of, he wept for very pittie. And when those that were about him tolde him he was a happy man: he lift vp his hands vnto heauen, and made this prayer. O mightie god *Iupiter*, and you o goddes, which see and iudge mens good and ill workes: you knowe right well, that we haue not willingly (without wrong and cause offered vs) begonne this warre, but iustly, and by compulsion, to be reuenged of a citie our enimie, which hath done vs great iniuries. But if to conuertuayle this our great good C prosperitie, and victorie, some bitter aduersitie and ouerthrowe be predestined vnto vs: I beseeche you then (most mercifull goddes) in sparing our citie of ROME, and this her army, you will (with as litle hurte as maye be) let it all fall and light vpon my persone alone. And as he had spoken these wordes, and was turning on his right hande (according to the manner of the ROMAINES after they haue prayed vnto the goddes) he fell downe flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somewhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe, he tolde them that the thing he requested of the goddes was happened vnto him. And that was, a litle hurte, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole citie being spoyle and rifled, he was also desirous to carie *Iunos* image to ROME, to accomplishe the vowe he had made. And hauing sent for workemen for this purpose, he dyd D sacrifice first vnto the goddesse, beseeching her to accept well of the ROMAINES good will, & that she would willingly vouchsafe to come and dwell with the other goddes, who had the protection of the citie of ROME. Some saye, that the image answered, she was contented. But *Linius* writeth that *Camillus* made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the assistants answered she was contented, and would goe with a goodwill. Yet they which doe asseme, it was the image selfe that spake, doe fauour this miracle, grounding their prooffe vpon the opinion of the fortune of ROME: the which, from so base and meane beginning had impossibily attained vnto so highe glorie and power as it had, without the singular fauour of the goddes, and that hath manifestly appeared vnto the world, by sundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders. As, that images haue heretofore let fall E dropes of swete from them: that they haue bene heard to sigh: that they haue turned: and that they haue made certain signes with their eyes, as we finde written in many auncient stories. And we could our selues also tell such like wonders, which we haue heard men of our time asseme, which are not vncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for such matters, it is as dangerous to geue to much credit to them, as also to discredit them to much, by reason of the weaknes of mans nature, which hath no certain boundes, nor can rule it self, but sometimes after vanitie and superstition, and otherwhile also dispiseth and contemneth holy and diuine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, & not to goe to farre in this, as in all other things besides, it is the best. Nowe *Camillus*, whether his late enterprife performed, in winning a citie that hoode out with ROME, & helde siege with them tenne yerres together, had put him into an ouerwining or conceipt of him selfe: or that the wordes of the people, which dyd blisse and prayse him, had made him looke highe, and presume vpon him selfe, more then became the modestie of a ciuill magistrate, and gouernour of the common N

The citie of
Vetres taken
by mining.

Camillus
prayer when
Vetres was taken
him.

Feyned wonder
of imagination.

Plutarches
indgements of
miracles.

*Camillus fa-
rily triumphs
of the Veians.*

*A lawe for
the people of
Rome is drawe
at Veies.*

*The chiefest
cause of the
peoples malice
against Cam-
illus.*

*A cuppe of
golde sent to
Delphes.*

*The ladies of
Rome gave
their iuells
towards the
making of it.
What time
women pray-
ses beganne
at funerall
in Rome.*

weale, & one that was subiect to the lawe: he shewed a stately triumphe, set forth with all riche furniture, & specially for that him self was caried through ROME vpon his triumphant charre drawn with foure fayer white coursers. This neuer captaine nor generall before him durst vndertake to doe, neither any euer after him attempted it: for they thinke it is a sacred cariage, and only mete for the King, and father of the goddes. This bred him much enuy amongst the cittizens, which had not bene acquainted with so great statelynes. There was another occasion also that made them dislike him much: which was, because he stood against the lawe put forth that they should deuide the citie of ROME. For the Tribunes of the people dyd let out an Edict, that the Senate & people of ROME should be deuided into two partes: and that those on whom the lotte should fall, should abide still in ROME, and the other should goe dwell in the newe wonne citie of VEIES. There were the reasons to perswade this: that both the one and the other lotte should be richer then they were before, & should more easily keepe their lands and goodes from the inuasion of their enemies, by meanes of these two great cities. The people which were multiplied nowe into great numbers, & had serued dutifully & daungerously, thought it the best waye in the world: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with great tumulte, about their pulpit for orations, praying that this lawe might be put vnto the voyces of the people. But the whole Senate, and wisest cittizens among them, judging this motion of the Tribunes would be the destruction, and not the diuision of the citie of ROME: could in no wise abide it should goe any further. Whereupon they went & prayed *Camillus* helpe: who fearing to bring it to the point, whether the lawe should passe or no, dyd all wayes seeke new occasions and letts, till it to delaye & put off the matter, & staye the confirmation of this lawe. For these causes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall & apparant cause of the peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth parte of their spoyle: and it was not altogether without some reason, and to saye truly the people dyd him much wrong to beare him such malice for that. For before he went to the citie of VEIES, he made a solene vowe to offer the tenth parte vnto the goddes, of the spoyle of the citie, if he wane the same. But when it was taken and sacked, whether it was that he was lothe to trouble the cittizens, or hauing a worlde of busines in his head, that he easily forgate his vowe: he suffered the fouldiers to deuide the spoyle amongst them, & to take the benefit to them selues. Shortly after he was discharged of his charge, he dyd enforce the Senate of his vowe. Furthermore, the fouldiers made reporte at that very time, howe they knew by certaine signes and tokens of their sacrifices, that the goddes were offended for somewhat, and howe they must of necessitie be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate presently made an order, where it was vnpossible every man should bring in againe the selfe same things he had gotten, to make a newe diuision of euery mans share: that euery one therefore vpon his othe should present the tenth parte of his gaynes he had gotten by that bootie. There was great trouble about it. They were driuen to vltre great extremitee to the poore fouldiers (which had traueled fore, and taken great paynes in the warres) to make them to restore backe such a coloppe out of their gaine, and the rather because many of them had already spent it euery penny: and for this trouble, they all cried out with open mouth against *Camillus*. But he being set vp, and not knowing otherwise howe to excuse him selfe, was forced to bring forth as cold and as vnreasonable an excuse as he could make, which was: forsooth he had forgotten his vowe he had made. The people notwithstanding were eger still against him, saying: howe he had vowed then to offer the tenth parte of the enemies goodes to the goddes, and that now he would performe it with the tenthes of the cittizens goodes. Neuertheles, euery man hauing brought that he should for his parte: it was thought good they should cause a massie cuppe of golde to be made, to send to the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES. And small store of golde being in the citie of ROME, as the officers of the citie were fersching vp and downe to get it: the women of ROME of their owne voluntary willes without motion, agreed among them selues, that they would departe with all the iuells they had, towards the making vp of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof, to honour them withall: the Senate ordeined that they should be prayfed openly with funerall orations at their buriall, as they dyd vsé at honorable and noble mens obsequies. For before that lawe, it was not

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A the manner to prayse women openly at their funeralls. Nowe there were appointed three of the noblest men of the citie to goe to carie this offering, & they sent them out in a galley well manned, stored also with good mariners, & trimly set forth in all triumphing manner: howbeit both in storme, & calme weather, they were in daunger of their liues. For after that they had escaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the winde was downe againe, they fell into another daunger, which they escaped also beyond all hope. For harde by the Iles of *ÆOLVS*, the galleys of the *LIPARIANS* fell vpon them, as if they had bene rousers. But when the *LIPARIANS* sawe they made no resistance, & intreated them, holding vp their hands: they gaue no further charge vpon them, but only fastened their galleys vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the shore, they declared they were pirates, & offered to make portie sale of the men & goodes, as if they had bene a lawfull prise: & had solde them in deede, had not the wisdomed & authoritie of *Timesitheus* letted them, who was gouernour at that time of the citie, and had great a doe to perswade them to let them goe. And he dyd not so leaue them, but sent out certaine of his owne shippes to accompanie them in their iorney, who dyd helpe them to goe and performe their offering. For which curtesie of his, the *ROMAINES* afterwarde dyd him great honour at ROME, according to his well deseruing. The Tribunes of the people beganne nowe to set a foote againe the lawe for the deuiding of the inhabitants of ROME vnto the citie of VEIES. But the warres of the *FALISCES* fell out happily at that time, whereby the noble men dyd choole such officers as they would. So they choie *Camillus*, Tribunes militaris of the fouldiers, and five other to assiste him, the seruice in that case requiring a generall, C that caried both authoritie & reputation among them, as an olde experienced fouldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, *Camillus* immediately entred the territories of the *FALISCES* with the *ROMAINES* armie, where he layed siege vnto the citie of the *FALERIANS*, being very well fortified, vitted and stored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no small attempto winne this citie, and that it would not be done in a shorte time: he pollietly fought (whatsoeuer came of it) to keepe his countime occupied about some thing, & to staye them for going home, least by repaying to ROME, they should haue many occasions to rebell, & raise some ciuill dissention. For the *ROMAINES* dyd wisely vse this remedie: to disperse abroad like good phisicians, the humours which troubled the quiet state of their comon weale at home. But the *FALERIANS* trusting in the situation of their citie, which was very strong in all partes, made so litle account of the siege: that those which kept not watche vpon the walles, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the citie, without any weapon about them, and their children went to schoole, the schoolemaster also would commonly leade them abroad out of the citie a walking, to playe and passe the time by the towne walles. For the whole citie had one common schoolemaster, as the *GRECIANS* also haue, which doe bring vp their children from litle ones in company together, because one maye be familiarly acquainted with an other. This schoolemaster spying his time to doe the *FALERIANS* a shrewd turne, dyd accustomably take all his scholers out of the citie with him, to playe, not farre from the walles at the beginning, & afterwards brought them into the citie againe, after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroad thus once E or twice, he trayned them out euery daye a litle further, to make them to be bolde, perswading them there was no daunger. But at the length, one daye hauing gotten all the cittizens children with him, he led them within the watche of the *ROMAINES* campe, & there deliuered all his scholers into their handes, & prayed them they would bring him vnto their generall. So they did. And when he came before *Camillus*, he beganne to tell him that he was schoolemaster vnto all these children, neuertheles that he dyd more esteeme to haue his grace and fauour, then regarde his office he had by this name & title. *Camillus* hearing what he sayed, & beholding his threacherous parte, he sayed to those that were about him: Warre of it selfe surely is an euill thing, for in warres many iniuries & mischieues are done: neuertheles amōg good men there is a law & discipline, which doth forbid the to seeke victorie by wicked & traiterous meanes, & F that a noble & worthie generall should make warre, & procure victorie, by trusting to his own vallianties, & not by others vilenes & villanie. Therefore he commaunded his sergeants to teare the clothes of the backe of this vile schoolemaster, & to binde his handes behinde him: &

Camillus chosen Tribunes of the fouldiers.

Camillus besieges the Falerians.

Camillus wonne this citie to the schoolemaster, betraying the Falerians children.

A noble saying of Camillus, and wise precept for warres. Vallianties to be preferred before villanie.

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The Fallacies by their ambassadors doe yield the felues and goodes vnto Camillus. The message of the ambassadors of the Fallacies vnto the Romanes.

Lucius Apuleius accuseth Camillus.

The equities of the Romanes who would not permit the lawe though they dearly loved Camillus: but willingly offered to paye his fine. Camillus prayes before his departure out of Rome. Camillus exhorteth him selfe from Rome.

that they should geue the children rodde & whippes in their hands, to whippe the traitour backe againe into the citie, that had thus betrayed them, & grieved their parents. Now when the FALERIANS heard newes that the schoolemaster had thus betrayed them, all the citie fell a weeping (as euery man maye thinke for so great a losse) and men & women ranne together one in anothers necke, to the town walles, & gates of the citie, like people out of their wittes; they were so troubled. VVhen they came thither, they saw their childre bringing their schoolemaster backe againe, stark naked and bownde, whipping of him, & calling *Camillus* their father, their god, and their sauour: so that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the citizens also in general, dyd conceyue in them selues a wonderfull admiration and great loue of the wisdom, goodnes, and iustice of *Camillus*. So that euen presently they called a counsaill, and there it was concluded they should send ambassadours forthwith vnto him, to put their liues and goodes to his mercy and fauour. *Camillus* sent their ambassadours vnto Rome, where audience being geuen vnto them by the Senate, the ambassadours sayed, Bicause the ROMAINES preferred iustice aboue victorie, they taught them to be better contented to submit them selues vnto them, then to be their own men at libertie: confessing their vertue dyd more ouercome them, then any force or power could doe. The Senate dispatched letters vnto *Camillus*, giuing him commission to doe and determine as he thought good. So he hauing taken a certen summe of money of the FALERIANS, dyd furthermore make peace and league with all the rest of the FALISCES: and thereupon returned backe againe to Rome. But the souldiers grudged maruelously at it. For they stood in hope to haue had the sacking of the citie. VVhen there was no remedie, but they must needs returne home emptic handed, they beganne to accule *Camillus* to the rest of the citizens, as fone as they came to Rome, saying: he loued not the common people, and howe for spite he disapointed their army of the spoyle. On the other side, the Tribunes of the people beganne to reuiue the lawe, for the deuiding of the inhabitants of Rome, and were ready to passe it by the voyces of the people. *Camillus* not fearing the ill will of the commons, dyd boldly speake, and doe in open preface, all he could against it. So that plainly he was the chiefeft cause, that the people against their willes (intreate what they could) were driuen to let it alone. But withall they were so spitefull against him, that notwithstanding his sorowe and misfortune for the death of his sonne (dying of a sickenes) was great: they would not of malice once take pittie or compassion of him. The losse whereof (albeit he was of a very good & curteous nature) was so grieuous, and made him D so inquier: that being accused before the people, he sturrd not once out of his house, but was locked vp with the women, which lamented for his sonne departed. He that dyd accule him, was one *Lucius Apuleius*, burdening him that he had stolen and taken away, parte of the spoyle of the THYSCANS: and sayed, they had seene certen brazen gates at his house, which had bene brought out of THYSCAN. Nowe the people were so maliciously bent against him, that euery man might see, if they could once take him in a trippe, vpon any aduantage whatsoever, they would douteles haue condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friends and souldiers that had serued vnder him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earnestly besought them, that they would not suffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through false and vniust accusations layed against him, nor to be so scorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends hauing layed their heades together, and consulted thereupon, made him aunswer: howe for his iudgment they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned, they would all ioyne together with a very goodwill, to helpe to paye his fine. But he being of minde not to beare such an open shame and ignominie, determined in choller to leaue the citie, and to exile him selfe from it. And after he had taken his leaue of his wife & children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his house to the gates of the citie, & sayed neuer a word. VVhen he came thither, he stayed sodainely, & returning backe againe, he lift vp his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers vnto the godds: that if it were of very spight and malice, and not of iust deserting, that the common people compelled him thus shamefully to forsake the citie, that the ROMAINES might quickly repent them, and F in the face of the world might wishe for him, and haue nede of him. After he had made these prayers against the citizens (as *Achilles* dyd against the GRECIANS) he went his way, & was condemned

A condemned for his contempe, in the summe of fifteene thousand *Affer* of the ROMAINE coyne, which make of Greeke the money, a thousand five hundred *Drachmas* of siluer: for as *As* was a litle peece of money, whereof tenne of them made a ROMAINE penny. Howbeit there was not a ROMAINE of any vnderstanding, but beleued certainly that some great punishment would followe them incontinently, and that the wrong & iniurie they had done him would be quickly requited, with some most sharpe and terrible reuenge, not only vnpleasunt to thinke vpon, but further most notable to be spoken of through the world. There tell out so sodainely vpon it, such mischief toward the citie of Rome, and the present time also brought forth such occasion of daunger and destruction thereof, to their shame & infamie: that it was vncertaine whether it happened by chaunce, or els it was the handie worcke of some god, that would not suffer vertue recompenced with ingratitude, to passe vreuenged. Their first token that threatened some great mischief to light vpon them, was the death of *Julius*, one of the Censors for the ROMAINES doe greatly reuerce the office of a Censor, and esteeme it as a sacred place. The seconde token that happened a litle before *Camillus* exile, was: that one *Marius Caudinus* a man but of meane qualitie, and none of the Senatours (but otherwise a fayre conditioned honest man, and of good conscience) tolde the Tribunes of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he sayed that the night before, as he was going on his waye in the newe streete, he heard one call him alowde: and returning backe to see what it was, he sawe no liuing creature, but only heard a voyce bigger then a mans, which sayed vnto him. *Marius Caudinus* goe thy waye to morrowe morning to the Tribunes *militaires*, and byd them looke quickly for the GAVLES. The Tribunes were mery at the matter, and made but a ieast at his warning, and straight after followed the condemnation of *Camillus*. Nowe as touching the GAVLES. They came (as they saye) of the CELTAE, whose country not being able to mainteine the multitudes of them, they were driuen to goe seeke other countreies to inhabit in; and there were amongst them many thousands of young men of seruice and good souldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of these people, some of them went towards the north sea, passing the mountaines RHPHEI, and dyd dwel in the extreme partes of EVROPE. Other of them remained betwene the mountaines PIRENE, and the greatest mountaines of the ALPES, neere vnto the SENONES, and the CELTORIE: There they continued a long time, vntill they fortun'd in the ende to taste of the wine, which was first brought out of ITALIE vnto them. Which drinke they found so good, and were so delighted with it, that sodainely they armed themselves: and taking their wiues and children with them, they went directly towards the ALPES, to goe seeke out the country that brought forth such fruite, judging all other countreies in respect of that, to be but wilde and barren. It is sayed, that the first man which brought wine vnto them, and that dyd procure them to passe into ITALIE, was a noble man of THYSCAN called *Arron*, and otherwise of no ill disposed nature: howbeit he was subiect to this misfortune following. He was tutor vnto an orphan childe, the richest that was at that time in all the countrie of THYSCAN, and of complexion was wonderful fayre: he was called *Lucumo*. This orphan was brought vp in *Arrons* house of a childe, and though he was grown to mans state, yet he would not goe from him, sayning he was so well, and to his liking. But in deede the cause was, that he loued his maiestres (*Arrons* wife) whom secretly he had enjoyed a long time, and the him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the ende, loue hauing so possessed them both, that neither parte could withdrawe from other, much lesse culler that they had long enjoyed: the young man stole her away from him, and kept her still by force. *Arron* put him in fure, but he prayeaud not for *Lucumo* outwewed him with friends, money, giftes, and charges. But he took it so greuouly, that he left his country: and hauing heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALIE. So they conquered at their first coming all that country which the THYSCANS helde in olde time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and stretched out in length from one sea vnto the other which enuironneth ITALIE, as the names them selfes doe witness. For they call yet that sea which looketh vnto the northe, the Adriack sea: by reason of a citie built sometime by the THYSCANS, which was called *Adria*. The other, which lieth directly ouer against the South, is called the THYSCAN sea. All that countrie

Tokens of the warres of the Gauls.

The originall beginning of the Gauls.

Arro a Thuscans the procurer of the Gauls coming into Italy.

Lacke of justice, the cause of the destruction & conquest of Thuscans by the Gauls. The power of the Thuscans to the side him.

is well planted with trees, & hath goodly pleasaunt pastures for beastes and cattell to feede in, & is notably watered with goodly running riuers. There was also at that time eighteen fayer great cities in that country, all of them very strong and well seated, as well for to enrich the inhabitants thereof by traffike, as to make them to liue delicately for pleasure. All these cities the GAVLES had wonne, and had expelled the THYSCANS, but this was done long time before. Now the GAVLES being further entered into THYSCANIA, dyd besiege the citie of CLVSIVM.

Clusium a citie of Thuscā besieged by the Gauls.

Brennus king of the Gauls.

Thereupon the CLVSIVS seeking ayde of the ROMAINES, besought them they would send letters and ambassadours vnto these barbarous people in their fauour. They sent vnto them three of the best and most honorable persones of the citie, all three of the house of the Fabians. The GAVLES receyued them very courteously, bicause of the name of ROME, and leauing to assault the citie, they gaue them audience. The ROMAINES ambassadours dyd aske them, what iniurie the CLVSIVS had done vnto them, that they came to make warres with them. Brennus king of the GAVLES, hearing this question, smiled, and answered them thus. The CLVSIVS doe vs wrong in this: they being but fewe people together, & not able to occupie much lande, doe notwithstanding possesse much, and will let vs haue no parte with them, that are strangers, and out of our country, and stande in neede of feate and habitation. The like wrong was offered vnto you ROMAINES in oldtime, by those of ALBA, by the FIDENATES, and the ARDEATES: and not long sithence, by the VEIANS, & the CAPENATES: and partly by the FALISCES and the VOLSCS: against whom ye haue taken, & doe take armes, at all times. And as ofte as they will let ye haue no parte of their goods, ye imprison their persones, robbe and spoyle their goodes, and destroye their cities. And in doing this, ye doe them C

no wrong at all, but followe the oldest lawe that is in the worlde, which euer leaueth vnto the stronger, that which the weaker can not keepe and enioye. Beginning with the goddes, & ending with beastes: the which haue this propertie in nature, that the bigger and stronger haue euer the vantage of the weaker and lesfer. Therefore, leaue your pittie to see the CLVSIVS besieged, least you teache vs GAVLES to take compassion also of those you haue oppressed. By this answer the ROMAINES knewe very wel, there was no waye to make peace with king Brennus. Wherefore they entered into the citie of CLVSIVM, and incouraged the inhabitants to saue out with them vpon these barbarous people: either bicause they had a desire to proue the valliantnes of the GAVLES, or els to shewe their owne corage and manhood. So the citizens went out, and skirmished with them harde by the walles: in the which one of the FAB

Fabius Ambustus a Romaine, breake the common lawe of all nations.

Brennus reproacheth Fabius for breakeing the lawe of armes.

Numa Pompilius erected the college of the Faciales.

bians, called Quintus Fabius Ambustus, being excellently well horsed, and putting spurres to him, dyd set vpon a goodly bigge personage of the GAVLES, that had aduanced him selfe farre before all the troupe of his companions. He was not knowne at the first encounter, as well for the sodaine meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his glistering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had slaine the GAVLE, and came to stripp him: Brennus then knewe him, and protested against him, calling the goddes to witness, howe he had broken the lawe of armes, that coming as an ambassadour, he had taken vpon him the forme of an enemy. Hereupon Brennus forthwith left skirmishing, and raising the seige from CLVSIVM, marched with his army vnto ROME gates. And to the ende the ROMAINES might knowe, that the GAVLES were not well pleased for the iniurie they had receyued: to haue an honest culler to beginne warres with the ROMAINES, he sent an Herald before to ROME, to demaunde liuerie of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the meane time, he him selfe came marching after, by small iourneys to receyue their answer. The Senate hereupon assembled, & many of the Senatours blamed the rashnes of the Fabians: but most of all, the priestes called Faciales. For they followed it very earnestly, as a matter that concerned religion, & the honour of the godds: declaring how the Senate, in discharge of all the residue of the citie of the offence comitted, should laye the whole weight and burden of it vpon him alone, that only had done the facte. Numa Pompilius, the iustest and most peaceable of all the kings of ROME that had bene, was he that first erected the college of these Faciales, and dyd ordeine that they should be the keepers of peace, and the iudges to hear and allowe all the causes, for the which they should iustly beginne any warres. Neuertheles, the Senate in the ende turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the whole will and iudgment

A iudgment of the people, before whom these priestes Faciales dyd also accuse Fabius Ambustus. The people made so litle accept of their propounded religion, & honour of the godds in that case: that in steede of deliuering of this Fabius vnto the enemy, they dyd chooe him for one of the Tribunes of the souldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderstanding this, were so furious & angrie thereat, that they would no longer linger their iourneys, but marched with all speed vnto ROME. The people that dwelt by the high wayes where they should passe by, were maruelously affrayed to see the multitude of them, & their braue & vniuersall furniture: & beginning to doubt the furie of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroye all the chapien country before them, & afterwards would take all the strong cities. They contrarywise dyd take nothing at all out of the fieldes, neither dyd any hurte or displeasure vnto any

The Gauls marche towards Rome.

B bodie: but passing by their cities, cried out they went to ROME, and would haue no warres but with the ROMAINES, and howe otherwise they desired to be friendes with all the worlde. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards ROME, the Tribunes of the souldiers brought their army to the field to encounter them. They were no lesse in number then the GAVLES, for they were forty thousand footemen. Howbeit most part of them were rawe souldiers, that had neuer serued in the warres before. They were very careless of the goddes, & dissolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their sacrifices, neither to aske counsaile of their soothsayers, which the ROMAINES were religiously wont to doe, before they gaue any battail. To make the matter worse: the number of the captaines hauing power and authoritie alike, dyd asmuche (or more then the rest) disorder and confounde their

The Romanes amies were 40000 footmen.

To many rulers of an armie, doe confound all order, and putteth the army in perill.

C doings. For ofte times before, in farre lesfer matters and daungers then these, they dyd vnto chule speciall officers that had sole & soueraigne authoritie, which they called Difflators: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in daungerous times to haue but one head & generally, to command all, & to haue supreme authoritie of iustice in his hands, & not to be bound to deliuer accept of his doings to any. The iniury allo which they had to vngratefully done to Camillus, brought great mischief & inconueniēce then vpon them. For the captaines after him, durst no more commaunde the people roughly, but euer after dyd flatter them much. When their army was now brought into the field, they encamped them selues by a liue riuier called Allia, about the eleuth stone from ROME, and not farre from the place where the same riuier falleth into Tyber. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who ouerthrew them in battell,

Allia fl.

D by their disorder & lacke of gouernment. For the left pointe or winge of their battell was broken of at the first by the GAVLES, who charged them so furiously, that they draue them hedlog into the riuier. The right wing then retiring out of the plain, before they had any charge geue, & hauing gotten certain hilles hard by them: they had litle hurte, & most of them sauing them selues, did recouer ROME again. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night vnto the citie of VIES, thinking ROME had bene lost, & all the citie put to the sword. This ouerthrowe was on the 106th daye in sommer, the moone being at the full: & the daye before fortuneth the great slaughter of the Fabians, of the which were slaine by the THYSCANS in one daye 300. all of a name. The very daye it self was afterwards called Allia's daye, of the name of the liue riuier, by the which the 2. ouerthrow was geuen. But for the difference of dayes,

The battell at the riuier of Allia where the Gauls wanne the field of the Romanes.

100. of a name slaine in one daye.

E that some of the are naturally vnfortunate, or that Heraclitus the philosopher had reason to reprove the poet Hesiodus, for makig some dayes good, & some dayes ill, as though he vnderstood they were not all of one nature: we haue writte & declared our opinion thereof in other places. Yet, bicause the matter deliuereth present occasio to speake of the same, peradventure it will not be amisse to alleage a few exaples of it only. It fortuneth the BOEOTIANS on a time to wine two honorable victories, on the first daye of the moneth they call Hippodromus (and which the ATHENIANS call Hecatombæon) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did still restore the GRECIANS to their libertie. The first was the battell of LEVCTERS. The second was the battell of GERASTE, which was two hundred yeres before, when they ouercame LATAMIAS, & the THESSALIANS in battell. The PERSIANS contrarily were ouercome in battell F by the GRECIANS, the first daye of August, at the iorney of MARATHON. The third day, at the battell of PLATERS. And on the selfe same daye, neere vnto MYCALA. On the fise and twenty daye, at the sight of ARBELES, the ATHENIANS wanne the battell by sea, neere vnto

The Romaines
superstition
in obseruing
of dayes.

The holy fyre.

The force of
it.

Ille of Naxos, vnder the charge and gouernment of *Chubrias*, about the full of the moone, in the moneth of August. And on the twenty of the same moneth, they wanne the battell of *SALAMINA*: as we haue writtten more ample in our historie of difference of dayes. The moneth of Aprill also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For *Alexander* the great, ouercame the generall of the king of *PERSIA*, at the fildes of *GRANICA*, in the sayed moneth. The *CARTHAGINIANS* also were vanquished in *STICILE* by *Timoleon*, on the seuen & twenty daye thereof. On which daye also it is thought the citie of *TROYE* was taken: as *Ephorus*, *Callithenes*, *Damastrus*, and *Phylarchus*, haue writtten in their histories. Nowe contrariwise. The moneth of Iuly, which the *BOEOTIANS* call *Panemus*, hath not bene gracious to the *GRECIANS*. For on the seuen daye of the same, they were ouerthrowen by *Antipater* at the battell of *CRANON*, which was their vtter destruction. They had before also lost a battell the same moneth, neere vnto the citie of *CHAEIRONIA*, by king *Philippe*. On the same daye also, and in the very self moneth and yere, those which came into *ITALIE* with king *Archidamus*, were slaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the coutry. The *CARTHAGINIANS* also feare the seuen & twenty daye of the same moneth, as the daye which had before time brought them into many great and sorowfull calamities. Contrarie also, I knowe very well, how about the feast of mysteries, the citie of *THEBES* was destroyed by *Alexander*, & that the *ATHENIANS* were compelled to receyue a garrison of souldiers into their citie, about the twenty daye of August, at which time they made the holie procession of the mysteries of *Iacchus*. And on the self day the *ROMAINES* lost their armie, & their generall *Capio*, who was slaine by the *CIMBRES*. And how afterwards vnder the leading of *Lucullus*, they ouercame king *Tigranes*, & the *ARMENIANS*. And that *Attalus*, & *Pompey* also, dyed both on the selfe same daye they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, vnto whom after like reuolutions of time, there happened notable chaunces of good or ill. But to returne againe vnto our historie. The daye of this ouerthrowe, is one of those which the *ROMAINES* stak for one of the vnfortunatest dayes that euer came vnto them. And by reason of that day, they reckon two other dayes of euery moneth very vnfortunate, engendered through feare & superstition, which spreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) vpon such sinister misfortunes. But for this matter, we haue writtten it more largely & exquisitely in the booke we made, of the ceremonies & customes of the *ROMAINES*. Now after this battell lost, if the *GAVLES* had hottely pursued the chafe of their flying enemies, nothing could haue saued *ROME* from being taken, & the inhabitants therof from being put vnto the sword. For the *ROMAINES* that fled from the battell, brought such a feare vpon those that receyued them, and filled the whole citie of *ROME* with such greif & trébling: that they wist not what to doe. The barbarous people againe, beleueing little their victorie was so great as it was, fell to make good cheere for so great a ioye receiued, & deuided among them the spoyle of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gaue they time & leysure by this meane, to the multitude of people that fled out of *ROME*, to seeke them some place of safety: & to such as remained still, they left good hope to saue them selues, & to make someprouision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified them selues within moit Capitoll, & storing it with all kind of vitall, armor, & munition, they wholly dyd forsake the rest of the citie. But the first worke they tooke in hande was this. They dyd bring into their sayed forte, parte of their sacred relickes: & the professed *Vestalls* brought thither also their holy fire & all other their holy monumets. Some writers saye, that they had nothing els in keeping, but the sempiternall fyre, & were so consecrated by king *Numa*, who dyd first institute, that the fyre should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the moit motiue & quickest substance that is of all naturall things: notwithstanding, that generation also is a mouing, or at the least not done without motion. For we see, that all other substance which lacketh heate, remaineth idle, & without action, & sturtheth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craueth the force and heate of fyre: as the soule it selfe recouering heate, beginneth somewhat to moue, and disposeth it selfe to doe, and suffer some thing. Wherefore *Numa* being (as they saye) a man of great learning and vnderstanding, who for his wisdom was reported to talke many times with the *Muses*, dyd consecrate the same as a moit sacred thing, and commaunded that they neuer should suffer that fyre to goe out, and but keepe it, as they would preferre the

A the liuely image of the eternall God, the only King & maker of the worlde. Other saye, that the fyre burned continually there before the holy & sacred things, signifying a kinde and manner of purification, which opinion the *GRECIANS* holde also: howbeit behinde the same fyre, there were certain hidden things, which in no case any might see, but those holy *Vestall Nines*. Many also holde an opinion, that the *Palladium* of *TROYE* (as much to say, as *Pallas* image) is hidden also there, which was brought by *Aeneas* into *ITALIE*. Other doe reporte also, that *Dardanus*, at that time when he first beganne to buyld the citie of *TROYE*, brought thither the holy images of the goddesses of *SAMOTHRACIA*, and he dyd offer them vp there: and howe *Aeneas* after the citie was taken, dyd steale them awaye, & kept them vntill he came to dwell in *ITALIE*. Some other also, that take vpon them to knowe more therein then the common sorte, doe holde opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is emptye and standeth open, the other is full & fast locked vp, howbeit they are not to be seene but by these holy *Nunes*. Other thincke also, that these imaginers inuented that they spake of their owne heads, because the *Vestall Nunes* dyd cast all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the grounde, within the temple of *Quirinus*: and herefore that very place carieth the surname at this daye of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the moit precious things they had, & fled alongest the riuer. Where one *Lucius Albinus* (one of the common people) flying also, & hauing brought away his wife & litle children, and other household stuffe he had in a carte, by chaunce he lighted vpon the *Vestall Nunes* in the waye. But so fone as he perceyued these holy *Nunes* (carying the blessed relickes and iuells in their armes, dedicated vnto the seruice of the goddesses) all alone, & that they were wearie with going a foote: he caused his wife and his children to come out of the carte, & tooke downe all his goodes also, & willed them to get them vp, and flye into some citie or towne of *GREECE*. Thus, he thought I could not well passe ouer with silence, *Albinus* reuerence & deuotion he shewed vnto the goddesses, in so daungerous a time & pinche of extremitye. Furthermore the priests of other goddesses, & the moit honorablest olde men of the citie of *ROME* (that had bene *Cōsuls* before time, or had past the honour of triumphe) had not the harte to forsake *ROME*: but putting on all their moit holy robes & vestments dyd vowe, and as it were willingly sacrificed them selues vnto the fortune that should befall them, for the safety of their countrie. And vsing certain words & prayers which their high bisshope *Fabius* had taught them, they went diuenty thus appalled into the great market place, & dyd sit them downe there, in chayers of iuory, expecting the good will & pleasure of the godds what should become of them. But with in three dayes after, *Brennus* came to *ROME* with his army: who finding the gates of the citie all open, & the walles without watche, he dowtred some deuise in it, & feared some priuie ambush had bene layed, as one hardly beleueing to haue found the *ROMAINES* of so base a mind, as to forsake their citie. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into *ROME* by the gate *Collina*, & tooke the same, litle more the three hūdrēd & three score yeres after it was first builded: if it be true at the least there hath remained any certen chronicles of those times vnto this present daye, considering the trouble & confusion of that time hath made many things more vncertaine then that, dowtrefull vnto vs. But so it was, that the rumor ranne to *GREECE* incontinently howe *ROME* was taken, but yet withall somewhat doubtfully & vncertainly. For *Heraclides Ponticus* (who was about that time) sayeth in a certen booke he wrote of the foule, that there was newes come from the *VVest* parte, that an armie which came from the *HYPERBORIANS*, had taken a citie of *GREECE* called *ROME*, situated in that country neere the great sea. But I wonder not that *Heraclides* (who hath writtten so many other fables & lyes) dyd amplify the true newes of the taking of *ROME*, with adding to of his owne deuise, of the *HYPERBORIANS*, & by the great sea. It is a moit true tale, that *Aristotle* the philosopher had certain knowledge it was taken by the *GAVLES*: howbeit he sayeth also it was recovered againe afterwards by one called *Lucius*: where in deede it was, by *Marcus Camillus*, & not by *Lucius*. But all this in manner is spoken by cōiecture. Moreouer, *Brennus* being entred *ROME*, dyd appointe parte of his souldiers to besiege those which were gotten into moit Capitoll. And he with the residue of his armie, marched on towards the market place: where when he saw the aunciēt Senatours set so grauely in their chayers, & spake neuer a word, nor offered once to rise, though they law

Fabius chief
bisshope of
Rome.

Rome taken
of the GAVLES.

Aristotiles testimony
of the taking of
Rome.
The maiestie
of the olde
Senatehouse, see
in the market
place of Rome.

their enemies come armed towards them, neither chaunged countenance, nor culler at all, but leaned softly on their stauies they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing affrayed nor abashed, but looked one vpon another, he maruelously wondred at it. This their so straunge manner at the first dyd so dampe the GAVLES, that for a space they stooode full, and were in doubt to come neere to touche them, fearing least they had beue some goddes: vntill suche time, as one of them went boldly vnto *Marcus Papyrius*, & layed his hand fayer & softly vpon his leg bearde. But *Papyrius* gaue him such a rappe on his pate with his staffe, that he made the bloud runne about his eares. This barbarous beaue was in such a rage with the blowe, that he drue out his sworde, and slewed him. The other fouldiers also killed all the rest afterwarde: and so the GAVLES continued many dayes spoyling and sacking all thinges they founde in the houses, and in the ende dyd fet them all a fyer, and destroyed them euery one, for despite of those that kept the forte of the Capitoll, that would not yeld vpon their summons, but valiantly repulled them when they scaled the walles. For this cause they rased the whole cittie, and put all to the sworde that came in their hands, young and olde, man, woman, and childe. Nowe this siege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very stoutly, vittells beganne to growe scante in the campe of the GAVLES, in so much as they were driuen of force to seeke it abroad without the cittie. Hereupon they deuided them selues, whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitoll: and the rest went a forraging, and spoyling all the champion countrie and villages thereabouts, scattered as it were by bandes & companies, some here, some there, fearing nothing, nor passing vpon watch or warde, they liued in such securitie of their victorie. Howbeit the greatest company amongst them, went by fortune towards the cittie of ARDEA, where *Camillus* dwelt, liuing like a priuate man, meddling with no matters of state from the time of his exile, vntill that present time. But then he beganne not to bebinke him self as a man that was in safety, and might haue escaped the handes of his enemies, but rather fought to deuise and finde out all the meanes he could to subdewe them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, considering that the inhabitants of ARDEA were enough in number to set vpon them, although faynte harted, and cowardly, by reason of the slouth and negligence of their gouernours and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: he beganne to cast out these words amongst the young men. That they should not thinke the ROMAINES misfortune fell vpon them, through the valiantmes of the GAVLES, nor that their calamitie (who had refused good counsaill) had hapened vnto them by any worke or acte of the GAVLES, hauing done nothing for their parte to make them carie awaye the victorie: but that they should thinke, it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes shewe her power. Therefore, that it were nowe a notable and honorable enterprife (although somewhat dangerous) to driue these straungers and barbarous people out of their countrie: considering that the only ende of their victorie was, but to destroye and consume as fire, all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good lusty harte and corage vnto them, he would with opportunitie, and place, assure them the victorie, without any danger. The young men were pleased with these words of life & comfort. Whereupon *Camillus* went to breake the matter alse vnto the magistrats & counsellours: and hauing drawn them by perswasion vnto this enterprife, he armed all that were of age to carie armor, & would not suffer a man to goe out of the cittie, for feare least the enemies (which were not farre off) should haue intelligence of the same. Now after the GAVLES had rone ouer all the chapion countrie, & were loden with all sorts of spoyles, they did encampe them selues negligently in open fields, & neuer charged watch nor warde: but hauing their full cariage of wine layed them down to sleepe, & made no noyse at all in their campe. *Camillus* being aduertised thereof by his seuerall skowtes, caused the ARDEANS with as litle noyse as might be, forthwith to goe out into the fields: & hauing marched somewhat rouidly the distance betwene the cittie, & the cape of the GAVLES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his fouldiers make great shoutes & cries, & the trippets to be sounded on euery side, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the lowde noyse they made, could hardly be made to wake, for they were so deadly dröke. Yet there were some notwithstanding, that for feare to be take tardy, dyd bustle vp at this sodaine noyse: & coming to them selues, fell to their weapons to resist *Ca-*

millus

A *millus*, which were slayne by and by. The rest, & the greatest number of them, laye here & there scattered in the middelt of the field, without any weapon, dead a sleepe, starcke droncke with wine, & were put to the sworde, & neuer strake stroke. Those that fled out of the campe that night (which were but fewe in number) were ouerthrowen also the next day, by the horle men which followed & killed them, as they tooke them straggling here & there in the fieldes. The brute of this victorie was blowne abroad incontinently through all the townes and villages thereabouts, which caused many young men to come & ioyne them selues to *Camillus*: but specially the ROMAINES desired the fame, that had saued the selues in the cittie of VETES, after the battell lost at ALLIA, who made their mones amongst them selues there, saying. O goddes, what a capitaine hath fortune taken from the cittie of ROME? What honour liath the B cittie of ARDEA by the valliantnes and worthy deedes of *Camillus*: and in the meane season, his naturall cittie that brought him forth, is now lost, & vtterly destroyed? We, for lacke of a capitaine to leade vs, are shut vp here within others walles, & doe nothing but suffer ITALLE in the meane space to goe to ruine, & vtter destruction before our eyes. Why then doe we not send to the ARDEANS for our capitaine? or why doe we not arme our selues, to goe vnto him? For he is nowe no more a banished man, nor we poore cittizens: since our cittie is possessed with the forein power, of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counsaill, & sent vnto *Camillus* to beseeche him to be their capitaine, and leade them. But he made answer, he would in no case consent vnto it, vnles they that were besieged in the Capitoll had lawfully first confirmed it by their voyces. For those (sayed he) so long as they remaine within the cittie, doe represent the state & bodie thereof. Therefore if they commaunded him to take this charge vpon him, he would most willingly obey them: if otherwise they misliked of it, that the he would not medle against their good willes & commaundement. They hauing receaued this answer, there was not a ROMANE amongst them, but greatly honored & extolled the wisdom & iustice of *Camillus*. But nowe they knewenot how to make them priue to it, that were besieged in the Capitoll: for they sawe no possibilitie to conuey a messenger to them: considering the enemies were lordes of the cittie, & layed seige to it. Howbeit there was one *Pontius Cominius* amongst the young men (a man of a meane house, but yet desirous of honour & glory) that offered him self very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them which were besieged, for feare least they might be intercepted, & so they should discouer *Camillus* in-
D tention: but putting on an ill fauoured gowne vpon him, he coueyed certen peces of corcke vnder it, & traueling at none dayes kept on his waye without feare, vntill he came to ROME, bringing darke night with him. And because he could not passe ouer the bridge, for that the Barbarous people kept watche vpö it: he wrapped such clothes as he had, about his necke (which were not many, nor heauy) & tooke the riuier, & swimming with these corcks he had brought, at the length he got ouer to the other side where the cittie stooode. Then taking vp those lanes allwayes where he thought the enemies were not, seeing fire, & hearing noyse in other places, he wet to the gate Carmentale, where he found more silence then in other places: on the which side also, the hill of the Capitoll was more stepe and vpright, by reason of the great rocks that were harde to clime vp vpon. But he digged & crept vp so long amongst them, that he got vp
E with great payn vnto the wall of the fortresse, on the which side also the enemy kept no watch: & saluting the watche of the Capitoll, he told them what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them, & brought him to the magistrats that ruled then. Who caused the Senate to assemble presently, vnto whom he told the newes of *Camillus* victorie, which they had not heard of before: & therewith also he dyd declare vnto the, the determination of the ROMAINES fouldiers that were abroad, which was, to make *Camillus* their capitaine & general, & did perswade them also to graüt him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad who the cittizens gaue their consents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitoll, consulted thereupon amongst them selues, & so did chuse *Camillus Dictator*, & returned the messenger *Pontius Cominius* backe againe, the self same waye he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe, was
F like vnto his coming thither: for the enemies neuer sawe him. And so he brought report vnto that that were abroad, of the Senates decree & consent, whereof they all were maruelous glad. Thus came *Camillus* to take this charge of generall vpon him, & found there were twety thou-

Camillus shew
the Gauls
had a by-
strata.

*Pontius Comi-
nius* got vp
into the Capit-
oll at Rome.

Camillus chos-
sen Dictator
the second
time.

The cittie of
Rome raised
by the Gauls.

The cittie of
Ardea.

Camillus
wordes vnto
the Ardeans
in excuse of
the Romaines.

Camillus per-
suadeth the
Ardeans to
take armes a-
gainst the
Gauls.

land good fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further ayde also of their allies and confederates, and prepared daylie to goe and set vpon the enemies. So was *Camillus* chosen now *Dictator* the seconde time, and went vnto the citie of *Vies*, where he spake with the *ROMAINE* souldiers that were there, and leauied a great number of the allies besides, to goe fight with the enemies as sone as he could. But whilest *Camillus* was thus a preparing, certain of the Barbarous people in *ROME*, walking out by chaunce on that side of the Capitoll where *Pontius Cominius* had gotten vp the night before: spied in diuers places the printes of his fete and hands, as he had griped & gotten holde, still digging to get vp, & sawe the weedes and erbes also growing vpon the rocks, & the earth in like manner, flat troden down. Whereupon they went presently vnto the King, to let him vnderstande the same: who forthwith came to vewe the place. And hauing considered it well, he dyd nothing at that time: but when darke night was come, he called a companie of the lightest *GAVLES* together, and that vnto most to digge in mountaines, & layed vnto them. Our enemies them selues doe shew vs the waye how to take them, which we could not haue founde out but by them selues. For they hauing gone vp before vs, doe geue vs easly to vnderstande, it is no impossible thing for vs to clime vp also. Wherefore, we were vtterly shamed, hauing already begone well, if we should sayle also to end well: & to leaue this place as vnuincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to clime vp to the height thereof: much lesse is it harde for many to get vp one after another, so that one doe helpe another. Therefore *Syr*, I assure you, those that doe take paynes to get vp, shalbe honorably rewarded, according to their iust deserte. When the King had spoken theie wordes vnto the *GAVLES*, they fell to it lustely euery man to get vp: & about midnight, they beganne many of them to digge, & make steepps vp to the rocke one after another, as softly as could possibly, with catching holde the best they could, by the hāging of the rocke, which they found very steepe, but neuertheles easier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the foremost of them being come to the toppe of the rocke, were now ready to take the walle, & to set vpon the watche that slept: for there was neither man nor dogge that heard them. It chanced then there were holy gese kept in the temple of *Iuno*, which at other times were wont to be fedd till their croppes were full: but vitrells being very straite, & scante at that time euen to finde the men, the poore gese were so hard handled, & so little regarded, that they were in manner starued for lacke of meate. This fowle in dedde naturally is very quicke of hearing, & so is she also very fearefull by nature: & being in manner famished with their harde allowance, they were so much the more waking, & easier to be afrayed. Vpō this occasion therfore, they heard the cōming of the *GAVLES*, & also beganne to ronne vp & downe & crie for feare: with which noyse they did wake those that were within the castell. The *GAVLES* being bewrayed by these foolishe gese, left their stealing vpon them, & came in with all the open noyse & terrour they could. The *ROMAINE*s hearing this larum, euery man tooke such weapon as came first to his hand, & they ranne sodainly to rescue that place from whence they vnderstoode the noyse: among those, the foremost man of all was *Marcus Manlius*, a man that had bene Cōsul, who had a lusty bodye, & as stowte a harte. His happe being to mete with two of the *GAVLES* together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knocke him on the head, he preuēted him, & strake of his hand with his sword, and clapt his target on the others face so fiercelly, that he threwe him backward down the rocke: & cōming afterwards vnto the walle with others that ranne thither with him, he repulsed the rest of the *GAVLES* that were gotten vp, who were not many in number, neither did any great acte. Thus the *ROMAINE*s hauing escaped this daunger, the next morning they threw the captaine heddlong down the rocks from the castell, who had charge of the watche the night before: & gaue *Manlius* in recompence of the good seruice he had done, a more honorable then profitable rewarde, which was this. Euery man of them gaue him halfe a pound of the country wheate, which they call *Far*, and the fourth parte of the measure of wine, which the *GRECIA*ns call *Cotile*: and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of euery man by the daye. After this repulse, the *GAVLES* beganne to be discouraged, partly for that their vitallies sayled them, and durst no more forage abroad in the fieldes for feare of *Camillus*: and partly also for that the plague came amongst them, being lodged amongst heapes of dead bodies, lying in euery place about ground without buriall,

The *Gauls* clime vp to the Capitoll in the night.

The hol' gese feared the *Gauls*.

Marcus Manlius resuēted the *Gauls* from the Capitoll.

The *Gauls* vexed with the plague at *Rome*.

A and amongst burnt houfes destroyed, where the ashes being blown very high by the winde & vehemēcy of heate, dyd geue a drie persing ayer, that dyd inuariously poylon their bodies when they came to drawe in the breathe of it. But the greatest cause of all their mischief was, the change of their wonted dyer. Who coming out of a frethe cōuntry, where there were excellent pleasaunt places to retire vnto, to auoyde the discommoditie of the parching heate of the sommer, were now in a naughty plaine cōuntry for them to remaine in, in the latter season of the yere. All these things together dyd heape diseases vpon them, besides the long continuance of the sieg about the Capitoll (for it was then about the seventh moneth) by reason whereof there grewe a maruelous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that dyed daylie, and laye vnburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the *GAVLES*, the poore besieged *ROMAINE*s were nothing holpen the more, the famine still dyd growe so fast vpon them. And bicause they could heare nothing of *Camillus*, they were grown almost vnto a despair: and send vnto him they could not, the *GAVLES* kept so straight watche vpon them in the citie. Whereupon both parties finding them selues in harde state, first the watche of either side beganne to cast out wordes of peace amongst them selues: and afterwards by cōsent of the heades, *Sulpitius*, Tribune of the souldiers, came to parle with *Brennus*. In which parle it was articulated: that the *ROMAINE*s should paye a thousand pounce weight of golde, and that the *GAVLES* should incontinently after the receipt of the same, departe out of their citie, and all their territories. This decree being passed by othe from both, the golde was brought. And whē it came to be weyed, the *GAVLES* at the first priuely begane to deale falsely with them: but afterwards they openly stayed the ballance, and would not let them weye no more, whereat the *ROMAINE*s beganne to be angrie with them. Then *Brennus*, in scorn & mockery, to despight them more, plucked of his sworde, girdell and all, and put it into the ballance where the golde was wayed. *Sulpitius* seeing that: asked him what he ment by it: *Brennus* answered him: what canne it signifie els, but sorrowe to the vanquished. This worde euer after ranne as a common prouerbe in the peoples mouthes. Some of the *ROMAINE*s tooke this vile parte of theirs in such scorn, that they would needes take the gold from them againe by force, and so returne into their holde, to abide the sieg still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it best with patience to put vp this scorn of theirs, and not to thincke it was a shame to paye more then they had promised: but only to paye it by cōpulsion as they dyd, by misfortune of time, was to thincke it rather necessary, then honorable. And as they were debating the matter thus, as well amongst them selues, as with the *GAVLES*: *Camillus* came to *ROME* gates with his armie, and vnderstanding all what had passed betwene them, he commaunded the rest of the army to marche fayer and softly after him in good order, and he in the meane season with the best choyse men he had, went before with all speede. As sone as the other *ROMAINE*s within the citie had spied him, they shewed out for ioye, and receaued him euery one with great reuerence, without any more wordes, as their foueraigne captaine and prince, who had power ouer them all. And *Camillus* taking the golde out of the skales, gaue it vnto his men, and commaunded the *GAVLES* presently to take vp their skales, and to get them going: for, sayeth he, it is not the *ROMAINE*s manner to keepe their cōuntry with golde, but with the sworde. Then *Brennus* beganne to be hotte, and tolde him it was not honorably done of him, to breake the accorde that had passed betwene them before by othe. Whereunto *Camillus* stowtly answered him againe, that accorde was of no validitie. For he being created *Dictator* before, all other officers and magistrates whatsoeuer, & their actes, by his election were made of no authoritie: and seeing therefore they had delte with men, that had no power of them selues to accorde to any matter, they were to speake to him, if they required ought. For he alone had absolute authoritie to pardon them if they repented, and would aske it: or els to punish them, and make their bodies answer the damages and losse his cuntry had by them susteyned. These wordes made *Brennus* madde as a march hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their swordes of all sides, and layed lustely one at an other as they could, within the houfes, and in open streetes, where they could set no battell in order. But *Brennus* sodainly remembering him selfe that it was no euen matche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had lost many of

The *Romaines* went about to redeme their liberties of the *Gauls* with golde.

Camillus came to *Rome* with his army.

Camillus speaketh sweetly to *Brennus* King of the *Gauls*.

his people. The next night following, he departed out of ROME with all his army, and went to encamp him self about a three score furlong from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the citie of the GABIANs. *Camillus* with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediately, & shewed at his campe by the breake of daye. The ROMAINES hauing taken hate againe vnto them, dyd lustily geue them battell: the same continued longe, very cruell and doubtfull, vntill the GAVLES at the length were ouerthrowen, and their campe taken with great slaughter. As for those that dyd escape the furie of the battell, they were killed, some by the ROMAINES felues, who hottely followed the chase after the battell broken: the residue of them, and the greatest parte, were slaine by those of the cities and villages neere abouts, that dyd set vpon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the citie of ROME straungely againe recovered, that was before straungely wonne and lost, after it had continued seuen moneths in the hands of the barbarous people. For they entred ROME about the fiftenth daye of Iuly: and they were driuen out againe, about the thirteenth daye of Februarye following. So *Camillus* triumphed as befecmed him, and as one that had faued and deliuered his countrie out of the hands of their enemies, and set ROME againe at libertie. Those that had bene abroade all the time of this siege, came into ROME againe, following his triumphing charret: and those that had bene besieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to haue dyed by famin) went and presented them selues before him, and eche one embraced other in weeping wise for ioye. The priestes and ministers of the temples also, presented their holy iuells, whole and vndefaced, which some of them had buried in the ground within the citie selfe: and others some had caried away with them, when they fled out of ROME. All these the people dyd as gladly see, as if the goddes them selues had returned home againe into their citie. After they had sacrificed vnto the goddes, and rendred them most humble thanks, and had purged their citie, as they had bene taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the goddes: *Camillus* beganne againe to buylde vp the temples that were there before, harde by the which he buyle another newe one also to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where *Marcus Ceditius* heard the voyce warne him of the coming of the GAVLES. So by *Camillus* good diligence, and the priestes great paynes and travail, the situations of these temples were with muche a doe founde out againe. But when they were to buylde againe all the rest of the citie, that was wholly burnt, and destroyed to the ground: the people had no minde to it, but euer shrinked backe, to put any hande to the worcke, for that they lacked all things necessarie to beginne the same. Furthermore, waying their late and long suiteined trouble and miseries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to beginne newe labour and toyle, to kill their hartes and bodies altogether. For neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reache to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their mindes to dwell in the citie of VEIES, which remained whole, untouched, and furnished of all things to receaue them: they deliuered to the prating Orators (whose tongues dyd neuer cease to speake *placencia* to the people) trimme occasion to set this matter abroache. So they gaue good eare, and were willing to heare certain feditious wordes spoken against *Camillus*, which were these. That for his priuate ambition he would deprime them of a citie well furnished already, and would against their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houses, wholly burnt and pulled downe. And moreover, he would make them to rayse vp againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the ende the people might call him, not only capitaine and generall of the ROMAINES, but the founder of ROME also, & so drowne *Romulus* honorable title thereof. The Senate considering of this matter, & fearing some tumulte among the people: they would not suffer *Camillus* to leaue his Dictator (ship before the ende of the yere, notwithstanding no man cuer enioyed that office above fixe moneths. Then *Camillus* for his parte dyd much endeuour him selfe, to comforte & appease the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and further pointed with his finger vnto the graues of their auncesters, and put them in minde also of the holy places dedicated to the goddes, and sanctified by king *Numa*, or by *Romulus*, or by other Kings. But amongst many other tokens drawen out of holy and diuine things, he forgate not to bring for example, the heade of a man founde newe and frethe, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as if that

Camillus overtook the army of the Gabians.

Rome was 7. months in the hands of the Gabians. Camillus surprised the Gabians.

The hyde headed Orators fire the people to tumulte against Camillus.

Camillus Dismissed the people, and persuaded the people what he could to dwell in Rome, and to leave Veies.

A if that place by fall destiny had bene once chosen to be the heade and chief of all ITALIE. And moreover, that the holy fyer of the goddesse *Veita* (which fence the warres had bene kindled againe by the holy *Veitall Nunnes*) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forsake their naturall citie, besides the great shame and dishonour it would be vnto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by vnknowe straungers, or els to be left a common field and pasture, for beastes and cattell to graze in. Such sorrowfull examples and griefes, the honest naturall borne citizens, dyd euer blowe into the peoples eares, as well priuately, as openly. The people againe to the contrary, dyd make their hartes to yerne for pittie, when they layed before their eyes their penurie, and pouertie they suiteined: and besought them also not to enforce them to gather and ioine together againe the broken peces of a spoyled citie (as B of a shippewracke that had cast them naked into the sea, hauing only faued bare life and persones) fence that they had another citie neere at hande and ready to receaue them. So *Camillus* counsell was, that the Senate should consulte vpon this matter, and deliuer their absolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this counsell, he him self brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leaue in any case, the place of their naturall birth and country: and so dyd many other Senators in like case, fauoring that opinion. Last of all, after these persuations, he commaunded *Lucius Lucretius* (whose manner was to speake first in such assemblies) that he should stand vp and deliuer his opinion, & that the rest also in order as they sat, should saye their mindes. So euery man keeping silence, as *Lucretius* was ready to speake, at that present time there passed by their counsaill house, a captaine with his bade that warded C that daye, who spake alowde to his ensigne bearer that went formeit, to staye, and set downe his ensigne there: for, sayed he, here is a very good place for vs to warde in. These wordes being heard vp into the Senate house, euen as they stood all in a doubt & maze what would be the resolution of this matter: *Lucretius* beganne to saye, that he most humbly thancked the goddes, and allowed of the captaines iudgment, and so euery one of the rest in their order, sayed as much. Moreover there was a wonderful change and alteration of minde suddenly among the common people: for euery man dyd persuaide & encourage his fellowe liuely to put his hand to this worke. In so much as taryng for no diuision or appointing out of streetes, nor setting out euery man his place he should builde in: they fell to worke of all handes, euery one choosing that place he liked best, & was most comodious for their building, without any other D order or diuision amongst them. Whereupon, they running to this building on a head, the streetes were cōfused on heapes together, & their houses all built out of order & vnformitie. For the reporte goeth, that the whole citie (as well cōmon as priuate buildings) was built vp newe againe in a yere. But the surueyors, to whom *Camillus* had geuen charge to finde out all the holy places where the temples had bene ouerthrowen: as they went about mount *Pallatine*, they came by chance to the place, where the chappell of *Mars* had stood, which the GAVLES had wholly burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making cleane the place, and surueying euery corner, dyd finde by chance *Romulus* augures crooked staffe hidden vnder a great mount of ashes. This staffe is crooked at one of the endes, and they call it *Litus*, which soothsayers doe vse to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will E beholde the flying of birdes to teller of things to come. *Romulus* that was very skillfull in this arte, dyd vse this staffe: and after he was taken awaye from all mens sights, the priests tooke it, and kept it as a holy relicke, suffering no creature to laye hands on it. Nowe they founde this staffe whole and vnbroken, where all things els were consumed and perished by fire, they were in a marvelous ioye thereat. For they interpreted this to be a signe, of the euerlasting continuance of the citie of ROME. But before they could make an ende of all their building, there grewe a newe warre againe vpon them. For at one very instante, all the AQUES, the VOLSCES, and the LATINES, entred with all their might and mayne into the territories of the ROMAINES. The THYSCANS also went then and besieged SVTRIVM, that was in league & amitie with the ROMAINES. The Tribuni militares got them straight to the field with their F armie, and encamped about mount *Martian*. The LATINES besieged them so straightly, that their army stood in great danger to be ouerthrowen, & they were driuen to sende to ROME for a newe supplie. Thereupon the ROMAINES dyd choose *Camillus Dictator* againe the third

Rome is built againe.

Rome was newe built againe in a yere.

Romulus augures staffe founde hole after Rome was burnt.

Camillus chosen Dictator the third time.

time. The occasion of this warre is reported two manner of wayes: whereof I will declare the A first, which I doe conceyue to be but a tale. They say the LATINES sent vnto the ROMAINES, to demaunde some of their free maydes in mariage: which they dyd either to make a quarell of warre, or els as desirous in deede, to ioyne both the peoples againe by newe mariages. The ROMAINES were amafed very much at this, and fore troubled, as not knowing howe to aun-
 swer them, they were so affrayed of warres. For they were yet scante newe settled at home, and
 dreaded much left this demaunde of their daughters, was but a summons made to geue them
 hostages, which they finely cloyed vnder the name of alliance in mariage. Some saye that there
 was at that time a bonde mayde called *Tutola*, or as some saye, *Philotis*, that went vnto the Se-
 nate, and counseiled them they should sende her away with some other fayer maydes slaues, B
 dressed vp like gentlewomen, & then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this deuise, and
 chose such a number of bonde maydes as she desired to haue, & trimming them vp in fine
 apparell, begawed with chaines of golde and iuells, they sent them forth to the LATINES,
 who were encamped not farre from the citie. VVhen night was come, the other maydes hyd
 their enemies [swords]. But this *Tutola*, or *Philotis* (call her as you will) dyd clime vp to the topp
 of a wilde figge tree, from which she shewed a burning torch vnto the ROMAINES, hauing
 made thiste to hange somewhat behinde her, to keepe the light from sight of the enemies. For
 this signall the Senate of ROME had secretly appointed her to set vp, which was the cause that
 the issuing out of the souldiers being commaunded to goe out in the night, was full of trouble
 and tumulte. For being pressed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was great
 a doe to put them into order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies sleeping, who
 nothing mistrusting the same, were slaine the most parte of them within their cape. This was
 done on the fifte day of the moneth called then *Quintilis*, & now is named *Iulycat* which time
 they doe yet celebrate a certaine feast in remembrance of that acte. For first of all, going out
 of the citie, they call allowde many of their fellowes names which are most common: as *Caius*,
Marcus, and *Lucius*, shewing thereby howe one of them called another after that sorte, as they
 went in great haue out of the citie. Afterwardes all the mayde seruantes of the citie being
 trimmely apparellled, goe playing vp and downe the towne, pleasauntly ieastring with those
 they mete: and in the ende they make as though they fought together, in token that they
 dyd helpe the ROMAINES at that time to destroye the LATINES. Then they are feasted, sit-
 ting vnder bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feaste daye is called, *None* D
Capratine, by reason of the wilde figge tree (as some thincke) from the topp whereof, the
 bonde mayde shewed to the ROMAINES the burning torch. For the ROMAINES call the
 wilde figge tree, *Caprificus*. Other saye, that all these things are done and spoken, in remem-
 brance of the mischaunce that happened vnto *Romulus*, when he was taken out of their fight, the
 same day without the gates of the city, at which time there rose a sodain miste & darke clowd.
 Or as some other saye, that then was the eclipse of the sunne: and they holde opinion that the
 day was named *None Capratine*, because *Capra* in the ROMAIN toge, signifieth a goate. *Romu-*
lus vanished out of mens sightes, as he was making an oration vnto his people, neere vnto the
 place which is called goate marthe, as we haue mentioned more at large in his life. The 2. oc-
 casion & beginning of this warre (according to the opinion of most writers) was, that *Camillus* E
 being chosen *Dictator* the third time, & knowing that the *Trib. militares* with their army were
 straightly besieged by the LATINES, and *Volscs*: he was enforced to arme all the old men,
 who for very age were priuiledged from further seruice in warres. And hauing fetched a great
 copasse about mount *Martian*, because he would not be scene of his enemies, he came to lodge
 his campe behind them, where he raised fiers, to make the ROMAINES knowe that were besieged,
 how he was come which as sone as they perceiued, they tooke to the corage againe, & deter-
 mined to fight. But the LATINES & *Volscs* kept within their cape, & dyd entrench & for-
 tifie the selues with a wall of wodd, which they layed a crosse, because they saw they were beset
 both before & behind: & determined to tary the releefe of a new supply, as well of their owne,
 as of some further ayde besides fro the *Thvscans*, which thing *Camillus* pceaung, & fearing F
 least they should serue him, as he had already halded the by copassing of him againe behind: he
 thought it necessary to preuent this. So considering the inclosure & fortificatio of their cape was
 all

*Tutola, or
Philotis craft
or subtiltie.*

*Rome deliuer-
red from warre
by Tutola the
bondmayde.*

*The mayden
seate, called
None Capra-
tine.*

A all of wodde, and that euery morning commonly, there came a great winde from the side of
 the mountains, he made prouision of a number of fire brandes. And leading out his armie
 into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one parte of them to geue charge vpon the ene-
 mies on the one side, with great noyse and shewing: and he with the other parte determined
 to rayle fier on the contrary side, from whence the winde should come, looking for oportunitie
 to doe the same. VVhen he sawe the sunne vp, and the winde beginning to whistle, blowing a
 good gale from the side of the hilles, & that the skirmish was begonne on the other side: then
 he gaue a signall vnto the companie he led with him, to set vpon the enemies, and made them
 throwe into the inclosure of their campe, diuers potts & darts with fire, so that the flame find-
 ing matter to catche holde of, in this inclosure of wodde, & trees layed ouerthwart, dyd raise
 B straight an exceeding great flame in the ayer, & still got waye inwards into the LATINES cape.
 Whereupon the LATINES being vnprovidid of present remedy to quenche the flame, and
 seeing their campe a fyre all about their eares: they gathered them selues together at the first
 in a very small roome. Neuertheles, they were enforced in the ende to get them into the field,
 & there they founde their enemies ready armed, & in battell raze. So as fewe of those escaped
 that came into the field, & their fellowes that remained within their cape, were burnt to death
 with fyre, vntill the ROMAINES them selues came to quench it for greedines of their spoyle &
 goodes. When all this was done, *Camillus* left his sonne in the campe, to keepe the prisoners &
 Ipyoles: & he him self, with the rest of the armie, went to inuade his enemies contrie, where he
 tooke the citie of *Boys*. Then after he had overcome the *Volscs*, he led his army pre-
 sently from thence vnto the citie of *Svtrivm*. For he had not yet harde of their misfortune.
 C Therefore he halted him self to ayde them, because he thought they were yet besieged by the
Thvscans. But siche was their harde fortune, that they had already yielded vp their citie by
 composition, & saued no parte of their goodes, but the very clothes they had on their backs.
 So being turned out of all they had, they met *Camillus* by the waye as they were wandring a-
 broad, lamenting their miserie, with their wiues & little young children: whose miserie went
 to the very harte of *Camillus*, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he sawe
 the ROMAINES weepe for pittie also, to see the mone that these vnfortunate people made
 vnto him, and that it greued them hartly to beholde their great mischaunce: he determined
 with him self not to deferre reuenge, but presently to goe the selfe same daye before the citie
 D of *Svtrivm*, imagining that he should finde the *Thvscans* out of order, without keeping
 watch, & attending nothing but making good cheere, because they had newly taken a wealthy
 riche citie, where they had left neuer an enemy in the same to hurte them, neither feared any
 abroad to come neere to assaulte them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he gesied. For he had
 not only passed through the territories of the citie, without any intelligence geuen to the
 enemies within the same: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walles, before
 they hard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept watch nor warde, but were dis-
 persed abroad in the citie, in euery house, eating and drincking droncke together. Insomuch
 as when they knew their enemies were already within the citie, they were so full fraight with
 meate & wine, that the most of their wittes serued them not so much as to flye, but stard vn-
 E till they were slaine or taken, like beastes in the houses. Thus was the citie of *Svtrivm* twise
 taken in one daye. And it chaunced that those which had wonne it, lost it: & those which had
 lost it, recouered it againe by *Camillus* meanes. Who deserued both the honour and entrie
 of triumphe into ROME: the which wanne him no lesse good will and glorie, then the two first
 before had done prayse, and gotten fame. For euen his greatest enemies that most spighted
 and enuied his former noble actes, ascribing them rather to fortune that fauored him, then
 to his valliantnes or worthines: were forced now by this deede of his to confesse, that his
 wisdomed and valliantnes deserued prayse and commendation to the skyes. *Camillus* of all
 his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was *Marcus Manlius*, that was the first man
 that gaue the *Gayles* the repulse that night they had entered the walles of the Capitoll.
 F And had thought to haue taken it: whereupon they gaue him the surname of *Capitolinus*. He
 aspiring to be the chief of the citie, & finding no direct waye to exceede the glory of *Camil-*
lus, tooke the broad high waye of them that practise tyrannie. For he beganne, to flatter
 O iij

*Camillus free
raging at
gaining the
same and
Volsces.*

*Camillus free
the Latines.*

*Camillus
took the ci-
tie of Aeger.*

*Camillus
wonne the ci-
tie of Svtrivm.*

*Marcus Ma-
nlius Capito-
linus manly
sedition.*

Flattery and hypocrite winneth the multitude of common people.

Manlius chose in prison by Q. Capitolinus Dictator.

Camillus chosen againe Tribune militaris.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus put to death.

Lucius Furius sent by the Praenestines and Volscians, and was overthrown.

the common people, and specially those that were indebted: he tooke vpon him to defende A their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debtors out of the creditours handes and caried them away by force, that for lacke of abilitie to paye, were by rigour of the lawe condemned to be bonde slaues. But by this practise, in shorte time he gotte him a maruelous number of suche needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honest citizens were affrayed of the insolent partes they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumultes they daylie stirred vp in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they dyd choole **Quintus Capitolinus Dictator**: who caused the sayed **Manlius** immediately to be apprehended, and committed him to prison. Whereupon the people beganne to change their apparell: which they were neuer wont to doe, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing least some cōmōtion would rise hereupon, they dyd set him at libertie againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wiser thereby, but dyd still stirre vp the commons, more boldly and sediciously, then before. Then was **Camillus** chosen againe **Tribunus militaris**, and **Manlius** was accused in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the sight of the Capitoll troubled his accusers much. For the very place it selfe where **Manlius** had repulsed the **GAYLES** by night, and defended the Capitoll, was easely seene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he him selfe pointing with his hande, shewed the place vnto the goddes, and weeping tenderly he layed before them the remembrance of the hazarde of his life, in fighting for their safety. This dyd moue the iudges hartes to pittie, so as they knew not what to doe, but many times they dyd put ouer the hearing of his case vnto another daye, and neither would they geue iudgement, knowing he was conuicted by manifest proofes: neither could they vse the seueritie of the lawe vpon him, because the place of his so notable good seruice was euer still before their eyes. Wherefore **Camillus** finding the cause of delaye of iustice, dyd make the place of iudgement to be removed without the citie, into a place called the wodde **Petilian**, from whence they could not see the Capitoll. And there the accusers gaue apparent euidence against him: and the iudges considering all his wicked practises, concealed a iust cause to punishe him, as he had defused. So they gaue sentence of death against him: that he should be caried to the mount Capitoll, and there to be thrown downe hedlonge the rockes thereof. Thus, one, and the selfe place was a memory of his notable good seruice, and also a memoriall of his miserable and vnfortunate end. Besides all this, D they rased his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddesse they call **Moneta**: and made a lawe also, that no **Patrician** from thenceforth should dwell any more in the mount Capitoll. **Camillus** after this, being called againe to take the office of **Tribunus militaris** the first time: he sought to excuse him selfe aswell for that he sawe he was well stepe in yeres, as also for that he feared fortunes spight, or some mishap, after he had obtained such glorie for his noble actes and seruice. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sicknes, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allowe no excuse by any means, but cried out, they dyd not desire he should fight a foote nor a horse backe, but that he should only geue counsaile, and commaunde: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named **Lucius Furius**, against E their enemies the **PRÆNESTINES**, and the **VOLSCES**, who ioyning together, dyd invade the confines of the **ROMAINE** friends. So he led his army out immediately to the field, and camped as neere the enemy as he could: being minded for his parte to drawe the warres out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if neede required) when he had recouered strength. But **Furius** contrarie coueting glorie, was wholly bent to hazarde the battell, whatsoeuer perill came of it: and to this ende he stirred vp, and incorage the capitaines of euerie priuate bande. Wherefore **Camillus** fearing lest they should thinke, for ill will he bare the young men, that he went about to hinder and take awaye the means to winne their honour, and to doe some noble acte: suffered **Furius** against his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane season by reason of his sicknes, remained with a fewe about him in the campe. So F went **Lucius** vpon a head to present battell to the enemy, & so was he as headlie also overthrown. But **Camillus** hearing the **ROMAINE** were overthrowen: sicke as he was vpon his bedde,

A bedde, got vp, and taking his householde seruantes with him, he went in haste to the gates of the campe, and passed through those that fled, vntill he came to meete with the enemies that had them in chafe. The **ROMAINE** seeing this that were already entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they sawe him, they gathered together, and put them selues againe in arraye before him, and perswaded one another not to forsake their captaine. So their enemies hereupon stayed their chasing, and would pursue no further that daye. But the next morning, **Camillus** leading his armie into the fildes, gaue them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victorie hard, he entred amongst them that fled into their campe pelmele, or hand over head, and slue the most parte of them euen there. After this victorie, he was aduertised howe the B **THYSCANS** had taken the citie of **SVTRIVM**, and had put to the sword all the inhabitants of the same, which were the **ROMAINE** citizens. Whereupon he sent to **Rome** the greatest parte of his army, and keeping with him the lightest and lustiest men, went and gaue assault vnto the **THYSCANS**, that now were harbored in the citie of **SVTRIVM**. Which when he had wonne againe, he slue parte of them, and the other saued them selues by flight. After this, he returned to **Rome** with an exceeding spoyle, confirming by experience, the wisdom of the **ROMAINE**, who dyd not feare the age nor sicknes of a good captaine that was experte and valliant: but had chosen him against his will, though he was both olde and sicke, and preferred him farre before the younger and lustier that made sute to haue the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the **THYSCVLIANS** were reuolted, they sent **Camillus** C thither againe, willing him of five other companions to take out one he liked best, euery of the which desired to be chosen, and made their sute vnto him for the same. But he refusing all other, dyd chose againe **Lucius Furius** beyonde all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needed would against his will hazarde battell, in which he was ouerthrowen. Howbeit **Camillus**, hauing a desire (as I thincke) to hyde his faulte and shame he had receaued: dyd of curtesie preferre him before all other. Nowe the **THYSCVLIANS** hearing of **Camillus** coming against them, greatly sought to culler the faulte they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a fubtil number of people into the fildes, some to plowe, other to keepe the beastes, as if they had bene in best peace: and dyd set the gates of the citie wide open, sent their children openly to schoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their shoppes, D the men of hauour & honest citizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, & the officers and gouernours of the citie went vp and downe to euery house, commanding them to prepare lodgings for the **ROMAINE**, as if they had stode in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no faulte. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make **Camillus** beleue, but that they had an intent to rebell against the **ROMAINE**: yet they made **Camillus** pittie them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to **Rome** to the Senate, to craue pardone of their faulte: and he him selfe dyd helpe them, not only to purge their citie of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the priuledge and freedome of **Rome**. And these be the chiefest acts **Camillus** dyd in the first time of his tribuneshippe. After this, one **Licinius Stolo** moued great sedition in the citie, betwene E the common people, and the Senate. For he would in any case that of the two Consuls, which were chosen yerely, the one of them should be a commoner, and not that both of them should be of the auncient noble families, called **Patricians**. The Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the election of the Consuls, the people stayed: so that the common wealth went to decaye, and declined to greater troubles, then euer it dyd before, for lacke of gouernment. But to suppress this, the Senate created **Camillus** the fourth time **Dictator**: but this was fore against his will, because it misliked the people much. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they hauing serued vnder him in many warres and battells, might boldly and truly saye vnto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the warres, then he had done by the **Patricians** in peace: Yet was he created **Dictator** in despight, to rule the people, F and of enuie in the noble men towards them. Thus needesse dyd vrge him, either by force to suppress the people, if he were the stronger in this dissention: or els that he him self should be suppressed, if he became the weaker. **Camillus** notwithstanding, preparing to preuent this

Camillus name the fildes of the Praenestines and Volscians.

Camillus slue the Thuscians at Suurium.

Camillus sent againe against the Thuscians.

The craft of the Thuscians.

Gracius seditione in Roma by Licinius Stolo.

Camillus created Dictator the fourth time.

mischiefe, and knowing the daye the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the passing of their lawe by voyces of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations set vpon postes, that the same very daye he would muster the people, and all was but to drawe them from the market place into the field of *Mars*, and dyd set great penalties vpon those that should be lacking at the musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrarie parte, dyd withstande his threats, and sware they would condemne *Camillus* selfe in fiftie thousand Drachmas of siluer, if he dyd not let the people alone, but would goe about to disturbe them for geuing their voyces to such lawe, as they liked of. *Camillus* perceiving this, and fearing to be condemned, and banished once againe, which would fall out very ill for him, being nowe an olde man, and one that had done so many great and notable actes, or els for that he thought him selfe not strong enough to withstande the force of the people: he kept his house that daye, sayning him selfe to be sicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in the ende he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another *Dictator*, who named the same *Licinius Stolo* general of the horse men, that was the author and furtherer of all this sedition: and besides dyd suffer him to preferre another lawe, and to passe it by voyces of the people, that aboute all other lawes, dyd most trouble the *Patricians*. Which lawe dyd forbid any citizen of *ROME*, to haue, or occupie aboue fise hundred iugera, which amount to 330. acres and a halfe, 12. pole, and 121. partes of a pole. Then was this *Stolo* alofte, and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despite of the Senate established this law. Howbeit shortly after it was found out, that him selfe had more number of acres then his owne lawe permitted. By reason whereof, he receaued the iuste punishment of his owne default for forfeiture. Yet the most weightie matter of all this diffention that beganne first, and most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Consuls, remained still vndertermined. But while these matters were thus in talke, the *ROMAINES* had certen intelligence, howe the *GAVLES* were departed once againe from the Adriaticke sea, and were coming with a great power straight vnto *ROME*: vpon reporte of which newes, the warres followed immediately. For the *GAVLES* destroyed the champion country as they went: and the poore country men that could not recouer *ROME*, were scattered here and there amongst the mountaines. The feare of this dyd somewhat appease the diffention. The people then assembling with the Senate, and the baser sorte with the noble, dyd all with one voyce and assent chuse *Camillus Dictator* the fiftie time. He was nowe a very olde man, lacking litle of foure score yeres; but neuertheles, considering the necessitie and present daunger, without framing any excuse, or starting as he had before, he vnderooke the charge. Nowe that he had taken it vpon him, he presently leued men, and prepared his army. And knowing very well howe the fiercenes of these barbarous *GAVLES* consisted, in downe right blowes with their swordes, with which they would strike of heades and shoulers of men at a blowe, mangling them like bouchers, without any cast or skylle of fight: he caused iron fallattes, and morians to be made for the most of his men, as smoothly wrought on the out side as could be, that their swordes lighting on them, should either slyde of, or breake. Moreouer, he caused their sheldes to haue barres made about them of copper, bicause the wodde selfe was not able to abide their blowes. Furthermore, he dyd teache his souldiers to cary long iaelines or punction staues, where they might wounde their enemies lifting vp their swordes to strike them. Nowe when the *GAVLES* were come neere *ROME*, hauing pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Anian*, and being full loden and stuffed with all kindes of spoyle and booties: then *Camillus* brought his armie also into the fildes, and went to lodge on a litle hill which was easie to get vpon, where there were many litle caues, so that the most of his army was all hidden and couered, and those that were seene, seemed to be retired thither into those highe places for an aduantage, and of feare. *Camillus* to increase this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder: dyd suffer them to come and spoyle euen to the foote of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept him selfe quiet in his campe and well fortified. Vntill such time as he spied occasion of aduantage, that the best parte of their army were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the fildes: and those which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drincking, as they vsed carelesly at all howres. Then *Ca-*

Licinius Stolo made a lawe for enioying of landes.

Stolo the first offender of the same law.

The Gauls came againe to Rome.

Camillus chosen Dictator the 5. time.

Howe Camillus appointed his souldiers with armour & weapon to fight with aduantage against the Gauls.

Anian.

Camillus sent very early before daye, his lightest armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in coming out of their campe, and to let them in any case from putting their men in order of battell: and he at the breake of daye, came downe into the plaine, and dyd set his other men being well armed, in good arraye, which were a great number, and lustie fellows, and were not as the barbarous people thought, fewe, and fearefull. This at the very first discouraged the hartes of the *GAVLES* maruelously, bicause they thought them selues dishonored, that the *ROMAINES* should charge vpon them first. Afterwardes also *Camillus* vanguard dyd set vpon the *GAVLES*, and that on a sodaine, before they had leysure to put them selues in battell, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chaunce. In the ende also *Camillus* came vpon the neckes of them, with all his whole force, and army together: against whom they ranne notwithstanding, holding vp their naked swordes alofte in their hands. But the *ROMAINES* thrusting with their armed iaelines, receaued their enemies blowes vpon them, and thereby so rebated the edges of their swordes (their blades being very sharpe and thinne grounde, and of so softe a temper) that they bowed againe, and stoode crooked vnreasonably: and furthermore, hauing peried their shields through with their punching staues, the *GAVLES* armes were so cloged and wearied with them, the *ROMAINES* plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their swordes and shields, and flying in, closed with the *ROMAINES*, and caught holde of their iaelines, thincking by plaine force to haue wrested them out of their hands. Howbeit they perceiving then the *GAVLES* were naked, fell straight to their swordes: and so was the slaughter of their first rankes very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all about the plaine: bicause *Camillus* had caused all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither dyd they retire towards their campe, for that it was vnfortified, and also knewe well enough it would be easely taken. This battell (as they saye) was thirtene yeres after their taking of *ROME* before. But after that fildes, the *ROMAINES* courages were good enough against these barbarous *GAVLES*, whom they stoode in feare of before: thincking the first time they came, that they had not ouercome them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongst them, or through some other strange chaunce. For they dyd so feare them at that time, that they made a lawe, howe their priestes should be exempted from warres, so it were not against the *GAVLES*. This ouerthrowe was the last marshall acte *Camillus* dyd in the warres. For, the taking of the citie of *VELITRES*, was an accident depending vpon this iorney: bicause they yelded straight vnto him, without striking any stroke. But the ieditiousnes of the people of *ROME* about gouernment, and the choosing of the yere Consuls, was the hardest matter he euer had in hande. For they returning home to *ROME* stronge, and of greates power, by their late obtained victorie: woulde in any case haue one of the Consuls to be chosen of a commoner, which was directly against their ancient custome. But the Senate stoutly withstoode it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authoritie, which was greates then, that they should mainteine and continue their ancient dignitie, and prerogative of their nobilitie. But as *Camillus* was set in his chayer in the market place, where he hearde and dispatched causes: there came a fergeante to him, sent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to followe him, and there withall layed violent hands vpon him, as he woulde haue caried him awaye by force. This made suche a terrible tumulte and vprore, that the like was neuer seene before in the market place. For *Camillus* friends draue the fergeante backe behinde the chayer. The common people cried out againe to the fergeant from beneath, pull him out of his chayer. This so amazed *Camillus*, that he knew not well what to saye to the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resigne vp his office, but taking those Senatours he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would goe into it, he returned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, & made his prayer vnto the goddes, that it would please them to bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and so made a solemne vowe and promise (if these tumultes and troubles might be pacified) that he woulde builde a temple of Concorde. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and di-

Camillus slew the Gauls againe.

The Romans haue they exempted priestes from the warres.

Sedition as Rome about choosing of Consuls.

Policy to yield
to necessitie.
A commoner
chosen Con-
sul with a
noble man.

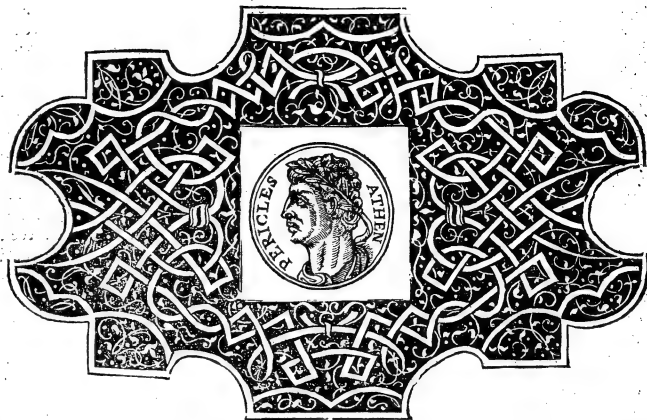
Marcus AE-
milius, Lucius
Sextius Con-
suls.

Camillus died
of the plague.

uersitie of opinions among them: yet in the ende, the easiest waye dyd carie it, and that was to graunt the common peoples desire, that a commoner should be chosen Consul with a noble man. The *Dictator* hauing openly published to the people the Senates decree, confirming their desire: the common people were so ioyfull, that at that presente they let fall all their malice against the Nobilitie and Senate, and brought *Camillus* home to his house, with greate showtes of ioye, and clapping of handes. The next morning all the people being assembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of concorde should be built at the common wealthes charge (according to the vowe *Camillus* had made) in such a place, as it might be seene from the market place selfe, where all the assemblies for matters of counsell were made. And further, it was ordered that one daye more should be added to the feastes of the *LATINES*: & that from thenceforth they should solemnise foure festiuall dayes, & should presently make generall sacrifices vnto the goddes, in euerie temple of the citie, to geue them thanckes: and in token of ioye, they should all weare garlandes vpon their heades for this reconciliation. So *Camillus* proceeding to election, there were chosen two Consuls, *Marcus Emilius* of the noble *Patricians*, and *Lucius Sextus* of the *Plebeians* or commoners. And this was the laste acte that euer *Camillus* dyd. For, the next yere after, the plague was in *ROME*, and tooke awaye an infinite number of people that dyed, besides many magistrates and officers of the citie that departed: among whom, *Camillus* also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had liued a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life: yet he was as ready to dye, and as patiently tooke his death, as any man liuing could haue done. Moreouer, the *ROMAINES* made more mone and lamentation for his death alone, then for all the rest the plague had already consumed.

The ende of Furius Camillus life.

THE LIFE OF Pericles.



A *SAR* seeing in *ROME* one daye certain riche & wealthy straungers, hauing litle dogges and munkeyes in their armes, and that they made maruelous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wisely reproving them by his question, for that they bestowed their naturall loue & affection vpon brute beasts, which they should with all kindnes and loue bestowe vpon creatures. Nature in like case also, hauing planted in our minds a naturall desire to learne and vnderstand, we are in reason to reprove those that vainly abuse this good desire, fondly disposing it to learne things vaine and vnprofitable: and to cast behinde them in the meane season things honest and necessarie to be learned. For as touching our outward fence, which with passion receaueth impressio of the thing it seeth, peraduenture it wilbe necessarie to consider indifferently the thing seene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtfull vnto him: but so fareth it not with our vnderstanding, for every man maye at his pleasure turne and dispose that to the thinge he taketh delight in, the reason whereof we must allwayes employe to the best parte, and that not only to consider and looke vpon the thing, but also to reape the benefit and commoditie of the thing we see. For like as the eye is most delited with the lightest and freshest cullers: euen so we must geue our mindes vnto those sightes, which by looking vpon them doe drawe profit and pleasure vnto vs. For such effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or reade them, they doe printe in our hartes an earnest loue and desire to followe them. But this followeth not in all other things we esteeme, neither are we allwayes disposed to desire to doe the things we see well done: but contrary oftentimes, when we like the worke, we mislike the worke man, as commonly in making these perfumes and purple cullers. For both the one, & the other doe please vs well: but yet we take perfumers & diers to be men of a meane occupation. Therefore *Antisthenes* answered one very wisely, that told him *Ismerius* was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughtie man, sayed he: otherwise he could not be so conning at the flute as he is. Euen so dyd *Philippe* king of *MACEDON* saye to his sonne *Alexander* the great on a time: that at a certain feast had song passing sweetely, and like a master of musick: Art thou not

Yet all
wayes to be
employed to
good things.

Antisthenes
saying of a
flute player.

ashamed, sonne, to singe so well? It is enough for a King to bestowe his leysure somtime to A
 heare musitians singe, and he doth much honour to the muses to heare the masters of the
 science otherwhile, when one of them singeth to excell another. But he that personally shall
 bestowe his time, exercising any meane science: bringeth his paynes he hath taken in matters
 vnprofitable, a wimes against him selfe, to proue that he hath bene negligent to learne things
 honest and profitable. And there was neuer any young gentleman nobly borne, that seeing
 the image of *Iupiter* (which is in the cittie of *Pisa*) desired to become *Phidias*: nor *Polyclitus*,
 for seeing of *Luno* in the cittie of *Aegoss*: nor that desired to be *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or
Archilochus, for that they tooke pleasure somtime to reade their workes. For it followeth not
 of necessity, that though the worke delight, the workeman must needes be payed. And so in
 like case, such things doe not profit those which behold them, bicause they doe not moue af-
 fection in the hartes of the beholders to followe them, neither doe stirre vp affection to re-
 semble them, and much lesse to conformance our selues vnto them. But vertue hath this singular
 propertie in all her actions: that she maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her so, that
 straight he liketh all her doings, and desireth to followe those that are vertuous. For, as for ri-
 ches, we only desire to haue them in possession: but of vertue, we chiefly loue the deedes.
 Wherefore, we are contented to haue goodes from other men: but good deedes we would
 other should haue from vs. For vertue is of this power, that she allureth a mans minde pre-
 sently to vse her, that wisely considereth of her, and maketh him very desirous in his harte
 to followe her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by
 the only vnderstanding and knowledge of vertuous deedes, which sodainly bringeth vnto C
 him a resolute desire to doe the like. And this is the reason, why me thought I should contin-
 new still to write on the liues of noble men, and why I made also this tenth booke: in the
 which are contained the liues of *Pericles*, and *Fabius Maximus*, who maintained warres a-
 gainst *Hanniball*. For they were both men very like together in many sundry vertues, and spe-
 cially in currese and iustice: & for that they could patiently beare the follies of their people,
 and companions that were in charge of gouernment with them, they were maruelous pro-
 fitable members for their cuntry. But if we haue sorted them well together, comparing the
 one with the other: you shall easily iudge that reade our writings of their liues. *Pericles* was D
 of the tribe of the *Scamanides*, of the towne of *Cholargys*, and of one of the best & most
 auncient families of the cittie of *Athens*, both by his father and mother. For *Xanthippus* his
 father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of *Persia* in the iorney of *My-
 sala*) married *Agariste* that came of *Clithenes*, he who draue out of *Athens* *Pisistratus* of-
 spring, and valliantly ouerthrew their tyrannie. Afterwards he established lawes, and orde-
 ned a very graue forme of gouernment, to mainteine his citizens in peace and concord to-
 gether. This *Agariste* dreamed one night, that she was brought a bed of a lyon: and very
 thortely after she was deliuered of *Pericles*, who was so well proportioned in all the partes of
 his bodie, that nothing could be mended, sauing that his head was somewhat to long and out
 of proportion to the rest of his bodie. And this is the only cause why all the statues & images
 of him almost, are made with a helmer of his head: bicause the workemen as it should seeme
 (and so it is most likely) were willing to hide the blemish of his deformitie. But the *ATTIC*
 CAN poets dyd call him *Schinocephalos*, as much to saye, as headed like an onyon. For those of
Attica doe sometime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue *Scilla*, that is to saye,
 an onyon of barbarie: *Schinos*. And *Cratinus* the Comicall poet in his comedie he intituled
Chironus, sayed:

Olde Saturne he, and dreadfull dyre debate
 begotten haue, be vncle them Carnally,
 this tyrane here, this heavy iollising pate,
 in courte of goddes so termed vworthely.

And againe also in that which he nameth *Nemesis*, speaking of him, he sayeth:

Come *Iupiter* come *Iupiter*,
 Come iollish head, and come inkeeper.

And *Teleclides* mocking him also, sayeth in a place

Sometimes

The power of
 vertue.

Pericles
 hisky.

Pericles mo-
 ueth dreame.

Pericles had
 a long head.

A Sometimes he standes amazed when he perceiues,
 that harde it wwere, sufficiently to knowe,
 in what estate, his gouernment he leaues.
 And then will he, be feldome scene by loure,
 suche heavy heapes, vnto in his braynes doe growe.
 But yet sometimes, out of that monstrous pate
 he thundreth fast, and threatneth every state.

And *Eupolis* in a comedie which he intituled *Demi*: being very inquisitiue, and asking par-
 ticularly of every one of the Orators (whom he fayned were returned out of hell) when they
 named *Pericles* the last man vnto him, he sayed:

B Truly thou hast now brought, vnto vs here that deuell,
 the chief of all the captaines, that come from darksome hell.

And as for musicke, the most authors write, that *Damon* dyd teache him musicke, of whose
 name (as men saye) they should pronounce the first syllable shorte. Howbeit *Aristotle*
 sayeth, that he was taught musicke by *Pytholides*. Howsoeuer it was, it is certaine that this
Damon was a man of deepe vnderstanding, and subtil in matters of gouernment: for, to hide
 from the people his sufficiency therein, he gaue it out he was a musitian, and dyd resorte
 vnto *Pericles*, as a master wrestler, or fencer: but he taught him howe he should deale in mat-
 ters of state. Notwithstanding, in the ende he could not so conningly conuey this matter, but
 the people sawe his harping and musicke, was only a viser to his other practise: wherefore
 C they dyd banish him A THENS for fye yeres, as a man that busilie tooke vpon him to change
 the state of things, and that fauored tyrannie. And this gaue the Comicall poets matter to
 playe vpon him finely: among which *Plato* in a comedie of his, bringeth in a man that af-
 keth him:

O *Chiron*, tell me first: art thou in deede the man,
 which dyd instruct *Pericles* thus? make answer if thou can.

He was sometime also scholler to the philosopher *Zenon*, who was borne in the cittie of E-
 LEA, & taught naturall philosophie, as *Parmenides* dyd: but his profession was to thwarte and
 contrary all men, and to alledge a world of obiections in his disputation, which were so in-
 tlicate, that his aduersarie replying against him, knewe not howe to answer him, nor to
 D conclude his argument. The which *Timon Philistius* witnesseth in these wordes,

Zenon was subtill sure, and very eloquent,
 and craftilie could wounde a man, by waye of argument,
 if so he wwere disposed, his cunning to deserue,
 or shoue the sharpnes of his wit, so practise pollicie.

But *Anaxagoras Clazomenian* was he that was most familiar and conuersant with him,
 and dyd put in him the maiestie and grauity he shewed in all his sayings, and doings. Who
 dyd farre excell the common course of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the peo-
 ple: and to be shorte, he it was that dyd facion his manners, altogether to ceter that graue
 countenance which he dyd. For they called *Anaxagoras* in his time, *Nis*, as much to saye,
 E as vnderstanding. Either bicause they had his singular wit and capacite in such great ad-
 miration, being growen to searche out the cause of naturall things: or that he was the first
 man, who dyd ascribe the disposition and gouernment of this world, not vnto fortune or fa-
 tal necessity, but vnto a pure, simple, and vnderstanding minde, which doth separate as the
 first mouing cause, the substance of such like partes as are medled and compounded of di-
 uers substances, in all other bodies throughe the world. *Pericles* made maruelous muche of
Anaxagoras, who had fully instructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of those
 specially that worke aboue in the ayer and firmament. For he gaue not only to haue a great
 mind and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or grosse comely termes: but to a
 ceteren modest countenance that scanty smiled, very sober in his gait, having a kynde of
 stoic in

Pericles find
 dies and sta-
 chers.

Zenon Elia-
 lean.

Pericles not
 very and be-
 haviour.

Pericles pa-
science.

The benefit
of naturall
philosophie.

What was
signified by
the rammes
head that had
but one horn,
& was found
in Pericles
grounds.

Pericles like-
ned vs Pisi-
stratus.

founde in his voyce that he neuer lost nor altered, and was of very honest behaiour, neuer troubled in his talke for any thing that crossed him, and many other suche like things, as all that sawe them in him, and considered them, could but wonder at him. But for prooffe hereof, the reporte goeth, there was a naughty busy fellowe on a time, that a whole day together dyd nothing but rayle vpon *Pericles* in the market place, and reuile him to his face, with all the villanous wordes he could vse. But *Pericles* put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a worde againe, dispatching in the meane time matters of importance he had in hand, vnill night came, that he went softly home to his house, shewing no alteration nor semblance of trouble at all, though this lewde varlet followed him at the heeles, with wordes of open defamacion. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne doores, being darke night, he commaunded one of his men to take a torche, and to bring this man home to his house. Yet the poet *Ion* sayeth, that *Pericles* was a very prowde man, and a stately, and that with his grauity and noble minde, there was mingled a certaine scorn and contempt of other: and contrariwise, he greatly prayeth the ciuillitie, humanitie, and curtesie of *Cimon*, because he could facion him selfe to all companies. But letting passe that which the poet *Ion* sayed: who would that vertue should be full of tragical discipline, bringing in with it, a certaine satyricall discourse to moue laughter. Nowe *Zenon* contrariwise dyd counsell all those, that sayd *Pericles* grauity was a presumption, and arrogance: that they should also followe him in his presumption. For, to counterfeate in that sorte things honest and vertuous, doth secretly with time breede an affection and desire to loue them, and afterwards with custome euen effectually to vse and followe them. So *Pericles* by keeping *Anaxagoras* company, dyd not onely profit him selfe in these things, but he learned besides to put awaye all superstitious feare, of celestiall signes and impressions scene in the ayer. For to those that are ignorant of the causes thereof, suche sights are terrible, and to the godly also feareful, as if they were vtterly vndone: and all is, because they haue no certaine knowledge of the reason that naturall philosophy yeldeth, which in steade of a fearefull superstition, would bring a true religion accompanied with assured hope of goodnes. Some saye a man brought *Pericles* one daye from his farme out of the countie, a rammes head that had but one horne, and that the prognosticator *Lampon* considering this head, that had but one strong horne in the midst of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the signification thereof. That being two tribes and feuerall factions in the citie of *ATHENS* touching gouernment, the one of *Pericles*, and the other of *Thucydides*: the power of both should be brought into one, and specially into his parte, in whose house this signe dyd happen. Further, it is sayed that *Anaxagoras* being present, dyd cause the rammes head to be clouen in two peces, and shewed vnto them that stood by, that the brayne of this ramme dyd not fill the panne of his naturall place, but inclosed it selfe in all partes, being narrowe like the poynte of an egge, in that parte where the horne tooke his first roote of budding out. So *Anaxagoras* was maruelously esteemed at that present by all those that stood by: but so was *Lampon*, sone after that *Thucydides* was driuen awaye, and that the gouernment of the whole common weale fell into the handes of *Pericles* alone. And it is not to be wondered at (in my opinion) that the naturall philosopher and the prognosticator dyd rightly mete together in trothe: the one directly telling the cause, and the other the ende of the euent as it fell out. For the profession of the one, is to knowe howe it commeth: and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where some saye, that to shewe the cause, is to take awaye the signification of the signe: they do not consider that in seeking to abolishe by this reason the wonderfull tokens and signes in the ayer, they doe take awaye those also which are done by arte. As the noyle of balons, the lightes of fyre by the sea side, and the shadowes of needles or pointes of dyalles in the sunne: all which things are done by some cause and handy worke, to be a signe and token of some thing. But this argument peraduenture maye serue better in another booke. And nowe againe to *Pericles*. Whilist he was yet but a young man, the people stood in awe of him, because he somwhat resembled *Pisistratus* in his countenance: and the auncientest men of the citie also were muche afearde of his softe voyce, his eloquent tongue, and ready vterance: because in those

Pericles first
beginning to
deale in the
citty's wealth.

To much fa-
miliaritie
breedeth con-
tempt.

Ephialtes an
orator.

Why Peri-
cles was surnamed Olym-
pius.

A in those he was *Pisistratus* vp and downe. Moreouer he was very riche and wealthy, and of one of the noblest families of the citie, and those were his friendes also that caried the only swaye and authoritie in the state: whereupon, fearing least they would banishe him with the banishment of *Ostracismos*; he would not meddle with gouernment in any case, although otherwise he shewed him selfe in warres very valliant and forward, and feared not to venter his person. But after that *Aristides* was dead, that *Themistocles* was driuen awaye, and that *Cimon* being euer in seruice in the warres as generall in forreine countries, was a long time out of *Greece*: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of the poore commonaltie, about the small number of Nobilitie and riche men, the which was directly against his nature. For of him selfe he was not popular, nor meanely geuen: but he dyd it (as it should seeme) to auoyde suspicion, that he should pretend to make him selfe King. And because he sawe *Cimon* was inclined also to take parte with the Nobilitie, and that he was singularly beloued and liked of all the honeste sorte: he to the contrarie enclined to the common people, purchasing by this meanes safety to him selfe, and authoritie against *Cimon*. So he presently beganne a newe course of life, since he had raken vpon him to deale in matters of state: for they neuer sawe him afterwards at any time goe into the citie, but to the market place, or to the Senate house. He gaue vp going to all feastes where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friendes, their company and familiaritie. So that in all his time wherein he gouerned the common weale, which was a long time, he neuer went out to supper to any of his friendes, vnles it were that he was once at a feast at his nephew *Emyrcptolemus* marriage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremonie was a doing, when they offer wine to the goddes, and so he rose from the table. For these friendly meetings at suche feastes, doe muche abate any counterfeate maiestie or set countenance: and he shall haue muche a doe to keepe grauity and reputation, shewing familiaritie to euery knowne friende in such open places. For in perfect vertue, those things truly are euer most excellent, which be most common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable vnto straungers, then their dayely conuersation is to their friendes. *Pericles* nowe to preuent that the people should not be glutton with seeing him to ofte, nor that they should come much to him: they dyd see him but at some times, and then he would not talke in euery matter, neither came muche abroade among them, but referred him selfe (as *Crisotomus* sayed) D they kept the *SALAMINIAN* galley at *ATHENS*) for matters of great importance. And in the meane season, in other matters of small moment, he delt by meanes of certaine orators his familiar friendes, amongst whom *Ephialtes* (as they saye) was one: he who tooke awaye the authoritie and power from the courte of *Arcopagus*, and dyd geue to muche libertie to the people, as *Plato* sayed. Vpon which occasion, as the Comickall poets saye, he became so stowte and headstrong, that they could no more holde him backe, then a younge vnbridled colt: and tooke such a corage vpon him, that he would obaye no more, but inuaded the Ile of *EVBOEA*, and set vpon the other Ilandes. *Pericles* also because he would facion a phrase of speache, with a kynde of style altogether agreeable to the manner of life and grauitie he had taken vpon him: he gaue him selfe to all matters which he had learned of *Anaxagoras*, E shadowing his reason of naturall philosophie, with artificiall rhetoricke. For hauing obtayned a deepe vnderstanding by studying of philosophie, and a ready waye effectually to ende any matter, he vnderooke to proue (besides that nature had endued him with an excellent witte and capacitie, as the diuine *Plato* doth write, to bring any thing to serue his purpose) he dyd so artificially compass it with eloquence, that he farre passed all the orators in his time. And for this cause was he (as they saye) surnamed *Olympius*, as muche to saye, as heauenly or diuine. But some are of opinion he had that surname, by reason of the common buildings and stately workes he rayled vp in the citie of *ATHENS*, that dyd muche set forth the fame. Other thinke it was geuen him for his great authoritie and power he had in gouernment, atwell in warres, as in peace. But it is no maraill that this glorie was F geuen him, considering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the comedies the Poetes caused to be played in those times (in which there were many wordes spoken of him, some in earnest, some in sporte and iest) doe witnesseth

Thucydides,
Pericles ad-
versarie.

Pericles spe-
ing.

Pericles com-
mon wealth.

The good
desires of
Cimon.

Pericles
large distri-
bution dimi-
nished, the A-
reopagites an-
noyance.

that he had that surname geuen him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundered and lightened in his oration to the people, & that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an answer *Thucydides*, *Milesius* sonne, should pleasantly make concerning the force of *Pericles* eloquence, *Thucydides* was a noble man, and had long time contended against *Pericles* in matters of the common weale. *Archidamus*, king of *LACEDÆMON*, asked *Thucydides* on a time: whether he or *Pericles* wrestled best. *Thucydides* made him answer. When I haue geuen him an open fall before the face of the world, he can so excellently deny it, that he maketh the people beleue he had no fall at all, and persuadeth them the contrarie of that they sawe. Notwithstanding he was euer very graue and wise in speaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to speake to the people, he made his prayers vnto the goddes, that nothing might escape his mouth, but that he might consider before whether it would serue the purpose of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vnles it be some fewe lawes he made, and but very fewe of his notable sayings are brought to light, save only these. He sayed on a time that they must take away the citie of *EGINA*, because it was a strawe lying in the eye of the haueu *PIREÆA*. And another time, he sayed that he saw the warres a farre off, coming from *PELOPONNESVS*. Another time, as he tooke shippes with *Sophocles* (his companion in commission with him as general of the armie) who commended a fayer young boye they met as they came to the haueu: *Sophocles*, sayed he, a gouernour must not only haue his handes, but also his eyes cleane. And *Sesimbrotus* writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the prayle of those that were slaine in the warre of *SAMOS*: he sayed they were immortal as the goddes. For we doe not see the goddes (sayed he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happines they enioye, we doe coniecture they are immortal: and the same things are in those that dye in seruice, and defence of their countrie. Nowe where *Thucydides* doth write the gouernment of the common weale vnder *Pericles* to be as a gouernment of Nobilitie, and yet had appurance of a popular state: it is true that in effect it was a Kingdome, because one alone dyd rule and gouerne the whole state. And many other saye also, he was the first that brought in the custome to deuide the enemies landes wonne by conquest among the people, and of the common money to make the people see playes and pastimes, and that appointed them rewarde for all things. But this custome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got their liuing paynfully with sweate of their browes: became now to be very vaine, sumptuous, and riotous, by reason of these things brought vp then. The cause of the alteration doth easely appeare by those things. For *Pericles* at his first coming, fought to winne the fauour of the people, as we haue sayed before, only to get like reputation that *Cimon* had wonne. But comming farre shorte of his wealth and abilitie, to carie out the porte and charge that *Cimon* dyd, entertaining the poore, keeping open house to all commers, clothing poore olde people, breaking open besides all inclosures and pales through all his landes, that euery one might with more libertie come in, and take the fruites thereof at their pleasure: and seeing him selfe by these great meanes out gone farre in good will with the common people, by *Demonides* counsell and procurement (who was borne in the Ile of *Ios*) he brought in this distribution of the common money, as *Aristotle* writeth. And hauing wonne in a shorte time the fauour and good will of the common people, by distribution of the common treasure, which he caused to be deuided among them, as well to haue place to see these playes, as for that they had rewarde to be present at the iudgements, and by other suche like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, dyd inuey against the courte of the *Areopagites*, wherof he neuer was any member. For it neuer came to be his happe to be yerely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the sacrifices, nor master of the warres: all which were offices chosen in auncient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had be-haued them selues well in their office, they were called forwards, & raised to be of the bodie of this courte of the *Areopagites*. *Pericles* now by these meanes hauing obtained great credit and authoritie amongst the common people, he troubled the Senate of the *Areopagites* in suche sorte, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by *Ephialtes* helpe: and

Pericles cau-
tious Cimon to
be banished
Athens.

The Ostrac-
cism.

Pericles cal-
led Cimon
from exile.

Pericles mo-
derately reu-
cised
Cimon.

The murder
of Ephialtes.

Thucydides
Pericles ad-
versary in the
com wealth.

A and in time made *Cimon* to be banished *ATHENS*, as one that fauored the *EPICURANS*, and contraried the common wealth and authoritie of the people. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest persone of all the citie, and one that had wonne so many glorious victories, and had so replenished *ATHENS* with the conquered spoiles of their enemies, as we haue declared in his life: so great was the authoritie of *Pericles* amongst the people. Nowe the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called *Ostracism*) was limited by the lawe for tenne yerres. In which space the *LACEDÆMONIANS* being come downe with a great armie into the countrie of *TANAGRA*, the *ATHENIANS* sent out their power presently against them. There *Cimon* willing to shewe the *ATHENIANS* by his deedes, that they had falsely accused him for fauoring the *LACEDÆMONIANS*: dyd arrie himself, and went on his country mens side, to fight in the companie of his tribe. But *Pericles* friends gathered together, and forced *Cimon* to departe thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that *Pericles* fought that daye more valiantly then euer he dyd, and he wanted the honour and name to haue done more in the persone of him selfe that daye, then any other of all the armie. At that battell also, all *Cimons* friends, whom *Pericles* had burdened like wife to fauour the *LACEDÆMONIANS* doings; dyed euery man of them that daye. Then the *ATHENIANS* repented them much that they had driuen *Cimon* away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this battell vpon the confines of the countrie of *ARGIS*: because they feared sharpe warres would come vpon them againe at the next spring. Which thing when *Pericles* perceyued, he fought also to further that the common people desired: wherefore he straight caused a decree to be made, that *Cimon* should be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when *Cimon* was returned, he aduised that peace should be made betwene both citie: for the *LACEDÆMONIANS* dyd loue *Cimon* very well, and contrarily they hated *Pericles*, and all other gouernours. Some notwithstanding doe write, that *Pericles* dyd neuer passe his consent to call him home againe, before suche time as they had made a secret agreement amongst them selues (by means of *Elpinice Cimons* sister) that *Cimon* should be sent out with an armie of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of *PARIA* his dominions, & that *Pericles* should remaine at home with the authoritie of gouernment within the citie. This *Elpinice* (*Cimons* sister) had once before intreated *Pericles* for her brother, at such time as he was accused before the iudge of treason. For *Pericles* was one of the committes, D to whom this accusation was referred by the people. *Elpinice* went vnto him, & besought him not to doe his worst vnto her brother. *Pericles* answered her merite. Thou art to old *Elpinice*, thou art to olde, to goe through with these matters. Yet when his matter came to iudgement, & that his cause was pleaded: he rose but once to speake against him (for his owne discharge as it were) & went his waye when he had sayed, doing lesse hurte to *Cimon*, then any other of his accusers. How is *Idomeneus* to be credited now, who accuseth *Pericles* that he had caused the orator *Ephialtes* to be slaine by treason (that was his friende, and dyd alwayes counsell him, and take his parte in all kinde of gouernment of the common weale) only for the jealousy and enuie he dyd beare to his glorie? Can but muse why *Idomeneus* should speake so slanderously against *Pericles*, vnles it were that his melancholy humour procured suche violent E speech: who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameles, yet he was neuer nobly minded, and had a naturall desire of honour, in which kinde of men such furious cruel passions are feldome seene to breede. But this orator *Ephialtes* being cruell to those that tooke parte with the Nobilitie, because he would spare nor pardone no man for any offence what soeuer committed against the peoples authoritie, but dyd followe and persecute them with all rigour to the vttermost: his enemies layed waite for him by means of one *Aristodemus* *TANAGRAN*, and they killed him by treason, as *Aristotle* writeth. In the meane time *Cimon* dyed in the Ile of *CYPRVS*, being generall of the armie of the *ATHENIANS* by sea. Wherefore those that tooke parte with the Nobilitie, seeing *Pericles* was nowe grown very great; and that he went before all other citizens of *ATHENS*, thincking it good to haue some one to stick on their side against him, and to lessen thereby somewhat his authoritie, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raised vp against him, one *Thucydides*, of the towne of *ALOPECIA*, a graue wise man; and father in lawe to *Cimon*. This *Thucydides* had lesse skill of

warres then *Cimon*, but vnderstoode more in ciuill gouernment then he, for that he remained A most parte of his time within the citie: where continually inuaying against *Pericles* in his pulpit for orations to the people, in shorte time he had stirred vp a like companie against the faction of *Pericles*. For he kept the gentlemen and richer sorte (which they call Nobilitie) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their estate and dignitie was abused, and troden vnderfoote. Moreouer he dyd separate them from the people, and dyd assemble them all as it were into one bodie, who came to be of equall power with the other faction, and dyd put (as a man will saye) a counterpease into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a litle secret grudge only betwene these two factions, as an artificiall flower set in the blade of a sworde, which made those shewe a litle, that dyd leane vnto the people: and the other also somewhat that fauored the Nobilitie. B But the contention betwene these two persones, was as a deepe cut, which deuided the citie wholly in two factions: of the which the one was called the Nobilitie, and the other the communalitie. Therefore *Pericles* geuing yet more libertie vnto the people, dyd all things that might be to please them, ordering continuall playes and games in the citie, many teastes, banquetts, and open pastimes to entertaine the commons with such honest pleasures and deuises: and besides all this, he sent yere an armie of three score gallies vnto the warres, into the which he put a great number of poore citizens that tooke paye of the state for nine moneths of the yere, and thereby they dyd learne together, and practise to be good sea men. Furthermore he sent into the countrie of *CERRONESES*, a thousand free men of the citie to dwell there, and to deuide the landes amongst them: fise hundred also into the Ile of *Naxos* into the Ile of *Andros*, two hundred & fiftie: into *Thracia*, a thousand to dwell with the *Bisalties*; & other also into *Italy*, when the citie of *Syraris* was built againe, which afterwards was furnished the citie of the *Hyrians*. All this he dyd to ryd the citie of a number of idle people, who through idlenes beganne to be curious, and to desire change of things, as also to provide for the necessitie of the poore townes men that had nothing. For, placing the naturall citizens of *Athens* nere vnto their subiects and friendes, they serued as a garrison to keepe them vnder, and dyd suppress them also from attempting any alteration or change. But that which delieth most, and is the greatest ornament vnto the citie of *Athens*, which maketh straungers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealth of *Greece*, to be true and not false: are the stately and sumptuous buildings, which *Pericles* made to be built in the citie of *Athens*. For it is the only acte of all other *Pericles* dyd, and which made his enemies most to spight him, and which they most accused him for, crying out vpon him in all counsailes & assemblies: that the people of *Athens* were openly defamed, for carying awaye the ready money of all *Greece*, which was left in the Ile of *Delos* to be safely kept there. And although they could with good honestie haue excused this facte, saying that *Pericles* had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the ende to laye it vp in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safetie: yet was this to ouergreat an iniurie offered vnto all the rest of *Greece*, and to manifest a token of tyrannie also, to beholde before their eyes, howe we doe employe the money, which they were informed to gather for the maintenance of the warres against the barbarous people, in gilding, building, and setting forth our citie, like a glorious woman, all to be gawded with golde and precious stones, and howe we doe make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull & infinite charge. *Pericles* replied to the contrarie, and declared vnto the *Athenians* that they were not bounde to make any account of this money vnto their friendes and allies, considering that they fought for their safety, & that they kept the barbarous people farre from *Greece*, without troubling them to set out any one man, horse, or shippe of theirs, the money only excepted, which is no more theirs that payed it, then theirs that receyued it, so they bestowe it to that vse they receyued it for. And their citie being already very well furnished, and provided of all things necessary for the warres, it was good reason they should employe and bestowe the surplus of the treasure in things, which in time to come (and being thoroughly finished) would make their fame eternall. Moreouer he sayed that whilest they continue building, they should

A politike
care for idle
persones.

Sumptuous
buildings
erected by
Pericles.

be

A be presently riche, by reason of the diuersitie of workes of all sortes, and other things which they should haue neede of: and to compasse these things the better, and to set them in hande, all manner of artificers and worke men (that would labour) should be set a worke. So should all the townes men, and inhabitants of the citie, receyue paye and wages of the common treasure: and the citie by this meanes should be greatly beawified, and muche more able to mainteine it selfe. For such as were stronger, and able men of bodie, and of yeres to carie weapon, had paye and entertainment of the common wealth, which were sent abroad vnto the warres: and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes men, and labourers: he would also they should haue parte of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somewhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie B the common people with great buildings, and deuises of workes of diuers occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the ende that the citizens remaining at home, might haue a meane and waye to take parte of the common treasure, and enrichethem selues, as well as those that went to the warres, and serued on the sea, or els that laye in garrison to keepe any place or forte. For some gayned by bringing stufte: as stones, brasse, yuorie, gold, ebbany, & cypres. Other got to worke and facion it: as carpinters, grauers, fownders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, dyers, goldsmithes, joyners working in yuorie, painters, men that set in sundrie cullers of peeces of stone or wodde, and turners. Other gayned to bring stufte, & to C furnishe them: as marchaunts, mariners, and shippemasters, for things they brought them by sea. And by lande other got also: as carte makers, cartiers, carters, corde makers, sadlers, collermakers, & pyoners to make wayes plaine, & miners, & such like. Furthermore, euery science and crafte, as a captaine hauing souldiers, had also their armie of the worke men that serued them, labouring truly for their liuing, who serued as prestes & iorney men vnder the worke- D masters: so the worke by this meanes dyd disperse abroad a common gayne to all sortes of people and ages, what occupation or trade soeuer they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnes & sumptuousnes, being of excellent workman shippe, & for grace & beawtie not comparable: because euery workman in his science dyd strue what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in sight, and to be most workemanly done in shewe. But the greatest thing to be wounded at, was their speede and diligence. For where euery man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many men liues and ages, & D from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilest one only gouernour continued still in credit and authoritie. And yet they saye, that in the same time, as one *Agatharchus* boasted him self, that he had quickly painted certen beastes: *Zeuxis* another painter hearing him, answered, And I contrarie doe reioyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly slight and sodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe cullers, nor geue perfect beawty to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the cullers to continue for euer. For this cause therefore the workes *Pericles* made, are more wonderfull: because they were perfectly made in so shorte a time, and haue continued so long a season. For euery one of those which were finished vp at that time, seemed then to be very auncient touching the beawtie thereof: and yet for the grace & continuance E of the same, it looketh at this daye as if it were but newly done and finished, there is such a certaine kynde of flourishing freshnes in it, which letteth that the iniurie of time cannot impair the sight thereof: As if euery one of those foresaid workes, had some liuing spirite in it, to make it seeme young and fresh: and a soule that liued euer, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chief suruey our generall of all these workes, was *Phidias*, albeit that there were many other excellent worke masters in euery science & occupation. For the temple of *Pallas*, which is called *Parthenon* (as a man would saye, the temple of the virgine, and is furnished *Heccatompedon*, for that it is a hundred foote euery waye) was built by *Ictinus*, and *Callicrates*: and the chappell of *Eleusim* (where the secret ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by *Corabus*, who raised vp the first pillars in order, standing beneath F on the ground, and dyd set them vp vnto the master chapprells. But after he was dead, *Metagenes*, borne in the towne of *Xyrtas*, turned the arches ouer, and then dyd set the pillars in order also which are aboute: and *Xenocles* of the towne of *Cholargha*, was he that made

Diuers artists
were at this.

P iij

the lantern or toppe of the steeple which couereth the sanctuarie: but the long wall which *A* Socrates heard *Pericles* him selfe geue order for the building of it, was done by *Callistratus*, who vnderooke the worke. *Cratinus* the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this worke, to see how slowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, saying:

*Pericles long a goe, dyd ende this worke begonne:
and build it highe, with glorious wordes, if so it had bene done.
But as for deedes (in dede) he built nothing at all,
but let it stande: as yet it stands, much liker for to fall.*

The Odeon.

And as for the Theater or place appointed for musicke, where they heare all musitians playe, and is called *Odeon*: it is very well made within with diuers seats & degrees, and many ranges of pillars, but the toppe of the rooffe is altogether rounde, which is somewhat hanging & downward round about of it selfe, coming together into one pointe. And it is sayd that this was made after the patterne and faction of king *Xerxes* royall pavilion, and that *Pericles* was the first deuiler and maker of it. Wherefore *Cratinus* in another place of his comedie he maketh of the *THACIANS*, doth playe very pretily vpon him, saying:

*Pericles here doth come, Dan Iupiter surnamed,
(and on yong hed) vpon which hath in his great noddell finely framed,
The plot of Odeon, vpon he deliuered vnto
from banishment, and dangers deepe, vpon heerein he long dyd passe.*

Pericles ere
hed games
for musike.

Pericles was the first that made maruelous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the daye of the feast called *Panathenaea*, they would set vp games for musicke. And he him selfe being chosen ruler of these games, as iudge to rewarde the best deseruer: ordained the manner the musitians should euer after keepe in their fingring; playing on their flutes, or vpon the citherne, or other instruments of musicke. So the first games that euer were for musicke, were kept within the *Odeon*: and so were the other after them also, euer celebrated there. The gate and entring into the castell was made and finished within the space of five yerres, vnder the charge of *Minerva*, that was master of the workes. And whilst these gates were a building, there happened a wonderfull chaunce, which declared very well that the goddesse *Minerva* dyd not mislike the building, but that it pleased her maruelously. For one of the most painefullest workemen that wrought there, fell by mischaunce from the height of the castell to the grounde, which fall dyd so fore broose him, and he was so sicke & with all, that the phisitians and surgeons had no hope of his life. *Pericles* being very sorie for his mischaunce, the goddesse appeared to him in his sleepe in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he dyd easely heale the poore brooded man, & that in shorte time. And this was the occasion why he caused the image of the goddesse *Minerva* (otherwise called of healtie) to be cast in brasse, and set vp within the temple of the castell, neere vnto the altar which was there before, as they saye. But the golden image of *Minerva* was made by *Phidias*, and grauen round about the base: Who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reason of the good will *Pericles* bare him, he commaunded all the other workemen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroad, that *Phidias* receyued the gentlewomen of the citie into his house, & vnder culler to goe see his workes, and dyd conuey them to *Pericles*. Vpon this brute, the Comickall poets taking occasion, dyd cast out many slanderous speeches against *Pericles*, accusing him that he kept one *Menippus* wife, who was his friend and lieutenant in the warres: and burdened him further, that *Pyrrampes*, one of his familiar friends also, brought vp fowle, and specially peacocks, which he secretly sent vnto the women that *Pericles* kept. But we must not wonder at these Satyres, that make profession to speake slanderously against all the worlde, as it were to sacrifice the iniuries and wronges they cast vpon honorable and good men, to the spight and enuie of the people, as vnto wicked spirites: considering that *Stephanobrotus* *THACIAN* durst falsely accuse *Pericles* of detestable incest, and of abusing his owne finnes wife. And this is the reason, in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the trothe of aunient things, by the monuments of historiographers: considering long proceffe of time, doth vtterly obscure the trothe of matters, done in former times.

The Poets
raile vpon
dies against
Pericles.

A times. For euery written historie speaking of men that are aliue, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention: sometime for hate and enuie, sometime for fauour, or flatterie, doth disguise and corrupt the trothe. But *Pericles* perceyuing that the orators of *Thucydides* faction, in their common orations dyd still crie out vpon him, that he dyd vainly waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed vpon the workes, all the whole reuenue of the citie: one daye when the people were assembled together, before them all he asked them, if they thought that the coste bestowed were so muche. The people answered him: a great deale to muche. VVell, said he then, the charges shalbe mine (if you thinke good) and none of yours: provided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine only. VVhen *Pericles* had sayd so, the people cried out alowde, they would none of that (either be-

The noble
saying of Pe-
ricles.

B cause that they wondred at the greatnes of his minde, or els for that they would not geue him the only honour and prayse to haue done so sumptuous and stately workes) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any costs. But in the end, falling out openly with *Thucydides*, & putting it to an aduecture which of them should banish the other, with the banishment of *Ostracism*: *Pericles* got the vpper hand, and banished *Thucydides* out of the citie, & therewithall also ouerthrew the contrarie faction against him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the citie againe to vnitie & conoord, he founde then the whole power of *ATHENS* in his handes, and all the *ATHENIANS* matters at his disposing. And hauing all the treasure, armour, gallyes, the lles, and the sea, and a maruelous seignorie and Kingdome (that dyd enlarge it selfe partlye ouer the *GRECIANS*, and partlye ouer the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of nations subiect vnto them, with the friendship of Kings, & with the alliance of diuers other Princes & mightie Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to change his manners, and from that he was wont to be toward the people, and not so easely to graunt to all the peoples willes and desires, no more then as it were to contrarie windes. Furthermore he altered his our gentle and popular manner of government which he vfed vntill that time, as to delicate & to effeminate an harmonie of musike, and dyd conuert it vnto an imperious gouernment, or rather to a kingly authoritie: but yet held still a direct course, and kept him selfe euer vpright without fault, as one that dyd, sayd, and counseled that, which was most expedient for the common weale. He many times brought on the people by persuasions and reason, &

Thucydides
banished by
Pericles.

Pericles
power.

Pericles
somewhat
altered
the common
weale.

D be willing to graunt that he preferred vnto them: but many times also, he draue them to it by force, & made them against their willes doe that, which was best for them. Following therein the deuise of a wise phisitician: who in a long and changeable disease, doth graunt his patient sometime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sorte: and another time also he doth geue him a sharpe or bitter medicine that doth vex him, though it heale him. For as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enioye so great an empire: many times misfortunes doe chaunce, that fill them full of sundrie passions, the which *Pericles* alone could finely steere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: bridling with the one, the fierce & insolent rathernes of the common people in prosperitie, and with the other comforting their grief and discouragement in aduersitie. Wherein he manifestly proued,

E that rethorike and eloquence (as *Plato* sayeth) is an arte which quickeneth mens spirites at her pleasure, and her chiefe skill is, to knowe howe to moue passions and affections thoroughly, which are as stoppes and foundes of the soule, that would be played vpon with a fine fingered hande of a conning master. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to passe, as *Thucydides* witnesseth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthines, because he would not any way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any couetousnes in him. For, when he had brought his citie not only to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authoritie exceeded many Kings and tyrannes, yea euen those which by their willes and testaments might haue left great possessions to their children: he neuer for all that increased his fathers goodes and patrimonie left him, the value

The force of
eloquence.

Pericles com-
mended for
his good life
& worthines.

F of a grote in siluer. And yet the historiographer *Thucydides* doth set forth plainly enough, the greatnes of his power. And the Comickall poets also of that time doe reporte it maliciously vnder couert words, calling his familiar friends, the newe *Pisistratides*: saying, howe they must

make him sweare and protest he would neuer be King, geuing vs thereby to vnderstand; that his authoritie was to exceeding great for a popular gouernment. And *Teleclides* (amongst others) sayeth that the *ATHENIANS* had put into his hands the reuenue of the townes & cities vnder their obedience, and the townes them selues, to binde the one, and to lose the other, & to pull downe their walles, or to build them againe at his pleasure. They gaue him power, to make peace and alliance: they gaue all their force, treasure, & authoritie, and all their goodes, wholly into his hands. But this was not for a litle while, nor in a geere of fauour, that should continue for a time: but this helde out forty yeres together, he being alwayes the chief of this citie amongst the *Ephialtes*, the *Leocrates*, the *Mironides*, the *Cimons*, the *Tolmides*, & the *Thucydides*. For after he had preuailed against *Thucydides*, & had banished him: he yet remained chief about all other, the space of fifteene yeres. Thus hauing attained a regall dignitie to commaunde all, which continued as aforesaid, where no other captaines authoritie endured but one yere: he euer kept him selfe vpright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no ill husband, and could warily looke to his owne. As for his landes and goodes left him by his parents, that they miscaired not by negligēce, nor that they should trouble him much, in buying him selfe to reduce them to a value: he dyd so husband them, as he thought was his best and easiest waye. For he solde in grosse euer the whole yeres profit and commoditie of his landes, and afterwards sent to the market daylie to buye the cates, and other ordinarie prouision of householde. This dyd nor like his sonnes that were men growen, neither were his women contented with it, who would haue had him more liberall in his house, for they complained of his ouerhard and straight ordinarie, because in so noble and great a house as his, there was neuer any great remaine left of meate, but all things receyued into the house, ranne vnder accompt, & were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandrie of his, was kept vpright in this good order, by one *Euangelus*, Steward of his house, a man very honest and skillfull in ordering his householde prouision: and whether *Pericles* had brought him vp to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not knowne. But these things were farre contrarie to *Anaxagoras*s wisdom. For he despising the world, and casting his affection on heavenly things: dyd willingly forsake his house, and suffered all his lande to runne to layes and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diuerfite betwene a contemplatiue life, and a ciuill life. For the one employeth all his time vpon the speculation of good and honest things: and to attaine to that, he thinketh he hath no neede of any exteriour helpe or instrument. The other applying all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit & benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an instrument not only necessarie, but also honest. As, looke vpon the example of *Pericles*: who dyd relieue many poore people. And *Anaxagoras* specially among other: of whom it is reported, that *Pericles* being occupied about matters of state at that time, hauing no leysure to thinke vpon *Anaxagoras*, he seeing him selfe old & forsaken of the world, layed him downe, and couered his head close, determining to starue him selfe to death with hunger. *Pericles* vnderstanding this, ranne presently to him as a man halfe cast awaye, and prayed him as earnestly as he could, that he would dispose him selfe to liue, being not only forie for him, but for him selfe also, that he should lose so faithfull and wise a counsellor, in matters of state and gouernment. Then *Anaxagoras* shewed his face, and tolde him: O *Pericles*, those that will see by the light of a lampe, must put oyle to it, to make the light burne. Now beganne the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to growe iecalous, of the greatnes of the *ATHENIANS*, wherefore *Pericles* to make the *ATHENIANS* hartes greater, and to drawe their mindes to great enterprises: set downe an order they should send ambassadours, to persuaide all the *GRECIANS* (in what part soeuer they dwelt in *EVROPE*, of *ASIA*, atwell the litle as the great cities) to send their deputies vnto *ATHENS*, to the generally assembly that should be holden there, to take order for the temples of the goddes which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the sacrifices they had vowed for the preservation of *GREECE*, when they gaue battell vpon them: and touching sea matters also, that every man might sayle in safetie where he would, & that all might liue together in good peace & loue, one with another. To performe this commission, twenty perones were sent of this embassate, every one of them being fiftie yeres of age and upward. Whereof fise of them went to the *DORIAN*s, dwelling in *ASIA*, and to the inhabitants of the

Pericles free from gifts taking.

Pericles good husbandrie.

Anaxagoras a mathematician. Great diuersitie betwixt contemplatiue and ciuill life.

Anaxagoras determined to forsake him selfe to death.

Anaxagoras saying to Pericles.

Pericles appointeth a generall council to be holden at Athens.

Isles, euen vnto the Isles of *LESBOS*, & of the *RHODES*. Fise other went through all the country of *HELLESPONT*, and of *THRACIA*, vnto the citie of *BIZANTIUM*. Other fise were commaunded to goe into *BOEOTIA*, into *PHOCIDES*, and through all *PELOPONNESVS*, & from thence by the countrie of the *LOCRIANS*, into the vplande countrie adioyning to it, vntill they came into the country of *ACARNANIA*, & of *AMBRACIA*. And the other fise went first into the Ile of *EVBOA*, and from thence vnto the *ORIENTIANS*, and through all the gulfes of *MALBA*, vnto the *PHYTIOTES*, vnto the *ACHAIANS*, and the *THESSALIANS*: declaring to all the people where they came, the *ATHENIANS* commission, persuaiding them to send vnto *ATHENS*, and to be present at the counsell which should be holden there, for the pacification & vnion of all *GREECE*. But when all came to all, nothing was done, & the sayed cities of *GREECE* dyd not assemble, by practise of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refusal that was made of their summonns, was at *PELOPONNESVS*. This haue I written to make *Pericles*s noble corage to be knowne, and howe prououde a wife man he shewed him selfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was chosen generally in the warres, he was much esteemed, because he euer tooke great regarde to the safetie of his souldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he sawe might fall out doubtfull, or in any thing dangerous: and moreouer, he neuer prayed them for good generally, neither would he followe them that had obteined great victories by hazard, howsoever other dyd esteeme or comend them. For he was wont to saye, that if none but him self dyd leade them to the shambles, as much as laye in him, they should be immortal. And when he sawe *Tolmides*, the sonne of *Tolmaus* (trusting to his former victories, and the praise & commendation of his good seruice) dyd prepare vpon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the countrie of *BOEOTIA*, & had procured also a thousand of the lustiest & most valliant men of the citie, to be contented to goe with him in that iorney, ouer and about the rest of the armie he had leaued: he went about to turne him from his purpose, and to keepe him at home, by many persuaasions he vsed to him before the peoples face, and spake certen wordes at that time, that were remembered long after, and these they were. That if he would not beleeue *Pericles* counsell, yet that he would tarie time at the least, which is the wisest counsellor of men. These wordes were pretillie liked at that present time. But with in fewe dayes after, when newes was brought that *Tolmides* selfe was slaine in a battell he had lost, neere vnto the citie of *CORONEA*, wherein perished also, many other honest & valliant men of *ATHENS*: his wordes spoken before, dyd then greatly increase *Pericles* reputation & good will with the common people, because he was taken for a wife man, and one that loued his citizens. But of all his iornes he made, being generally ouer the armie of the *ATHENIANS*: the iorney of *CHERRONESVS* was best thought of and esteemed, because it fell out to the great benefit and preservation of all the *GRECIANS* inhabiting in that countrie. For besides that he brought thither a thousand citizens of *ATHENS* to dwell there (in which doing he strengthened the cities with so many good men) he dyd fortifie the barre also, which dyd let it from being of an Ile, with a fortification he drue from one sea to another: so that he defended the countrie against all the inuasions and piracies of the *THACIANS* inhabiting thereabouts, & deliuered it from extreme warre, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongst them, who only liued vpon piracie, and robbing on the seas. So was he likewise much honored & esteemed of strangers, when he dyd enuironne all *PELOPONNESVS*, departing out of the haven of *PEGAS*, on the coast of *MEGARA*, with a flecte of a hundred gallyes. For he dyd not only spoyle the townes all alonge the sea side, as *Tolmides* had done before him: but going vp further into the mayne lande, farre from the sea, with his souldiers he had in the gallyes, he drave some of them to retire within their walles, he made them so affrayed of him: and in the countrie of *NEMEA*, he ouercame the *SYCTONIANS* in battell, that taried him in the field, and dyd erect a pillar for a notable marke of his victorie. And imbarcking in his shippes a newe supply of souldiers which heooke vp in *ACHAIA*, being friends with the *ATHENIANS* at that time: he passed ouer to the firme lande that laye directly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the riuier of *Achelous*, he invaded the countrie of *ACARNANIA*, where he shut vp the *ORNEADES* within their walles. And after he had

Pericles loved the safety of his men in warre.

Time, the best counsellor.

Tolmides slaine in the field.

Pericles iourney.

Achelous fl.

laid waste and destroyed all the champion countrie, he returned home againe to **ATHENS** hauing shewed him selfe in this iorney, a dreadfull captaine to his enemies, and very careful for the safety of his souldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iorney (by chaunce or otherwise) vnto the souldiers vnder his charge. And afterwarde, going with a great nauie maruelous well appointed vnto the realme of **PONTVS**, he dyd there gently vie and increate the cities of **GRECE**, and graunted them all that they required of him: making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the great force & power of the **ATHENIANS**, who failed without feare all about where they thought good, keeping all the coastes of the sea vnder their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the **SINOPIANS** thirteene gallyes, with certen number of souldiers vnder captaine **Lamachus**, to defend them against the tyranne **Timistilus**: who being expulsd, and driuen away, with those of his faction, **Pericles** caused proclamation to be made at **ATHENS**, that sixe hundred free men of the citie, that had any desire to goe, without cōpulsion, might goe dwell at **SINOPA**, where they should haue deuided among them, the goodes & landes of the tyranne & his followers. But he dyd not followe the foolish vaine humours of his citizens, nor would not yeld to their vsuallie couetousnes, who being set on a iolitie to see them selues so strong, and of suche a power, and besides, to haue good lucke, would needes once againe attempt to conquer **EGYPT**, and to reuolte all the countries vpon the sea coastes, from the empire of the king of **PERSIA**: for there were many of them whose mindes were maruelously bent to attemp the vnfortunate enterprise of entering **SICILIA**, which **Alcibiades** afterwarde dyd muche pricke forward. And some of them dreamed besides, of the conquest of **THYSCAN**, & the empire of **CARTHAGE**. But this was not altogether without some likelyhood, nor without occasion of hope, considering the large boundes of their Kingdome, & the fortunate estate of their affayres, which fell out according to their owne desire. But **Pericles** dyd hinder this going out, and cut of altogether their curious desire, employing the most parte of their power and force, to keepe that they had already gotten: iudging it no small matter to keepe downe the **LACEDÆMONIANS** from growing greater. For he was alwayes an enemy to the **LACEDÆMONIANS**, as he shewed him selfe in many things, but specially in the warre he made, called the holy warre. For the **LACEDÆMONIANS** hauing put the **PHOCIANS** from the charge of the temple of **Apollo**, in the citie of **DELPHES**, which they had vsurped, & hauing restored the **DELPHIANS** againe vnto the same: so sone as they were gone thence, **Pericles** went also with another armie, & restored the **PHOCIANS** again. And where as the **LACEDÆMONIANS** had caused to be grauen in the forehead of a woulfe of brasse, the priuiledge the **DELPHIANS** had graunted them, to be the first that should make their demaundes of the oracle: he hauing attained the like priuiledge of the **PHOCIANS**, made his image also to be grauen on the right side of the same image, of the brasse woulfe. Nowe howe wisely **Pericles** dyd gouerne **GRECE** by the power of the **ATHENIANS**, his deedes doe plainly shewe. For first of all, the countrie of **EVBOA** dyd rebell, against whō he brought the armie of the **ATHENIANS**. And sodainely in the necke of that, came newes from another coaste, that the **MEGARIANS** also were in armes against them: and howe that they were already entered into the countrie of **ATTICA** with a great armie, led by **Plistoxas**, king of **LACEDÆMON**. This occasion drewe him home. Eward againe, and so he marched backe with speede into his countrie, to make preparation to encounter his enemies, that were already entered into the territories of **ATTICA**. He durst not offer them battell, being to great a number of valliant souldiers: but hearing that king **Plistoxas** was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by **Cleandrides** counsell and direction (whom the **Ephores** had placed about him to counsell & direct him) he sought priuile to corrupt **Cleandrides**. When he had wonne him fowle with his money, he perswaded him to drawe backe the **PELOPONNESIANS** out of their countrie of **ATTICA**: and so he dyd. But when the **LACEDÆMONIANS** sawe their armie called, & that the people were gone their waye, euery man to his owne citie or towne: they were so mad at it, that the King was condemned in a great fume. The King being vnable to answer his fine, which was so extreme great: he was driuen to absent him self from **LACEDÆMON**. **Cleandrides** on the other side, if he had not died in time, euen for spight had bene condemned to death. This **Cleandrides** was **Gylippus** father, that

Pericles would not followe the couetousnes of the people.

The enterprise of Sicilia.

Pericles an enemy to the Lacedæmonians.

Plistoxas king of Lacedæmon.

Cleandrides corrupted by Pericles.

that afterwards ouercame the **ATHENIANS** in **SICILIA**, in whom it seemed nature bred couetousnes, as a disease inheritable by succession from father to the sonne. For he being shamefully conquered also, for certen vile partes he had played, was likewise banished from **SPARTA**: as we haue more amply declared in the life of **Lyfander**. And **Pericles** deliuering up the accōpt of his charge, and setting downe an article of the expence of tenne talentes he had employed, or should employe in needefull causes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking question how, nor which waye, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certen writers (among whom the philosopher **Theophrastus** is one) who write that **Pericles** lent yerely vnto **SPARTA** tenne talents, with the which he entertained those that were in authoritie there, because they should make no warres with them: not to buye peace of them, but time, that he might in the meane season, with better commoditie, and that leysure, prouide to mainteine the warres. After that as the armie of the **PELOPONNESIANS** were out of the countrie of **ATTICA**, he returned againe against the rebels, & passed into the Ile of **EVBOA** with fiftie sayle, & sixe thousand footemen well armed: & there he ouercame all the cities that had taken armes against him, and draue away the **Hypobates**, who were the most famous men of all the **CHALCIDIANS**, as well for their riches, as for their vallianties. He draue away also all the **HESPERIANS**, whom he chased cleane out of all the countrie, and placed in their citie, only the citizens of **ATHENS**. And the cause why he delt so rigorously with them was, because they hauing taken a gallye of the **ATHENIANS** prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being concluded afterwarde betwene the **ATHENIANS** and **LACEDÆMONIANS** for thirte yeres: he proclaimed open warres against those of the Ile of **SAMOS**, burdening them, that they being commaunded by the **ATHENIANS**, to pacifie the quarrells which they had against the **MILLESIANS**, they would not obey. But because some hold opinion, that he tooke vpon him this warre against **SAMOS**, for the loue of **Aspasia**: it shall be no great digression of our storie, to tell you by the waye, what manner of woman she was, & what a maruelous gite and power she had, that she could entangle with her loue the chiefe rulers and gouernours at that time of the common weale, and that the philosophers them selues dyd so largely speake & write of her. First of all, it is certain that she was borne in the citie of **MILLETVM**, and was the daughter of one **Asiochus**: the following the steppes and example of an olde curisun of **IONIA**, called **Thargelia**, gaue her selfe only to entertaine the greatest persons & chiefe rulers in her time. For this **Thargelia** being passing fayer, and carying a comely grace with her, hauing a sharpe wit and pleasant tongue: she had the acquaintance and friendship of the greatest personages of all **GRECE**, and wanne all those that dyd haunte her company to be at the king of **Persiaes** commaundement. So that she sowed through all the cities of **GRECE**, great beginnings of the faction of the **MADs**: for they were the greatest men of power & authoritie of euery citie that were acquainted with her. But as for **Aspasia**, some saye that **Pericles** resorted vnto her, because she was a wise woman, and had great vnderstanding in matters of state and gouernment. For **Socrates** him selfe went to see her somtimes with his friends: and those that vsed her company also, brought their wiues many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine about her were to entertaine such as would warme them by their fire. **Aeschines** writeth, that **Lyficles** a graier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbie nature, came to be the chief man of **ATHENS**, by frequenting the companie of **Aspasia**, after the death of **Pericles**. And in **Platoes** booke intituled **Memexenus**, although the beginning of it be but pleasantly written, yet in that, this storie is written truly: that this **Aspasia** was repaired vnto by diuers of the **ATHENIANS**, to learne the arte of rethorike of her. Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely that the affection **Pericles** dyd beare her, grew rather of loue, then of any other cause. For he was married vnto a kinsewoman of his owne, and that before was **Hipponicus** wife, by whom he had **Callias**, surmamed the rich: & had afterwarde by **Pericles**, **Xantippus** and **Paralus**. But not liking her companie, he gaue her with her owne good will and consent vnto another, and married **Aspasia** whom he dearly loved. For euery when he went abroad, & came home againe, he saluted her with a kisse. Whereupon in the ancient comedies, she is called in many places, the newe **Omphale**, and somtimes **Deianira**, and somtimes **Iuno**. But **Cratinus** plainly calleth her whore in these verses:

Gylippus ouercome the Athenians at Sparta in Sicilia.

Gylippus was the father of the tyrane Lyfander (see him withall to Sparta).

Pericles wife policy in foreign enterpriments.

Pericles allys in Evboea.

Pericles made warre with the Samians.

Aspasia a pleasing wise woman.

The description of Aspasia.

Thargelia.

Callias the rich.

Pericles married Aspasia the famous curisun.

His Iuno she him brought, Aspasia by name,
Which was in deede an epier, whose, and past all kinds of shame,
 And it seemeth that he had a bastard: for *Eupolis* in a comedie of his called *Demofili*, bringeth him in asking *Pyronides* these words: *Pyronides* what dost thou say to this? *Pyronides* saith: *He praye thee: is my bastard sonne yet alive?*
 And then *Pyronides* answered him: *A perfect man long since, he surely had bene founde, if that this leuicide, and naughty whore his vertue had not drowned.*
 To conclude, this *Aspasia* was so famous, that *Cyrus* (he that fought against king *Artaxerxes* his brother, for the empire of *PERSIA*) called *Aspasia* his best beloued of all his concubines, which before was called *Milto*, and was borne in *PROCIDES*, being *Hermotimus* daughter. And *Cyrus* being slayne in the field, *Aspasia* was caried to the King his brother, with whom afterwards she was in great fauour. As I was writing this life, this storie came in my minde, and me thought I should haue delt hardly, if I should haue left it vnwritten. But to our matter againe, *Pericles* was charged that he made warres against the *SAMIANs*, on the behalf of the *MILESIANs*, at the request of *Aspasia*: for these two cities were at warres together, for the citie of *PRIEN*, but the *SAMIANs* were the stronger. Now the *ATHENIANs* commaunded them to laye a side their armes, and to come and pleade their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refused it vnto. Wherefore *Pericles* went thither & tooke awaye the government of the small number of Nobilitie, taking for ostages, fiftie of the chiefest men of the citie, and so many children besides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of *LEMNOS*. Some saye euery one of these ostages offered to geue him a talent: and besides those, many other offered him the like, fuche as would not haue the soueraine authoritie put into the handes of the people. Moreouer *Pissuthnes* the *PERSIAN*, lieutenant to the king of *PERSIA*, for the good will he bare those of *SAMOS*, dyd lend *Pericles* tenne thousand crownes to releafe the ostages. But *Pericles* neuer tooke pennie: and hauing done that he determined at *SAMOS*, and established a popular government, he returned againe to *ATHENS*. Notwithstanding, the *SAMIANs* rebelled immediatly after, hauing recouered their ostages againe by meanes of this *Pissuthnes*, that stalle them awaye, and dyd furnishe them also with all their munition of warre. Whereupon *Pericles* returninge against them once more, he founde them not idle, nor amazed at his coming, but resolutely determined to receyue him, and to fight for the seigniorie by sea. So there was a great battell fought betwene them, neere the Ile of *TRACIA*. And *Pericles* wanne the battell: hauing with foure and fortie sayle only nobly overcome his enemies, which were three score & tenne in number, whereof twenty of them were shippes of warre. And so following his victorie forthwith, he wanne also the porte of *SAMOS*, and kept the *SAMIANs* besieged within their owne citie: where they were yet so bolde, as they would make salies out many times, and fight before the wallles of the citie. But when there arriued a newe supplie of shippes bringing a greater ayde vnto *Pericles*: then were they shut vp of all sides. *Pericles* then taking three score gallies with him, lanchd out into the sea, with intent (as some saye) to goe mete certen shippes of the *PHOENICIANs* (that came to ayde the *SAMIANs*) as farre from *SAMOS* as he could: or as *Selembrotus* sayeth, to goe into *CYPRUS*, for which me thinketh is not true. But whatsoeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For *Melissus* (the sonne of *Ithagene*, a great philosopher) being at that time generall of the *SAMIANs*: perceyuing that fewe shippes were left behinde at the siege of the citie, and that the captaines also that had the charge of them were no very expert men of warre, perswaded his cittizens to make a salye vpon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the *SAMIANs* ouercame: the *ATHENIANs* were taken prisoners, and they suncke many of their shippes. Nowe they being lordes againe of the sea, dyd furnishe their citie with all manner of munition for warres, whereof before they had great want. Yet *Aristotle* writeth that *Pericles* selfe was once overcome in a battell by sea by *Melissus*. Furthermore the *SAMIANs*, to be euen with the *ATHENIANs* for the iniurie they had receyued of them before: dyd brande them in the forehead with the stampe of an owle, the owle being then the stampe of their coyne at *ATHENS*, euen as the *ATHENIANs* had branded the *SAMIAN* prisoners before with the stampe

Pissuthnes
the *Persian*.

A good profite
that *Pericles*
was not come
tune.

Pericles vi-
dence againe
of the *Samians*.

Melissus a
philosopher
generall of
the *Samians*.

The owle, the
stampe of the
coyne at *A-
thens*.

A of *Samena*. This *Samena* is a kynde of a shippe amongst the *SAMIANs*, lowe afore, and well layed out in the midde shippe, so that it is excellent good to rise with the waues of the sea: and is very swifte vnder sayle: and it was so called, bicause the first shippe that was made of this facion, was made in the Ile of *SAMOS*, by the tyranne *Polygerates*. It is layed that the poet *Aristophanes*, covertly conueying the stampe of the *SAMIANs*, speaking merylie in a place of his comedies sayeth:

The Samians are great learned men.

Pericles being aduertised of the ouerthrowe of his armie, returned presently to the rescue. *Melissus* went to mete him, and gaue him battell: but he was ouerthrowen, and driuen backe into his citie, where *Pericles* walled them in round about the citie, desiring victorie rather by time and charge, then by daunger, and losse of his souldiers. But when he sawe that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withholde them: he then deuided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to drawe los, and that companie that lighted on the white beane, they should be quiet & make good cheere, while the other feuen fought. And they saye that from thence it came, that when any haue made good cheere, & taken pleasure abroad, they doe yet call it a white daye, bicause of the white beane. *Ephorus* the historiographer writeth, that it was there, where first of all they beganne to vse engines of warre to plucke down great wallles, and that *Pericles* vied first this wonderfull inuention: & that *Artemon* an engineer was the first deuiler of them, He was caried vp and downe in a chayer, to set forward these workes, bicause he had a lame legge: and for this cause he was called *Periphoretos*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* confuteth *Ephorus* therein, by the verses of *Anacreon*, in the which *Artemon* is called *Periphoretos*, many yeres before this warre of *SAMOS* beganne: & sayeth that this *Periphoretos* was a maruelous tender man, and so foolishly afraid of his owne shadowe, that the most parte of his time he sturred not out of his house, & dyd sit allwayes hauing two of his men by him, that held a copper target ouer his head, for feare least any thing should fall vpon him. And if vpon any occasion, he were driuen, to goe abroad out of his house: he would be caried in a litle bed hanging neere the grounde, & for this cause he was furnamed *Periphoretos*. At the last, at nine moneths ende the *SAMIANs* were compelled to yeld. So *Pericles* tooke the citie, & rased their wallles to the grounde: he brought their shippes awaye, and made them paye a maruelous great tribute, whereof parte he receyued in hande, & the rest payable at a certen time, taking ostages with him for assurance of payment. But *Durris* the *SAMIAN* dilateth these matters maruelously pittiefully, burdening the *ATHENIANs*, and *Pericles* self with vnnaturall crueltie: whereof neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Aristotle* him selfe maketh mention: And suer I cannot beleue, it is true that is writte. That he brought the captaines of the gallies, & the souldiers them selues of *SAMIA*, into the market place of the citie of *MILETYM*: where he made them to be bound fast vnto bordes for the space of tenne dayes, & at the ende of the same, the poore men halfe dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads passed in peeces: and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crows, & would not burie them. So *Durris* being accustomed to ouerreach, & to lye many times in things nothing touching him: seemeth in this place out of E all reason to aggravate the calamities of his countrie, only to accuse the *ATHENIANs*, and to make them odious to the world. *Pericles* hauing wone the citie of *SAMOS*, he returned againe to *ATHENS*, where he dyd honorably burie the bones of his flaine cittizens in this warre: and him self (according to their manner & custome) made the funeral oration for the which he was maruelously esteemed. In fuche sorte, that after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration: the ladies & gentlewomen of the citie came to salute him, & brought him garlands to put vpon his head, as they doe to noble coqueuers when they returne from games, where they haue wonne the price. But *Elpinice* coming to him, sayed. Surely *Pericles*, thy good seruice done, deserueth garlands of triumph: for thou hast lost vs many a good and valiant citizen, not fighting with the *MEDES*, the *PHOENICIANs*, and with the barbarous people as my brother *Cimon* dyd, but for destroyng a citie of our owne nation and kynted *Pericles* to these wordes, softly answered *Elpinice*, with *Archilocus* verse, smyling: *Archaia Melibolus*
Vvhen thou art olde, quinte not thy selfe.

Samena a
kynde of a
shippe.

The witte
saying of *A-
ristophanes*
of the *Samians*.

Artemon *Pe-
riphoretos* a
timorous ma.

The *Samians*
dye yeld to
Pericles.

Elpinice
the wife of
Pericles.

Pericles
saunt to an
olde woman.

But *Ion* writeth, that he greatly gloried, and stooode muche in his owne conceipt; after he had subdued the SAMIANS, saying: *Agamemnon* was tenne yerres taking of a citie of the barbarous people: and he in nine moneths only had wonne the strongest citie of the whole nation of IONIA. In deede he had good cause to glorie in his victorie: for truly (if *Thucydides* reporte be true) his conquest was no lesse doubtfull, then he founde it dangerous. For the SAMIANS had almost bene lordes of the sea, and taken the seigniorie thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the warres of PELOPONNESVS being whotte againe, the CORINTHIANS invading thilanders of CORPHV: *Pericles* dyd persuade the ATHENIANS to send ayde vnto the CORPHIANS, and to ioyne in league with that lland, which was of great power by sea, saying: that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would haue warre with them. The ATHENIANS consented to his motion, to ayde those of CORPHV. Whereupon they sent thither *Lacedemonius* (*Cimon* sonne) with tenne gallyes only for a mockery: for all *Cimon*'s familie and friendes, were wholly at the LACEDEMONIANS deuotion. Therefore dyd *Pericles* cause *Lacedemonius* to haue so fewe shippes deliuered him, and further, sent him thither against his will, to the ende that if he dyd no notable exploit in this seruice, that they might then the more iustly suspect his good will to the LACEDEMONIANS. Moreover whilst he liued, he dyd euer what he could, to keepe *Cimon*'s children backe from rising: bicause that by their names they were no naturall borne ATHENIANS, but straungers.

For the one was called *Lacedemonius*, the other *Thessalus*, and the third *Elius*: and the mother to all them three, was an ARCADIAN woman borne. But *Pericles* being blamed for that he sent but tenne gallyes only, which was but a slender ayde for thole that had requested them, and a great matter to them that spake ill of him: he sent thither afterwards a great number of other gallyes, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were maruelous angrie, and went & complained to the counsell of the LACEDEMONIANS, where they layed open many grieuous complaints and accusations against the ATHENIANS, and so dyd the MEGARIANS also: alledging that the ATHENIANS had forbidden them their hauens, their staples, and all trafficke of marchaundise in the territories vnder their obedience, which was directly against the common lawes, and articles of peace, agreed vpon by othe amongst all the GRECIANS. Moreover the EGINETES finding them selues very ill and cruelly handled, dyd send secretly to make their mone & complaints to the LACEDEMONIANS, being asfeard openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While these things were a doing, the citie of POTIDEA, subiect at that time vnto the ATHENIANS (and was built in olde time by the CORINTHIANS) dyd rebell, and was besieged by the ATHENIANS, which dyd hasten on the warres. Notwithstanding this, ambassadours were first sent vnto ATHENS vpon these complaints, & *Ambidamus*, king of the LACEDEMONIANS, dyd all that he could to pacifie the most parte of these quarrells and complaints, intreating their friendes and allies. So as the ATHENIANS had had no warres at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would haue graunted to haue reuoked the decree they had made against the MEGARIANS. Whereupon *Pericles*, that aboue all other fload most against the reuocation of that decree, & that dyd stirre vp the people, & made the stand to that they had once decreed, & ordered, against the MEGARIANS: was thought the only original cause & author of the PELOPONNESIAN warres.

For it is sayed that the LACEDEMONIANS sent ambassadours vnto ATHENS for that matter only. And when *Pericles* alledged a lawe, that dyd forbid them to take away the table, wherupon before time had bene written any common law or edict: *Polarches*, one of the LACEDEMONIAN ambassadours, sayed vnto him. Well, said he, take it not away then, but turne the table only: your lawe I am luter forbiddeh not that. This was pleasauntly spoken of the ambassadour, but *Pericles* could neuer be brought to it for all that. And therefore it seemeth he had some secret occasion of grudge against the MEGARIANS: yet as one that would finely conuey it vnder the common cause & cloke, he tooke fro them the holy fads they were breaking vp. For to bring this to passe, he made an order, that they should send an herald to summonne the MEGARIANS to let the land alone, & that the same herald should goe also vnto the LACEDEMONIANS to accuse the MEGARIANS vnto the. It is true that this ordinance was made by *Pericles* meanes, as also it was most iust & reasonable: but it befell so, that the messenger they sent thither dyed

Cimon sonne.

The Athenians accused at Lacedemon.

Pericles, author of the warre against Peloponnesus.

Pericles made lawe against the Megarians.

and

A And nor without suspition that the MEGARIANS made him awaye. Wherefore *Charinus* made a lawe presently against the MEGARIANS: that they should be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for euer, without any hope of after reconciliation. And also if any MEGARIAN should once put his foote within the territories of ATTICA, that he should suffer the paynes of death. And moreover, that their capitaines taking yerely their ordinary othe, should sweare among other articles, that twise in the yere they should goe with their power, and destroy some parte of the MEGARIANS lande. And lastly, that the heraulde *Anthemocritus* should be buried by the place called then the paper *Thrasimenos*, and now called, *Dipylon*. But the MEGARIANS stowtely denying, that they were any cause of the death of this *Anthemocritus*: dyd altogether burden *Aspasia* and *Pericles* with the same, alledging for B prooff thereof, *Aristophanes* verses the Poet, in his comedie he intituled the *Acharnes*, which are so common, as euery boye hath them at his tongues ende.

*The young men of our lande (to drunken bybbling bent)
ranne out one daye unruly, and towards Megara went.
From whence in their outrage, by force they tooke awaye,
Simatha noble curtsian, as she dyd sorte and playe.
VWherevwith enraged all (with pepper in the nose)
the proude Megarians came to vs, as to their mortall foes,
And tooke by the the awaye, of harlots eke a payer,
attending on Aspasia, which were both young and fayer.*

C But in very deede, to tell the originall cause of this warre, and to deliuer the trothe thereof, it is very harde. But all the historiographers together agree, that *Pericles* was the chiefeft author of the warre: bicause the decree made against the MEGARIANS, was not reuoked backe againe. Yet some holde opinion, that *Pericles* dyd it of a noble minde and iudgement, to be constant in that he thought most expedient. For he iudged that this commaundement of the LACEDEMONIANS was but a triall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would graunte them: and if they yelded to them in that, then they manifestly shewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarie saye, that it was done of a selfe will and arrogancie, to shewe his authoritie and power, and howe he dyd despise the LACEDEMONIANS. But the shrowdest proff of all, that bringeth best authoritie with it, is reported after this sorte. *Phidias* the image maker (as we haue tolde you before) had vndertaken to make the image of *Pallas*: and being *Pericles* friende, was in great estimation about him. But that procured him many ill willers. Then they being desirous to heare by him what the people would iudge of *Pericles*: they intified *Menon*, one of the worke men that wrought vnder *Phidias*, and made him come into the market place to praye assurance of the people that he might openly accuse *Phidias*, for a faulte he had committed about *Pallas* image. The people receyued his obedience, and his accusation was heard openly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: bicause that *Phidias* (through *Pericles* counsell & deuile) had from the beginning layed on the gold vpon the image, that it might be taken of, & wayed euery whitte. Whereupon *Pericles* openly sayed vnto his accusers, take of the golde & way it. The glorie of his works dyd purge chase him this enuie. For he hauing graue vpon the scutcheion of the goddesse, the battell of the AMAZONS, had cut out the portraiture of him self maruelous liuely, vnder the persone of an olde balde man, lifting vp a great stone with both his handes. Further he had cut out *Pericles* image, excellently wrought & artificially, seeming in maner to be *Pericles* self, fighting with an AMAZON in this sorte. The AMAZONS had being liue vp high, holdeth a dart before *Pericles* face, so passing cunningly wrought, as it seemed to shadowe the likenes & resemblance of *Pericles*: and yet notwithstanding appeareth plainly to be *Pericles* self on either side of the portraiture. So *Phidias* was clapt vp in prison, & there dyed of a sicknes, or els of poyson (as some saye) which his enemies had prepared for him: & all to bring *Pericles* into further suspition, & to geue them the more cause to accuse him. But howeouer it was, the people gaue *Menon* his freedome, & set him free for paymēt of all subsidies, following the order *Glycon* made, and gaue the capitaines charge they should see him safely kept, and that he tooke no hurte. And about

Phidias the image maker.

Qij

Aspasia accus- sed. the same time also *Aspasia* was accused, that she dyd not beleue in the goddess: and her ac-
Prytanis, trea- sorers of the common finer. cuser was *Hermippus*, maker of the comedies. He burdened her further, that he was a bawde
to *Pericles*, and receyued citizens wiues into her houle, which *Pericles* kept. And *Diopithes* at
the same time made a decree, that they should make searche and enquire for hereticks that
dyd not beleue in the goddess, and that taught certaine newe doctrine and opinion touching
the operations of things aboue in the element, turning the suspition vpon *Pericles*; bicause of
Anaxagoras. The people dyd receyue and confirme this inquisition: and it was moued also
then by *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* should deliuer an account of the money he had spent, vnto
the handes of the *Prytanis*, who were treasurers of the common fines and reuenues, and that
the iudges deputed to geue iudgement, should geue sentence within the citie vpon the altar.
But *Agnon* put that worde out of the decree, and placed in stead thereof, that the cause
should be iudged by the fiftene hundred iudges, as they thought good, if any man brought
this action for theste, for batterie, or for iniustice. As for *Aspasia*, he saued her, euen for the
verie pittie and compassion the iudges tooke of him, for the teares he shed in making his
humble fyle for her, all the time he pleaded her case: as *Æschines* writeth. But for *Anaxa-
goras*, fearing that he could not doe so muche for him: he sent him out of the citie, and him
self dyd accompany him. And furthermore, seeing he had incurred the ill will of the people
for *Phidias* facte, and for this cause fearing the issue of the iudgement: he set the warres a fyre
agaïne, that allwayes went backward, and dyd but smoke a litle, hoping by this meanes to
weare out the accusations against him, and to roote out the malice some dyd beare him. For
the people hauing waighte matters in hande, and very dangerous also: he knewe they
would put all into his handes alone, he hauing wonne alreadye fuche great authoritie and
reputation among them. And these be the causes why he would not (as it is sayd) suffer the
ATHENIANS to yeld vnto the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in any thing: howbeit the trothe cannot
certainly be knowne. But the *LACEDÆMONIANS* knowing well, that if they could weede out
Pericles, and ouerthrowe him, they might then deale as they would with the *ATHENIANS*:
they commaunded them they should purge their citie of *Cylons* rebellion, bicause they knew
well enough that *Pericles* kynne by the mothers side were to be touched withall, as *Thucy-
dides* declareth. But this practise fell out contrarie to their hope, and expectation, that were sent
to *ATHENS* for this purpose. For, vnto the haue brought *Pericles* into further suspition and
displeasure, the citizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiaunce in him then be-
fore, bicause they saue his enemies dyd so much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before king
Archidamus entred with the armie of the *PELOPONNESIANS* into the countrie of *ATTICA*,
he tolde the *ATHENIANS*, that if king *Archidamus* fortunèd to waite and destroye all the
countrie about, and should spare his landes and goodes for the olde loue and familiaritie that
was betweene them, or rather to geue his enemies occasion falsly to accuse him: that from
thenceforth, he gaue all the landes and tenements he had in the countrie, vnto the common
wealthe. So it fortunèd, that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* with all their friends and confederates,
brought a maruelous armie into the countrie of *ATTICA*, vnder the leading of king *Arch-
idamus*: who burning & spoyleing all the countries he came alongest, they came vnto the towne
of *ACHARNES*, were they incamped, supposing the *ATHENIANS* would neuer suffer them to
approche so neere, but that they would giue them battell for the honour and defence of their
countrie, and to shewe that they were no cowards. But *Pericles* wisely considered howe the
daunger was to great to hazard battell, where the losse of the citie of *ATHENS* stoode in pe-
rill, seeing they were three score thousand foote of the *PELOPONNESIANS*, & of the *BORO-
TIANS* together: for so many was their number in the first voyage they made against the
ATHENIANS. And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and to put them selues to any haz-
ard, being mad to see their countrie thus wasted and destroyed before their eyes, *Pericles* dyd
comforte and pacifie them with these wordes. That trees being cut and hewen downe, dyd
spring againe in shorte time: but men being once dead, by no possibilitie could be brought a-
gaïne. Therefore he neuer durst assemble the people in counnell, fearing least he should be in-
forced by the multitude, to doe some thing against his will. But as a wife man of a shippe,
when he seeth a storme coming on the sea, doth straight geue order to make all things safe in
the

*An excellen
comparison is
made betw
the two
sides desir
to fight.*

*The Lacedæ-
monians in-
made Attica.*

A the shippe, preparing euery thing readie to defend the storme, according to his arte and skill,
not harkening to the passengers fearefull cries and pittiefull teares, who thinke them selues
cast away: euen so dyd *Pericles* rule all things according to his wisdom, hauing walled the
citie substantially about, and set good watche in euery corner: and passed not for those that
were angrie & offended with him, neither would be perswaded by his friends earnest requests
& intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threats nor accusations against him, nor yet recko-
ned of all their foolish scoffing songes they songe of him in the citie, to his shame and re-
proche of gouernment, saying that he was a cowardly capitaine, and that for daftardlines he
let the enemies take all, and spoyle what they would. Of which number *Cleon* was one that
most defamed him, and beganne to enter into some pretie credit and fauour with the com-
mon people, for that they were angrie, and misliked with *Pericles*: as appeareth by these flaun-
derous verses of *Hermippus*, which were then abroad:

*O King of Satyres thou, who vwith such manly speache
of bloudy warres and doughty dedes, dost aslie to vs preache:
VVhy art thou nowre afraied, to take thy launce in hande,
or vwith thy pike against thy foes, courageously to stand?
Synce Cleon florvte and fierce, doth aslie thee prouoke,
VVith biting vvordes, vvith trenchant blades, & deadly daunting stroke.*

All these notwithstanding, *Pericles* was neuer moued any thing, but with silence dyd pa-
ciently beare all injuries and scoffings of his enemies, and dyd fend for all that a naue of a
C hundred sayle vnto *PELOPONNESVS*, whether he would not goe in person, but kept him self
at home, to keepe the people in quiet: vntill such time as the enemies had raised their campe,
and were gone away. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angrie
at this warre: he comforted the poore people againe, with causing a certen distribution to
be made amongst them of the common treasure, and diuision also of the landes that were
got by conquest. For after he had driuen all the *ÆGINETES* out of their countrie, he caused
the whole Ile of *ÆGINA* to be deuided by lot amongst the citizens of *ATHENS*. And then
it was a great comforte to them in this aduersitie, to heare of their enemies hurte and losse in
fuche manner as it dyd fall out. For their armie that was sent by sea vnto *PELOPONNESVS*,
had wasted and destroyed a great parte of the champion countrie there, and had sacked be-
D sides many small cities and townes, *Pericles* selfe also entring into the *MEGARIANS* countrie
by lande, did waste the whole countrie all afore him. So the *PELOPONNESIANS* receyuing
by sea asmuche hurte and losse at the *ATHENIANS* hands, as they before had done by lande vn-
to the *ATHENIANS*: they had not holden out warres so long with the *ATHENIANS*, but
would fone haue geuen ouer (as *Pericles* had tolde them before) had not the goddess aboute se-
cretly hindered mans reason and pollicie. For first of all there came such a sore plague among
the *ATHENIANS*, that it tooke awaye the flower of *ATHENS* youth, and weakened the force
of the whole citie besides. Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aloue being infected
with this disease, their hartes also were so sharply bent against *Pericles*, that the sicknes ha-
uing troubled their braynes, they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the patient against his
E physician, or children against their father, euen to the hurting of him, at the prouocation of
his enemies. Who bruted abroad, that the plague came of no cause els, but of the great mul-
titude of the coity men that came into the citie on heapes, one vpon anothers necke in the
harte of the sommer, where they were compelled to lye many together, smothered vp in lide
tentens and cabines, remaining there all daye long, cowering downewardes, and doing nothing
where before they liued in the countrie in a freshe open ayre, and at libertie. And of all this,
saye they, *Pericles* is the only cause, who procuring this warre, hath pent and throwded the
country men together within the walles of a citie, employing them to no manner of vse nor
seruice, but keeping them like sheepe in a pinnefolde, maketh one to poysen another with
the infection of their plague fores ronning vpon them, and geuing them no leaue to chaunge
F ayar, that they might so muche as take breathe abroad. *Pericles* to remedy this, and to doe
their enemies a litle mischief: armed a hundred and fiftie shippes, and shipped into them a
Q iiii

*Note Pri-
cles pollicies
pacifie the
peoples anger.*

*Æginawine
by the Athē-
nians.*

*Plague at
Athens.*

*Accusations
against Peri-
cles.*

great number of armed footemen and horsemen also . Hereby he put the citizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, feeling fo great a power . But when he had shipped all his men, and was him selfe also in the admirall ready to hoyle sayle : sodainly there was a great eclypse of the funne, and the daye was very darke, that all the armie was striken with a maruelous feare, as of some daungerous and very ill token towards them . *Pericles* seeing the master of his gallye in a maze withall, not knowing what to doe : cast his cloke ouer the masters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any hurte or no . The master aunswered him, he thought it none . Then sayed *Pericles* againe to him . There is no difference betwene this and that, sauing that the bodye which maketh the darknes is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eyes . These things are thus disputed of in the schooles of the philosophers . But *Pericles* hoyfing sayle notwithstanding, dyd no notable nor special seruise, aunswerable to so great an armie and preparation . For he laying seige vnto the holy cittie of *EPIDAVRUM*, when euery man looked they should haue taken it, was compelled to rayse his seige for the plague that was so vehement : that it dyd not only kill the *ATHENIANS* them selues, but all other also (were they neuer so fewe) that came to them, or neere their campe . Wherefore perceyuing the *ATHENIANS* were maruelously offended with him, he dyd what he could to comforte them, and put them in harte againe : but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them . For by the most parte of voyces, they depriued him of his charge of generall, and condemned him in a maruelous great fine & summe of money, the which those that tell the least doe write, that it was the summe of fiftene talentes : and those that say more, speake of fittie talentes . The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was *Cleon*, as *Idomenus*, or *Simmias* saye, or as *Theophrastus* writeth : yet *Heraclides Ponticus* sayeth, one *Lacratidas* . Nowe his common grieues were sone blown ouer : for the people dyd easely let fall their displeasures towards him, as the waspe leaueh her stinge behinde her with them the hath stong . But his owne priuate affayers and household causes were in very ill cafe : both for that the plague had taken away many of his friends and kinsmen from him, as also for that he and his house had continued a long time in disgrace . For *Xanthippus* *Pericles* sonne & heire) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, and hauing married a young woman very prodigall and lauiſhe of expence, the daughter of *Isander*, sonne of *Epilycus* : he grudged much at his fathers hardnes, who scanty gaue him money, and but litle at a time . Whereupon he sent on a time to one of his fathers friendes in *Pericles* name, to praye him to lend him some money, who sent it vnto him . But afterwards when he came to demaunde it againe, *Pericles* dyd not only refuse to paye it him, but further, he put him in sute . But this made the young man *Xanthippus* so angrie with his father, that he spake very ill of him in euery place where he came : and in inockery reported howe his father spent his time when he was at home, and the talke he had with the Sophisters, and the master rethoricians . For a mischance fortuneing on a time, at the game of throwing the darte, who should throwe best, that he that threwe, dyd vnfortunatly kill one *Epitimus* a *THESSALIAN* : *Xanthippus* went prating vp and downe the towne, that his father *Pericles* was a whole daye disputing with *Protagoras* the Rethorician, to knowe which of the three by lawe and reason should be condemned for this murder . The darte : he that threwe the darte : or the deuiler of that game . Moreover *E Stesimbrotus* writeth, that the brute that ranne abroade through the cittie, howe *Pericles* dyd keepe his wife, was sowne abroade by *Xanthippus* him selfe . But so it is, this quarrell & hate betwext the father and the sonne continued without reconciliation vnto the death . For *Xanthippus* dyed in the great plague, and *Pericles* owne sister also : moreover he lost at that time by the plague, the more parte of all his friends and kinsfolkes, and those specially that dyd him greatest pleasure in gouerning of the state . But all this dyd neuer pull down his countenance, nor any thing abate the greatnes of his minde, what misfortunes soeuer he had susteined . Neither sawe they him weepe at any time, nor mourne at the funeralles of any of his kinsmen or friendes, but at the death of *Paralus*, his younger and lawfull begotten sonne : for, the losse of him alone dyd only melt his harte . Yet he dyd stroue to shewe his naturall constancie, and to keepe his accustomed modestie . But as he would haue put a garland of flowers vpon his head, forsoe dyd fo pierce his harte when he sawe his face, that then he burst out in teares, and

An eclypse of the funne.

Pericles hard fortune.

Pericles deſprined of his charge.

Pericles home troubles

Pericles constancy.

A and cryed a mayne : which they neuer sawe him doe before, all the dayes of his life . Furthermore the people hauing proued other captaines and gouernours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of iudgement and authoritie sufficient, for so great a charge : In the ende, of them selues they called him againe to the pulpit for orations to heare their counsells, and to the state of a captaine also to take charge of the state . But at that time he kept him selfe cloſe in his house, as one bewailing his late grieuous losse and sorowe . Howbeit *Alcibiades*, and other his familiar friendes, perswaded him to shewe him selfe vnto the people : who dyd excuse them selues vnto him, for their ingratitude towards him . *Pericles* then taking the government againe vpon him, the first matter he entred into was : that he prayed them to reuoke the statute he had made for bafe borne children, fearing least his lawfull heires would sayle, and so his house and name should fall to the ground . But as for that lawe, thus it stood . *Pericles* when he was in his best authoritie, caused a lawe to be made, that they only should be counted citizens of *ATHENS*, which were naturall *ATHENIANS* borne by father and mother . Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of *EGYPT* hauing sent a gifte vnto the people of *ATHENS*, of forty thousand bushells of corne, to be distributed among the citizens there : many by occasion of this lawe were accused to be bafe borne, and specially men of the bafe sorte of people, which were not known before, or at the least had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were falsely and wrongfully condemned . Whereupon so it fell out, that there were no lesse then fise thousand of them conuicted and solde for slaues : and they that remained as free men, and were iudged to be naturall citizens, amownted to the number of fourteene thousand and fortie persones . Now this was much unlike : of the people, that a lawe enacted, and that had bene of suche force, should by the selfe maker and deuiler of the same be againe reuoked and called in . Howbeit *Pericles* late calamitie that fortuned to his house, dyd breake the peoples hardened hartes against him . Who thinking these sorowes smarte, to be punishment enough vnto him for his former pryde, and iudging that by goddes diuine iustice and permission, this plague and losse fell vpon him, and that his request also was tolerable : they suffered him to enrolle his bafe borne sonne in the register of the lawfull citizens of his familie, geuing him his owne name, *Pericles* . It is the selfe same *Pericles*, who after he had overcome the *PELOPONNESIANS* in a great battell by sea, neere vnto the Iles *ARGINUSES*, was put to death by sentence of the people, with the other captaines his companiōs . Now was *Pericles* at that time infected with the plague, but not so vehemently as other were, rather more temperately : & by long space of time, with many alterations and chaunges, that dyd by litle and litle decaye, and consume the strength of his bodie, and overcame his senses and noble minde . Therefore *Theophrastus* in his morales declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners doe chaunge with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe so alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reason : that *Pericles* in this sickness shewed a friende of his that came to see him, I cannot tell what a preferring charme the women had tyed (as a carkanet) about his necke, to let him vnderstand he was very ill, since he suffered them to apply suche a fooliſhe bable to him . In the ende, *Pericles* drawing fast vnto his death, the Nobilitie of the cittie, and such his friendes as were left aliue, standing about his bed, beganne to speake of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, considering the greatnes of his noble actes, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten battells being generall of the *ATHENIANS*, and had set vp so many tokens and triumphes in honour of his cuntrye) they reckoned vp among them selues all these matters, as if he had not vnderstoode them, imagining his senses had bene gone . But he contrariſe being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had sayed, and thus he beganne to speake vnto them . That he marueled why they had so highly prayed that in him, which was common to many other captaines, and wherein fortune delt with them in equalitie a like, and all this while they had forgotten to speake of the best & most notable thing that was in him, which was : that no *ATHENIAN* had euer worne blacke gowne through his occasion . And suer fo was he a noble and worthy person . For he dyd not only shewe him selfe mercifull and courteous, euen in most weightie matters of government, among so enuious people and hateful

A lawe as *Athenians* first bafe borne childre.

Pericles the bafe borne put to death. *Pericles* sickness.

A philosophicall question touching change of mens manners by misfortune. *Pericles* death.

A notable saying of *Pericles* as his death.

enemies: but he had this iudgement also to thincke, that the most noble actes he dyd were these, that he neuer gaue him selfe vnto hatred, enuie, nor choller, to be reuenged of his most mortall enemy, without mercy shewed towards him, though he had committed vnto him suche absolute power and sole gouernment among them. And this made his surname to be *Olympius* (as to saye, diuine or celestiall) which otherwise for him had bene to proude and arrogant a name, because he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great libertie he had kept cleane handes & vndeiled: euen as we esteeme the goddess authors of all good, and causers of no ill, and so worthy to gouerne and rule the whole monarchie of the world. And not as Poets saye, which doe confounde our wittes by their follies, and sonde faynings, and are also contrarie to them selues, considering that they call heauen (which containeth the goddess) the euerlasting seare, which trembleth not, and is not driuen nor moued with windes, neither is darkened with cloudes, but is allwayes bright and cleare, and at all times shynyng equally with a pure bright light, as being the only habitation and mansion place of the eternall God, only happy and immortall. And afterwarde they describe it them selues, full of dissensions, of enmities, of anger and passions, which doe nothing become wise and learned men. But this discourse peraduenture would be better spoken of in some other booke. Nowe, the troubles the *ATHENIANS* felt immediately after *Pericles* death, made them then lament the losse of so noble a member. For those who vnpatiently dyd brooke his great authoritie while he liued, because it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other speakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confesse, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor graue, with lenitie and mercie, then his was. And that most hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, dyd then most plainly appeare vnto them, to haue bene the manifest ramper and bullwarke of the safetie of their whole state and common weale: suche corruption and vice in gouernment of the state, dyd then spring vp immediately after his death, which when he was aliue, he dyd euer suppress and keepe vnder in suche sorte, that either it dyd not appeare at all, or at the least it came not to that hed and libertie, that suche faultes were committed, as were vnpossible to be remedied.

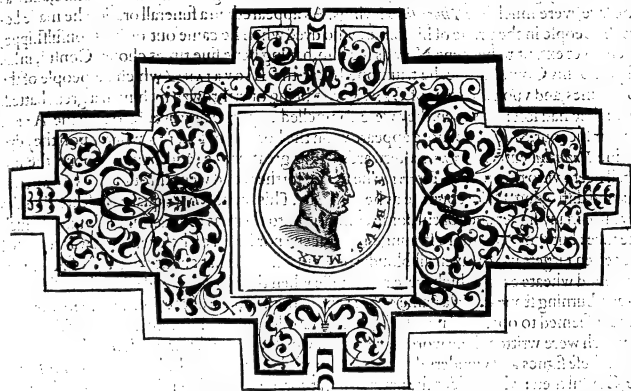
The ende of Pericles life.

*Pericles de-
fermedly cal-
led Olympius.*

*The Athe-
nians lamen-
ted the losse of
Pericles
being dead.*

THE LIFE OF

Fabius Maximus.



HAVING already declared vnto you such things worthy memorie as we could collect, and gather of the life of *Pericles*: it is now good time we should proceede to write also of the life of *Fabius Maximus*. It is sayed the first *Fabius*, from whom the house and familie of the *Fabians* dyd descend (being the greatest & noblest house of all other in *ROME*) was begotten by *Hercules*, whom he gatte of a *Nympe* (or as other saye, a woman of the coutrie) by the riuer of *Tyber*. And some saye, that the first of this house, were called at the beginning *Fodians*, because they dyd hunte wilde beastes, with pittefalls and ditches: For vnto this present the *ROMAINES* call ditches, *Fosse*: and to digge *Fodere*. Since that time, the two second letters haue bene chaunged, and they haue called them *Fabians*. But how foueuer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that house: and among other, there was one of that house called *Fabius Rullus*, whom the *ROMAINES* for his noble after dyd surname *Maximus*, very great. After him *Fabius Maximus*, whose life we haue now in hande, was the fourth lineally descended of the same line, and he was surnamed *Verrucosus*, because of a certen birth marke he had vpon one of his lippes, like a litle wart. And he was also surnamed *Onicula*, a litle lamme, for his softnes, slownes, and grauity of his doings whilest he was a childe. But because of nature he was dull, still, and very silent, and that he was seldom seene to playe at any pastime among the boyes, and for that they sawe he was but of slowe capacitie, and hard to learne and conceyue, and withall that the boyes might doe to him what they would, he was so lowly to his fellowes: this made men iudge that looked nor into him, that he would proue a very foole and nigeot. Yet other were of contrarie opinion of him: who considering more deeply the man, perceyued in his nature a certen secreet constancie & the maiestie of a lyon. But *Fabius* selfe when he was called to serue the common weale, dyd quickly shewe to the world, that which they tooke for dullnes in him, was his grauitie, which neuer altered for no cause or respect: and that which other iudged fearefulness in him, was very wisdom. And where he shewed him selfe not hastie, nor sodaine in any thing: it was found in him an assured and settled constancie. Wherefore when he came to consider the great foueraintie of their common weale, and the continuall warres it was in: he dyd vfe his bodie to all hardnes, and brought vp him selfe therewithall, that he might be the better able to serue

*Fabius Rullus
Maximus,
Fabius Ma-
ximus called
Verrucosus
& Onicula.*

in the field: and he gaue him selfe much to eloquence also, as a necessary instrument to persuade souldiers vnto reason. His tongue likewise did agree with his conditions, and manner of life. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfeited finenes in his speech, but his words were euer very graue and profound, and his sentences euen graffe in him by nature, and (as some saye) were much like *Thucydides* sayings. As appeareth in a funeral oration he made before the people in the praise of his sonne, who dyed when he came out of his Consulshippe, which is yet extant to be seene. Now as for him, hauing bene fve times chosen Consul, in his first yere of his Consulshippe, he triumphed ouer the *LIGURIANS* (which be people of the mountaines, and vpon the coast of *GENVA*) who being ouerthrowen by him in a great battell, where they had lost many men, they were compelled to goe their waye, & to take the *ALPES* for their succour, & durst no more appeare vpon the borders of *ITALIE*, whereupon they dyd confine. *Hannibal* entring *ITALY* afterwards with a great armie, and hauing wonne the first battell neere vnto the riuer of *TREBIA*: he passed further, and went through *TVSCAN*, wasting and distroying all the countrie as he passed by. This made *ROME* quake for feare. Besides they sawe many signes and tokens, some common vnto them, as thundering, lightning, & such other like: but other also more strange, neuer seene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certen targets were waxen all bloudie of them selues, & that about the cittie of *ANTIVM* they found wheate eares, which were all bloudie when they were reaped: that there fell from heauen, burning stones all in a flame of fire: and in the countrie of the *PHALERIANS* how the element seemed to open, and many litle written scrolles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written these wordes, worde for worde: *Mars doth now handle his weapons.* C But all these signes and wonders dyd nothing appawle nor daunte the boldnes of *Caius Flaminius*, Consul then: who besides the natural great courage, & aspiring minde he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the wonderfull good successe he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellowe Consul stoode against his intent: he for all that dyd geue battell to the *GAULS*, in despite of them all, and wanne the victorie. Likewise, though all these signes & wonders in the ayre, dyd greatly trouble, and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble *Fabius*, for he sawe no apparent cause to be troubled withall. But he vnderstanding the small number of his enemies, and the lacke of money that was among them: gaue counsell, and was of opinion they should patiently forbear a litle, and not to hazard battell against a man, whose armie hadde bene long D trained in warres, and by many foughten fields was grown valliant and expert. Moreover, he thought good they should send ayde to their subiects, and other their allies and confederates, as neede required, to keepe their cities still vnder their obedience: and in the meane season by tract of time, to weare out *Hanniballs* force and power, which was like strawe set a fire, that straight geueth forth a blase, and yet hath no substance to holde fire long. When *Fabius* had thus layed enough to persuade *Flaminius*, yet it would not sincke into *Flaminius* heade: for, sayeth he, I will not tarie vntill the warres come to *ROME* gates, neither will I be brought to fight vpon the walles of the cittie, to defend it, and as *Camillus* dyd, that fought within the cittie selfe in olde time. Whereup on he commaunded his captaines to set out their bandes to the field, and he him selfe tooke his horse backe: which vpon the sodaine, without any cause E was so feard, and tooke so on with him selfe, that he cast the Consul to the ground with his heade forward. For all this fall he would not change his minde, but helde on his iorney toward *Hannibal*, and presented him battell in *TVSCAN*, by the lake called *Thrasimena*, which is the lake of *PERVISA*. This battell was so fiercely fought on both sides, that notwithstanding there was such a terrible earthquake therewith, that some cities were ouerthrowen and turned topsi turuey, some riuers had their streames turned against their course, and the foote of the mountaines were tome in fonder, and broken open: yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any such thing at all. *Flaminius* the Consul selfe was slaine at that battell, after he had in his owne persone done many a valliant acte, and many of the worthiest gentlemen and valliantest souldiers of his armie laye dead about him: the residue being fled, the slaughter F was great, for the bodies slaine were fiftene thousand, and so many prisoners left aliuie. After this ouerthrowe, *Hannibal* made all the searche he could possible to finde the bodie of *Flaminius*,

Fabius five times Consul.

Hannibal destroyeth the countrie of Thvscan.

Flaminius rebutes.

Fabius wife counsell.

The Romaines slaine by the lake of Thrasimena.

Flaminius the Consul slaine.

Annus, to burie him honorably, because of his valliantnes: but he could neuer be founde amongest the dead bodies, neither was it euer heard what became of it. Now as touching the first ouerthrowe at *TREBIA*, neither the generall that wrote it, nor the poet that brought the first newes to *ROME*, tolde the trothe of it as it was, but sayned that the ende was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the best. But of this battell, so fone as the pretor *Pomponius* had receyued the newes, he called all the people to counsell, where without disguising or dissembling at all, he playnely sayed thus vnto them. My Lordes, we have lost the battell, our armie is ouerthrowen, and the Consul him selfe is slaine in the field: wherefore consider what you haue to doe, & prouide for your safety. These wordes spoken to the people, as it had bene a boysterous storme of weather that had fallen on them from B the sea, to put them in daunger, dyd so terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole cittie for feare: that they were all in a maze, and knewe not what to determine. Yet in the ende they all agreed, that it stoode them vpon to haue a chief magistrate, called in Latin *Dictator*, that should be a man of corage, and could stowtely vse it without sparing or fearing any persone. And for this, *Fabius Maximus* was thought the only man mete to be chosen, as he, whose noble corage and graue behauiour was aniuersable, to the dignitie and fourraintie of the office: and moreover, that to his grauity and wisdom there was ioyned (by reasonable age) strength of bodie, and valliantnes with experience. This counsell being confirmed by them all, *Fabius* was chosen *Dictator*, who named *Lucius Minutius* generall of the horsemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would graunte him he might C haue his horse in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the *Dictator*, but expressly forbidden by an auncient order. Either because they thought the chiefeest force of their armie dyd consist in their footemen, which caused the making of this lawe: whereby the generall should be amongest them in the daye of the battell, and in no wise should forsake them. Or els because the authoritie of this magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a King: yet all this notwithstanding, they were willing therunto, and that the *Dictator* should haue absolute power ouer the people. *Fabius* at his first coming, because he would shewe the maiestie and dignitie of his office, and that euery man should be the more obedient and readie at his commaundement: when he went abroad, he had foure and twentie sergeants before him, carying the bundells of rodde, and axes, D And when one of the Consuls came to him, he sent a sergeant to commaund his bundell of rodde that were caried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layed a side: and that he should come and speake with him, as a priuate man. And first to make a good foundation, and to beginne with the seruice of the goddes: he declared vnto the people, that the losse they had receyued, came through the rashenes and willfull negligence of their captaine, who made no reckoning of the goddes nor religion: and not through any default and cowardlines of the souldiers. And for this cause he dyd persuade them not to be afrayed of their enemies, but to appeale the wrath of the goddes, and to serue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but dyd confirme their valiancy with true religion and godlines: and besides dyd viterly take awaye and awayne their feare E of their enemies, by geuing them certaine hope and assurance of the ayde of the goddes. Then were the holy bookes of the *Sibylles* prophesies perused, which are kept very secret: and therein they founde certaine auncient prophesies and oracles, which spake of the present misfortunes of the time. But what were contained therein, it is not lawfull to be vtered to any persone. Afterwards the *Dictator*, before the open assembly of the people, made a solemne vowe vnto the goddes, that he would sacrifice all the profits and frutes that should fall the next yere, of sheepe, of fowes, of milche kyne, and of goates in all the mountaines, champion countrie, riuers, or meadowes of *ITALIE*. And he would celebrate playes of musike, & shewe other fighthes in the honour of the goddes, and would bestowe vpon the same the summe of three hundred three & thirtie Sestericians, & three hundred three & thirtie Romaine pence, & F a third parte ouer. All which summe reduced into Graecian money, amounteth to foure score three thousand, five hundred, and foure score, and three sliuer drachimas, & two obolos. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this summe so precisely, and why R

Fabius Dictator.

The Dictator might norride in the warres.

The maiestie of Fabius the Dictator.

Fabius religion.

The Sibylles bookes of prophesies.

Fabius vow.

he dyd deuise it by three, vnles it were to extolle the power of the number of three: bicaufe it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the first of the odde numbers, which is the beginning of diuers numbers, and conteineth in it self the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and ioyned together. So *Fabius* hauing brought the people to hope, and trust to haue the ayde and fauour of the goddes: made them in the ende the better disposed to liue well afterwards. Then *Fabius* hoping after victorie, and that the goddes would fend good lucke and prosperitie vnto men, through their valliantes and wisdom: dyd straight let forwards vnto *Hannibal*, not as minded to fight with him, but fully resolved to weare out his strength and power, by delays and tract of time: and to increase his pouterie by the long spending of his owne money, and to consume the small number of his people, with the great number of his souldiers. *Fabius* camped allwayes in the strong and high places of the mountaines, out of all daunger of his enemies horsemen, and coasted still after the enemy: so that when *Hannibal* stayed in any place, *Fabius* also stayed: if *Hannibal* remoued, he followed him straight, and would be allwayes neere him, but neuer forsooke the hilles, neither would he come so neere him, as that he should be enforced to fight against his will. Yet allwayes he followed the enemy at his tayle, and made him euer afeard of him, thincking full that he sought to get the vantage, to geue the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this sorte: he became disliked of euery bodye. For euery man both in his owne campe, and abroade, spake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better, then a rancke coward, *Hannibal* only excepted. But he perceyuing his great reach and policie, and foreseeing the manner of fight, save there was no remedy, but by playne force or slight to bring him to the fight: for otherwise his delaye would ouerthrowe the *CARTHAGINIANS*, when they should not come to handy strokes with him, wherein only consisted all their hope and strength, and in the meane time his souldiers should fall away, and dye, and his money was scante, and him selfe should growe the weaker. Thereupon *Hannibal* beganne to bethinke him, and deuise all the stratagemes and policies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wrestler, to seeke out all the trickes he could to geue his aduersarie the falle. For sodainely he would goe and geue alarm to his campe: by and by againe he would retire. Another time he would remoue his campe, from one place to another, and geue him some aduantage, to see if he could plucke his lingring deuise out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for *Fabius*, he continued still resolute in his first determination: that delaye of fight was the best waye so to ouerthrowe him. Howbeit *Minutius*, generall of his horsemen, dyd trouble him muche. For he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and brauing of a lustie courage, crept into opinion with the souldiers, by his whotte furie and desire to fight. Which wrought muche in them, and so sturred vp their corages, that they mocked *Fabius*: altogether: and called him *Hanniballs* schoolemaster: and contrariwise they commended *Minutius*, for a valliant captaine, and worthy *ROMAINE*. This made *Minutius* looke highe, and haue a prowde opinion of him selfe, mocking *Fabius*: bicaufe he euer lodged on the hilles, with saying, the *Dissator* would make them goodly sportes, to see their enemies waste and burne *ITALY* before their face. Moreover, he asked *Fabius* friends, whether he would in the ende lodge his campe in the skye, that he dyd clyme vp so highe vpon mountaines, mistrusting the earth: or els that he was so affrayed, his enemies would finde him out, that he went to hyde him selfe in the clowdes. *Fabius* friends made reporte of these ieauses, and aduised him rather to hazard battell, then to beare such reproachefull wordes as were spoken of him. But *Fabius* answered them. If I should yde to that you counsell me, I should shewe my selfe a greater coward then I am taken for now: by leauing my determination, for feare of their mockes and spightfull wordes. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearefull, and ielous, of the welfare and safetie of his cuntry: but otherwise to be afeard of the wagging of euery strawe, or to regard euery common prating, it is not the parte of a worthy man of charge, but rather of a base minded person, to seeke to please those whom he ought to commaunde and gouerne, bicaufe they are but fooles. After this, *Hannibal* chaunced to fall

*Fabius doing
against Hanni-
bal.*

*Minutius ge-
nerall of the
horsemen,
dispiised Fa-
bius counsell.*

A fall into a great error. For intending to leaue *Fabius* to bring his armie into the playnes, where there was plentie of vittells, and store of pasture to feede his horse and cattell: he commaunded his guydes to bring him straight after supper, into the playne of *CASINVM*. They mistaking his wordes, and not vnderstanding well what he sayed, bicaufe his *ITALIAN* tongue was but meane: tooke one thing for another, and so brought him and his armie to the ende of a feild neere the citie of *CASILINVM*, through the midst of the which runneth a riuer, the *ROMAINS* call *Fulturnus*. Nowe the cuntry lying by it, was a valley compassed in with mountaines round about, sauing that the riuer went to the sea: where leauing his owne bankes, it spreadeth abroade into the marishes, and bankes of sande very deepe, and in the ende fell into that parte of the sea which is most dangerous, and there was neither succour nor couert. *Hannibal* being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a sacke, *Fabius* that knewe the cuntry, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereabouts, followed him steppe by steppe, and stopped his passage, where he should haue come out of the valley, with foure thousand footemen, which he planted there to keepe the straight, and disposed the rest of his armie vpon the hangings of the hilles, in the most apt and fit places all about. Then with his light horse men he gaue a charge, vpon the rereward of his enemies battell: which put all *Hanniballs* armie by and by out of order, and so there were slaine eight hundred of his men. Whereupon *Hannibal* would haue remoued his campe thence immediatly, and knowing then the faulte his guydes had made, taking one place for another, and the daunger wherein they had brought him: he roundly trusted them vp, and honged them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the toppes of the hilles, and to winne them from their strength, he sawe it was vnpossible, and out of all hope. Wherefore, perceyuing his souldiers both affrayed and discouraged, for that they sawe them selues hemmed in on all sides, without any order to escape: *Hannibal* determined to deceyue *Fabius* by a deuise. He caused straight two thousand oxen to be chosen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their spoyle, and tyed to their hornes light bundells of reedes, and fallowe faggottes, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commaunded the drouers that had the charge of them, that when they sawe any signall or token lift vp in the ayer in the night, they should then straight set fire on those bundels and bunches, and driue vp the beastes to the hilles, toward the wayes where the enemies laye. D Whilest these things were a preparing, he on the other side ranged his armie in order of battell: and when night came, caused them to marche fayer and softly. Now these beastes, whilest the fyre was but litle that burnt vpon their hornes, went but fayer and softly vp the hill from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driuen. In so muche as the heard men that were on the toppe of the mountaines, wondred maruelously to see suche flames and fires about the hornes of so many beastes, as if it had bene an armie marching in order of battell with lightes and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the stumps, and that the force of the fyre dyd fyre their very fleshe: then beganne the oxen to fight together, and to shake their heades, whereby they dyd set one another a fyre. Then left they their softe pace, & went no more in order as they dyd before, but for the extreme payne they felt, beganne to runne here and there in the mountaines, carying fyre still about their hornes, and in their tayles, and set fyre of all the boughes and coppies they passed by. This was a straunge sight to looke vpon, and dyd muche amaze the *ROMAINS* that kept the passages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne here and there with torches in their handes. Whereupon they were in a maruelous feare and trouble, supposing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuironne them of all sides: so as they durst no more keepe the passages which they were commaunded; but forsaking the straights, beganne to flye towards their mayne and great campe. Thereupon *Hanniballs* light horse men immediatly possessed the straights that were kept: by reason whereof, all the rest of his armie marched out at their ease and leysure, without feare or daunger, notwithstanding that they were loden and troubled with maruelous great spoyle, and of all kynde of fortes. *Fabius* then perceyued very well the same night, that it was but a slight of *Hannibal*: for some of the oxen that fled here and there fell vpon his armie. Whereupon

*Hannibal fell
into great er-
ror.*

*Casilinum a
citie.
Fulturnus fl.*

*Hannibal sit
vpon by Fa-
bius.*

*Hannibals
stratagemes.*

Hannibal
craftines &
gaunt Fabius

Fabius chas-
geth prisoners
with Hannibal

Fabius rede-
meth the pri-
soners with
his money.

Fabius lea-
meth Minu-
tius his lie-
tenant in the
field.

Minutius
raffenes.

fearing to fall vpon some ambushe by reason of the darke night, he kept his men in battell a raye, without furring, or making any noise. The next morning by breake of daye, he beganne to followe his enemy by the tracke, and fell vpon the tayle of the rereward, with whom he skirmished within the straite of the mountaines: and so dyd distresse somewhat *Hannibal* armie. *Hannibal* thereupon sent out of his vanguard a certaine number of Spaniards (very lusty and nymble fellows, that were vsed to the mountaines, and acquainted with climbing vp vpon them) who coming downe, and setting vpon the *ROMAINES*, that were heauy armed, slue a great number of them, and made *Fabius* to retire. Thereupon they despised *Fabius* the more, and thought worke of him then they dyd before: because his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with *Hannibal*, but by wisdom and policie to overthrow him, where as he him selfe by *Hannibal* was first finely handled and deceyued. *Hannibal* then to bring *Fabius* further in disliking and suspition with the *ROMAINES*, commaunded his souldiers when they came neere any of *Fabius* landes, that they should burne and destroye all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wise to meddle with *Fabius* landes, nor any thing of his, and dyd purposely appointe a garrison to see that nothing of *Fabius* should miserie, nor yet take hurte. This was straight caried to *ROME*, which dyd thereby the more incense the people against him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceased crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by *Metellus* speciall procurement and persuation: who of him selfe had no caule to mislike with *Fabius*, but only because he was *Minutius* kinleman (generall of the horsemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bare to *Fabius*, would turne to the prayle and aduancement of *Minutius*. The Senate also were much offended with *Fabius*, for the composition he made with *Hannibal*, touching the prisoners taken of either side. For it was articulated betweene them, that they should chaunge prisoners, deliuering man for man, or els two hundred and fiftie silver drachmas for a man, if the one chaunced to haue more prisoners then the other. When exchange was made betweene them, it appeared that *Hannibal* had left in his handes of *ROMAINES* prisoners, two hundred and fortie more, then *Fabius* had to exchange of his. The Senate commaunded there should be no money sent to redeeme them, and greatly founde faulte with *Fabius* for making this accord: because it was neither honorable, nor profitable for the common weale to redeeme men that cowardly suffered them selues to be taken prisoners of their enemies. *Fabius* vnderstanding it, dyd patiently beare this displeasure conceyued against him by the Senate. Howbeit hauing no money, and meaning to keepe his worde, and not to leaue the poore citizens prisoners behinde him: he sent his sonne to *ROME*, with commission to sell his landes, and to bring him money immediatly. The young man went his waye to *ROME*, and sold his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the campe: *Fabius* therewith redeemed the prisoners, and sent their ranfome vnto *Hannibal*. Many of the prisoners whom he had redeemed, offred to repaye him their ranfome: but he would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ranfome freely. Afterwards being called to *ROME* by the priestes to doe certaine solemne sacrifices, he left the armie in charge with *Minutius*, to gouerne the same in his absence, with condition not to set vpon the enemy, nor to fight with him at all: the which not only by his authoritie he dyd expressly forbide him, but also as his very friende, he dyd warne and intreate him in no wise to attempt. Howbeit *Minutius* little regarding his commaundementes or requestes, so sone as *Fabius* backe was turned, beganne to be somewhat lustie, and doing with his enemies. So one daye amongst the rest, *Minutius* perceyuing *Hannibal* had sent a great parte of his armie abroad to forrage and get vitells: came and set vpon them that remained behinde, and draue them into their campe, with great slaughter, and dyd put them in a maruelous feare that were saved, as men that looked for no lesse, but to haue bene besieged in their campe. Afterwards also, when their whole armie came together againe: he retired backe in sight of them all, and lost not a man. This exploit set *Minutius* in a pryde, and brought the souldiers to be more rashe then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrow went forth with speede to *ROME*, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. *Fabius* hearing of it, sayed: he was more afraid of *Minutius* prosperitie, then of his owne aduersitie.

Fabius accus-
sed of treason
by Metellus
the Tribune.

A uersitie. But the common people reioyced maruelously, and made great shewe of ioye vp and downe the market place. Whereupon *Metellus* one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highly magnified *Minutius*, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged *Fabius* no more of cowardliness, but with flat treason. Furthermore, he dyd accuse the Nobilitie and greatest men of *ROME*, saying: that from the first beginning they had layed a platte to drawe these warres out at length, only to destroye the peoples power and authoritie, hauing brought the whole common weale, to the state of a monarchy, and into the handes of a priuate persone. Who by his remissenes and delays, would geue *Hannibal* leysure to plante him selfe in *ITALIE*, and by time geue open passage to the *CARTHAGINIANS*, at their pleasure to send *Hannibal* a second ayde and armie, to make a full conquest of all *ITALIE*. *Fabius* hearing these wordes, rose vp straight, and spake to the people, and taried not about the answering of the accusations the Tribune had burdened him withall, but prayed them they would dispatche these sacrifices and ceremonies of the goddess, that he might speedily returne againe to the campe, to punish *Minutius*, for breaking his commaundement, in fighting with the enemy. He had no soner spoken these wordes, but there rose a maruelous tumulte and hurly burly presently among the people, for the danger *Minutius* stood in then: because the Dictator had absolute power and authoritie to imprisone and put to death, whom he thought good, without ordinary course of lawe or araynement. Moreouer, they dyd iudge, since *Fabius* had alate left his accustomed mildnes and affabilitie, that he would growe to such feueritie in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appeale him. Wherefore euery man held their peace for feare, sauing only *Metellus* the Tribune. He hauing authoritie by vertue of his office, to saye what he thought good, and who only of all other kept still his place and authoritie, when any Dictator was chosen: then all the officers that were put down, instantly besought the people not to forsake *Minutius*, nor to suffer the like to be done to him, as *Manlius Torquatus* dyd alate to his sonne, who strake of his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemies and overcome them, for breaking his commaundement. And beganne to persuaide them further, to take this tyrannical power of the Dictatorshippe from *Fabius*: and to put their stayfers into the handes of him, that would and could tell howe to bring them safely to passe. The people were tickled maruelously with these seditious wordes, but yet they durst not force *Fabius* to resign his Dictatorshippe, though they bare him great grudge, and were angry with him in their hartes. Howbeit they ordeined that *Minutius* thenceforth should haue equall power and authoritie with the Dictator in the warres, a thing that was neuer seene nor heard of before, and yet the very same done in that sorte againe, after the battell of Cannas. For *Marcus Iunius* being at that time Dictator in the campe, they dyd choose another Dictator at *ROME*, which was *Fabius Buteo*, to name and create newe Senators in the place of those that were slaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and restored the full number againe of the councill of the Senate: he discharged the selfe same daye the sergeants that caried the axes before him, and sent awaye the traine that waited vpon him, and dyd to put him selfe in prease of the people in the market place, and followed his owne peculiar busines as a priuate persone. Nowe the *ROMAINES* imagined, that when *Fabius* should see howe they had made *Minutius* equall in authoritie with him, it would greue him to the harte for very anger: but they came shortly to iudge of his nature, for he dyd not thincke that their folly should hurte or dishonour him at all. But as wise *Diogenes* answered one that sayed vnto him, looke, they mocke thee: thus he (sayd he) they mocke not me. Meaning thereby, that he tooke them to be ticked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus *Fabius* tooke euery thing quietly, that the people offered him, and dyd comfort him selfe with the philosophers rules and examples: who doe mainteine, that an honest and wise man, can no waye be injured nor dishonoured. For all the displeasure he receyued by the peoples folie, was in respect of the common wealth: because they had put a sworde into a mad mans hande, in geuing *Minutius* authoritie to followe his rashe humour, and fond ambition in the warres. Wherefore, fearing least he being blinded with vaine glorie, and presumptuous opinion of him selfe, should rashely (and vpon a head) hasten to doe some great

The cruelty
of Metellus
Torquatus to
his sonne af-
ter his victo-
rie.

The Dictator
and generall
of the horse-
men made e-
quall in au-
thoritie.

Diogenes
wordes.

hurre before he came to the campe: he departed sodainly out of Rome without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the cape, where he found *Minutius* so prowde & stowte, that he was not to be delt with. For he would nedes haue the authoritie to commaund the whole armie when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not consent to that, but decided the one halfe of the armie betweene them: thinking it better he should alone commaunde the one halfe, then the whole armie by turnes. So he chose for him selfe, the first and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the seconde and fourth, & decided also betweene them the eyde of their friends. And when *Minutius* made his boaste, that the maiestie of the highest magistrate was brought lower for his sake: *Fabius* tolde him that he might thincke, if he were wise, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hannibal*: and if he would nedes contend against his companion, yet he should haue a speciall regard and consideration, that hauing wonne nowe the citizens good willes, by whom he was so much honoured, he should haue no lesse care of their healtie and safety, then he had, who was nowe troden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. *Minutius* tooke his lesson, for a counterfeate mocke, after olde mens manners & facion: & so taking the one halfe of the armie vnto him, went and lodged alone by him self. *Hannibal* hearing of their iarre and squaring together, sought straight oportunitie to make their discord finely to serue his turne. Nowe there was a hill betweene both their campes not very harde to be wonne, and it was an excellent place to lodge a campe safely in, and was very fitte and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, dyd seeme a farre of to be very playne & euen ground, bicause they had no couert of wodde to shadowe them, yet were there many ditches and litle vallies in them: wherefore *Hannibal* though he might easely haue taken it at his pleasure if he had list, dyd let it alone in the middelt betweene them, for a bayte to drawe out his enemies to the battell. Nowe when *Hannibal* sawe *Fabius* and *Minutius* lodged a fonder, he placed certaine bandes in the night, among those ditches and valleyes. Afterwardes the next morning by breake of daye, he sent a small number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this pollicie to traine *Minutius* out to the field, as it fell out in deede. For first *Minutius* sent thither his light horsemen, and afterwardes all his men at armes: and lastely perceyning that *Hannibal* him selfe came to relieue his men that were vpon the hill, he him selfe marched forward also with all the rest of his armie in order of battell, & gaue a whorle charge vpon them that defended the hill, to drue them thence. The fight continued equall a good space betweene them both, vntill such time as *Hannibal* saw his enemy come directly within his daunger, and shewed the reuerend of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had layed in ambushe: he straight raised the signall he had geuen them. They vpon that discovered all together, and with great cries dyd set vpon the reuerend of the ROMAINES, & slue a great number of them at the first charge: and dyd put the reste in such a feare and disorder, as it is vnpossible to expresse it. Then was *Minutius* rashe brauerie and fonde boastes muche cooled, when he looked first vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and sawe in none of them any courage to tarie by it, but rather that they were all readie to runne awaye. Which if they had done, they had bene cast awaye every man: for the NUMIDIANS finding they were the stronger, dyd disperse themselves all about the plaine, killing all stragglers that fled. *Minutius* souldiers being brought to this daunger and distresse, which *Fabius* foresawe they would fall into, and hauing vpon this occasion his armie readie ranged in order of battell, to see what would be come of *Minutius*, not by reporte of messengers, but with his owne eyes: he got him to a lide hill before his campe, where when he sawe *Minutius* and all his men compassed about on every side, & euen staggering & ready to flye, & heard besides their cries not like men that had hartes to fight, but as men scared, and ready to flye for feare to saue them selues: he clapped his hande on his thighe, and fetched a great sighe, saying to those that were about him. O goddes, howe *Minutius* is gone to cast him selfe awaye, soner then I looked for, and later then he desired? But in speaking these wordes, he made his enignes marche on in haste, crying out alowde. O my friends, we must dispatche with speede to succour *Minutius*: for he is a valliant man of persone, & one that loueth the honour of his countrie. And though with our much hardines he hath ventred to farre, & made a faulte, thinking to haue put the enemies to flight: time serueth not now to accuse him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he presely brake the

Minutius
proude.

Hannibal
layed ambushe
for *Minutius*.

Fabius fore-
sight in the
warre.

the NUMIDIANS, and disparfed them, that laye waiting in the fields for the ROMAINES, which they thought would haue fled. Afterwardes he went further, and dyd set vpon them that had geuen charge vpon the reuerend of *Minutius* battell, where he slue them that made head against him. The residue, fearing lest they should fall into the daunger they had brought the ROMAINES vnto: before they were enuironned in of all sides, dyd turne taile straight to *Fabius*. Nowe *Hannibal* seeing this change, and considering howe *Fabius* in persone, with more courage then his age required, dyd make a lane in the middelt of those that fought against the side of the hill, to come to the place where *Minutius* was: he made the battell to cease, and commaunded to founde the retreat, and so drue backe his men againe into his campe, the ROMAINES being very glad also they might retire with safetie. They saye *Hannibal* in his retiring, layed merylie to his friends: haue not I tolde you (Sirs) many a time and oft, of the hanging clowde we sawe on the toppe of the mountaines, howe it would breake out in the ende with a tempest that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, *Fabius* hauing stript those that were left dead in the field, retired againe to his owne campe, & spake not an ill word of *Minutius* his companion. *Minutius* then being come to his cape, assembled his souldiers, & spake thus to them. My friends, not to erre at all, enterprising great matters, it is a thing passing mans nature: but to take warning hereafter, by faultes that are paste and done, it is the parte of a wise and valliant man. For my selfe, I acknowledge I haue no lesse occasion to prayse fortune, then I haue also cause to complaine of her. For that which long time could neuer teach me, I haue learned by experience in one litle pece of a daye: and that is this. That I am not able to commaunde, but am my selfe fitter to be gouerned and commaunded by another: and that I am but a foole to stande in mine owne conceipt, thinking to overcome those, of whom it is more honour for me to confesse my selfe to be overcome. Therefore I tell you, that the Dictator *Fabius* henceforth shalbe he, who alone shall commaund you in all things. And to let him knowe that we doe all acknowledge the fauour which we haue presently receyued at his hands: I will leade you to geue him thanks, & will my selfe be the first man to offer to obey him in all that he shall commaund me. These wordes being spoken, he commaunded his ensigne bearers to followe him, & he him selfe marched forth towards *Fabius* campe. When he came thither, he went directly to the Dictators tente: whereat euery man wondered, not knowing his intent. *Fabius* came out to mete him. *Minutius* after he had set downe his enignes at his feete, sayed with a lowde voyce. O father: and his souldiers vnto *Fabius* souldiers, O masters, which nameth the bondemen that are enfranchised, doe vse to them that haue manumitted them! Afterwardes euery man being silent, *Minutius* beganne alowde to saye vnto him. My lord Dictator, this daye you haue wonne two victories. The one of *Hannibal*, whom valliantly you haue overcome: the second, of my selfe your companion, whom also your wisdom and goodnes hath vanquished. By the one, you haue saued our liues: and by the other, you haue wisely taught vs. So haue we also bene overcome in two sortes: the one by *Hannibal* to our shame, and the other by your selfe, to our honour and preferuation. And therefore doe I nowe call you my father, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honour you: acknowledging my selfe more bounde vnto you for the present grace and fauour I haue receyued of you, then vnto my naturall father that begatte me. For by him only I was begotten: but by you, mine, and all these honest citizens liues haue bene saued? And hauing spoken these wordes, he embraced *Fabius*: and so dyd the souldiers also, hartely embrace together, and kisse one another. Thus the ioye was great throught the whole campe, and one was so glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their chokes for great ioye. Nowe when *Fabius* was afterwardes put out of his office of Dictatorshippe, there were new Consuls chosen againe: the two first followed directly *Fabius* former order he had begone. For they kept them selues from geuing *Hannibal* any battell, and dyd allwayes send ayde to their subiects and friends, to keepe them from rebellion: vntill that *Terentius Varro* (a man of meane birth, and known to be very bold and rashe) by flattereing of the people, wanne credit among them to be made Consul. Then they thought that he by his rashnes and lacke of experience, would incontinently hazard battell: bicause he had cried out in all the assemblies before, that this warre would be euercasting, so long as the people dyd chuse any of the *Fabians* to be their ge-

Fabius respecteth *Minutius*, generally of the best men.

The great modestie of *Fabius*, *Minutius* occasion to his souldiers.

The wisdom of *Minutius* acknowledged his fault.

Minutius words to *Fabius*.

The rashnes of *Terentius Varro*, *Minutius Varro*, *Pak* *laus* *AEmilius* *consul*.

The Romanes
captive under
Terentius
Varro, 88000
men.
Fabius coun-
sell to Paulus
Æmilius.

Aufidius fl.

Hannibal
strategues
at the battell
of Cannæ.

neralles, and vawnted him selfe openly, that the first day he came to see his enemies, he would ouerthrowe them. In geuing out these braue wordes, he assembled such a power, that the ROMAINES neuer sawe so great a number together, against any enemy that euer they had: for he put into one campe, foure score and eight thousand fighting men. This made *Fabius* and the other ROMAINES, men of great wisdom and iudgement, greatly affrayed: because they sawe no hope for ROMES to rise againe, if it fortuneth that they should lose so great a number of goodly youth. Therefore *Fabius* talked with the other Consul, called *Paulus Æmilius*, a man very skilfull and expert in warres, but ill beloved of the common people, whose furie he yet feared, for that they had condemned him a litle before to paye a great fine to the treasure: and after he had somewhat comforted him, he beganne to perswade and encourage him to resist the fonder rashnes of his companion, telling him, that he should haue as much to doe with *Terentius Varro* for the preservation and safety of his countrie, as to fight with *Hannibal* for defence of the same. For they were both Marshall men, and had a like desire to fight: the one because he knewe not wherein the vantage of his strength consisted, and the other because he knewe very well his weaknes. You shall haue reason to beleue me better, for matters touching *Hannibal*, then *Terentius Varro*. For I dare warrant you, if you keepe *Hannibal* from battell but this yere: he shall of necessitie, if he tarie, consume him selfe, or els for shame be driuen to flye with his armie. And the rather, because hetherof (though he seeme to be lord of the field) neuer one yet of his enemies came to take his parte: and moreover because there remaines at this daye in his campe not the third parte of his armie, he brought with him out of his countrie. Vnto these perswasions, the Consul (as it is reported) answered thus. When I looke into my selfe, my lord *Fabius*, me thinkes my best waye were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes, then once againe to light into the hands & voyces of our citizens. Therefore, sith the estate of the common wealthe so requirith it, that it behoueth a man to doe as you haue sayed: I will doe my best endeavour to thewe my selfe a wise capitaine, for your sake only, rather then for all other, that should aduise me to the contrary. And so *Paulus* departed from ROMES with this minde. But *Terentius* his companion would in any case, they should commaund the whole armie by turnes, eche his daye by him selfe: and went to encampe harde by *Hannibal*, by the riuer of Aufide, neere vnto the village called CANNES. Nowe when it came to his daye to commaund by turnes, early in the morning he caused the signall of battell to be set out, which was a coate armour of skarlet in graine, that they dyd laye out vpon the pavilion of the generall: so that the enemies at the first sight, beganne to be afearde, to see the lustines of this newe come generall, and the great number of souldiers he had also in his hoste, in comparison of them that were not halfe so many. Yet *Hannibal* of a good corage, commaunded euery man to arme, and to put them selues in order of battell: and him selfe in the meane time taking his horse backe, followed with a fewe, gallopped vnto the toppes of a litle hill not very steepe, from whence he might plainly discerne all the ROMAINES campe, and sawe howe they dyd range their men in order of battell. Nowe one *Giscon* (a man of like state and nobilitie as him selfe) being with him at that time, tolde him, that the enemies seemed a farre off to be a maruelous number. But *Hannibal* rubbing his forehead, answered him. Yea, sayed he, but there is another thing more to be wondered at then you thinke of *Giscon*. *Giscon* straight asked him: What? may I saye he this: that of all the great number of souldiers you see yonder, there is not a man of them called *Giscon* as you are. This mery answer deliuered contrarie to their expectation that were with him, looking for some great waightie matter, made them all laughe a good. So downe the hill they came laughing alowde, and tolde this prety iest to all they met as they rode, which straight from one to another ranne ouer all the campe, in so much as *Hannibal* him selfe could not holde from laughing. The CARTHAGINIAN souldiers perceyuing this, beganne to be of a good corage, imagining that their generall would not be so merylie disposed as to fall a laughing, being so neere daunger, if he had not perceyued him selfe a great deale to be the stronger, and that he had good cause also to make no reckoning of his enemies. Furthermore, he shewed two policies of a skilfull capitaine in the battell. The first was, the situation of the place, where he put his men in order of battell, so as they had the winde on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raised a sharpe dust out of the

Hannibal's or-
der of battell
at Cannæ.

The slough-
ter of the Ro-
maines at the
battell of
Cannæ.

Paulus Æ-
milius slaine
at the battell
of Cannæ.

50000. Ro-
maines slaine
at the battell
of Cannæ.

All Italy re-
uolted and
submitted to
Hannibal.

A the open sandy valley, and passing ouer the CARTHAGINIANS squadron, blew full in the ROMAINES faces, with such a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, & to trouble their owne ranks. The seconde policie was, the forme and order of his battell. For he placed on either side of his wings, the best and valliantest souldiers he had in all his armie: and dyd fill vp the middelt of his battell with the worst of his men, which he made like a pointe, and was farder out by a great deale, then the two wings of the fronte of his battell. So he commaunded those of the wings, that when the ROMAINES had broken his first fronte, and followed those that gaue backe, whereby the middelt of his battell should leaue an hollow place, and the enemies should come in still increasing within the compasse of the two wings: that then they should set vpon them on both sides, and charge their flanks immediately, and so inclose them in behind. And this was cause of a greater slaughter. For when the middle battell beganne to geue backe, and to receyue the ROMAINES within it, who pursued the other very wholy, *Hannibal*'s battell chaunged her forme: & where at the beginning it was like a pointe, it became nowe in the middelt like a creffant or halfe moone. Then the captaines of the chosen bandes that laye out in both the wings, made their men to turne, some on the left hand, and some on the right, and charged the ROMAINES on the flanks, and behinde, where they were all naked: so they killed all those that could not saue them selues by flying, before they were enuironned. They saye also, that there fell out another mischiefe by misfortune, vnto the horsemen of the ROMAINES, and by this occasion. The horse of *Paulus Æmilius* the Consul being hurte, dyd throwe his master on the ground: whereupon those that were next him, dyd light from their horse backs to helpe him. The residue of the horsemen that were a great waye behinde him, seeing them light, thought they had bene all commaunded to light: hereupon euery man forsooke their horse, and fought it out a foote. *Hannibal* when he sawe that, sayed: yea marie, I had rather haue them so, then deliuered me bounde hande and foote. But for those matters, the historiographers doe dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two CONSULS, *Varro* saued him selfe by his horse, with a fewe following him, within the cittie of *Venusia*. *Paulus* being in the middelt of the throng of all the armie, his bodie full of arrowes that stucke fast in his woundes, and his harte fore loden with greivous sorowe and anguisher to see the ouerthrowe of his men: was set downe by a rocke, looking for some of his enemies, to come and ryd him out of his payne. But fewe could knowe him, his head and face was of such a gore bloude: in so much as his friends and seruants also passed by him, and knewe him not. And there was but one young gentleman of a noble house of the *Patricians*, called *Cornelius Lentulus*, that knewe him, who dyd his best endeavour to saue him. For he lighted a foote presently, & brought him his horse, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could saue him selfe for the necessitie of his countrie, which nowe more then euer had neede of a good and wise capitaine. But he refused the gentlemen offer and his intreatie, and compelled him to take his horse backe againe, though the teares ranne downe his chekes for pittie: and raising him selfe vp to take him by the hande, he sayed vnto him. I pray you tell *Fabius Maximus* from me, and witnesse with me, that *Paulus Æmilius* euery in his last hower hath followed his counsaill, and dyd neuer swarue from the promise he made him: but that first he was forced to it by *Varro*, and afterwards by *Hannibal*. When he had deliuered these wordes, he bad *Lentulus* farewell: and running againe into the furie of the slaughter, there he dyed among his slaine companions. It is thought there were slaine at this battell, fiftie thousand ROMAINES, & foure thousand taken prisoners: and other tenne thousand that were taken prisoners in two camps after the battell. VVhen this noble victorie was gotten, *Hannibal*'s friendes gaue him counsaill to followe his good fortune: and to enter ROMES after the scattered number that fled thither: so as within fewe dayes following he might suppe in their capitoll. A man cannot easily geffe what was the cause that stayed him, that he went not, vnles it was (as I thinke) some good fortune, or favorable God toward the ROMAINES that withtoode him, and made him afearde and glad to retire. Whereupon they saye, that one *Barca* a CARTHAGINIAN, in F his anger sayed to *Hannibal*: Syr, you haue the waye to ouercome, but you cannot vs victorie. Notwithstanding, this victorie made a maruelous chaunge for him. For hereupon, all ITALY in manner came in to submit them selues to him: where before he had no towne at

cōmaudemēt, nor any storehouse or porte through all ITALIE, yea he did maruelous hardly, & with much a doe vittell his armie with that he could daylie robbe & spoyle, hauing no certē place to retire vnto, nor ground hope to entertaine these warres, but kept the field with his armie, remouing from place to place, as they had bene a great number of murderers & theues together. For the most parte of the cōūtrie, dyd yeld immediatly vnto him: as the cittie of CAPVA, being the chiefe & greatest cittie of all ITALIE but ROME, and dyd receyue Hannibal, and were at his deuotion. Thus we may plainly see, that as the poet *Enripides* sayeth: it is a great mischief not onely to be driuen to make triall of friendes, but prooue also of captaines wisdom. For that which before they accompted cowardlines and fainte harte in *Fabius*, immediatly after the battell, they thought it more then mans reason, & rather a heauenly wisdom and influence, that so long forefaue the things to come, which the parties felues that afterwards felt them, gaue little credit vnto before. Vpon this occasion, ROME reposed continually all their hope and truste in *Fabius*, and they repaired to him for couisell, as they would haue ronne vnto some temple or altar for sanctuarie. So as the first & chiefe cause of staying the people together from dispersing them selues abroad, as they dyd when ROME was taken by the GAULES: was the only opinion & confidence they had in *Fabius* wisdom. For where before he seemed to be a coward, and timorous, when there was no daunger nor misfortune happened: then when euery man wept and cried out for sorowe, which could not helpe, and that all the world was so troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone vp and downe the cittie very modestly, with a bold constant countenance, speaking curteously to euery one, and dyd appease their womanlike cries and lamentations, and dyd forbid the common assemblies & fonde ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corse at their burials. Then he perswaded the Senate to assemble in counsell, and dyd comforte vp those that were magistrates, and he alone was the only force and power of the cittie: for there was not a man that bare any office, but dyd cast his eye vpon *Fabius*, to knowe what he should doe. He it was that caused the gates of the cittie straight to be warded, and to keepe those in for going their waye, that would haue forsaken the cittie. He moreover dyd appointe the time and place of mourning, & dyd commaund whosoever was disposed to mourne, that he should doe it priuately in his owne house, and to continue only but thirtie dayes. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, and that the cittie might be cleane from such vnclane things. So the feast of *Ceres* falling about that time, he thought it better to leaue of the sacrifices & procession they were wont to keepe on *Ceres* daye: then by their small number that were left, and sorowe of those that remained, to let their enemies vnderstand their exceeding great losse. For the goddes delite to be serued with glad and reioycing hartes, and with those that are in prosperitie. But all this notwithstanding, whatsoever the priestes would haue done, either to pacifie the wrath of the goddes, or to turne awaye the threatnings of these sinister signes, it was forthwith done. For they dyd sende to the oracle of *Apollo*, in the cittie of DELPHES, one of *Fabius* kinsmen surnamed *Priator*. And two of the *Vestal Nunnes* being delioured: the one was buried aliue according to the lawe and custome, and the other made her self awaye. But here in the great corage and noble clemency of the ROMAINES, is maruelously to be noted and regarded. For the Consul *Terentius Varro* returning backe to ROME, with the shame of his extreme misfortune & ouerthrowe, that he durste not looke vpon any man: the Senate notwithstanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the cittie to meete him, and dyd honorably receyue him. Nay furthermore, those that were the chief magistrates and Senators, among whom *Fabius* was one, when silence was made, they commended *Varro* much: because he did not despaire of the preseruacion of the common weale after to great a calamitie, but dyd returne againe to the cittie, to helpe to reduce things to order, in vying the authoritie of the lawe, and the seruice of the citizens, as not being altogether vnder foote, but standing yet in reasonable termes of good recovery. But when they vnderstoode that *Hannibal* after the battell was gone into other partes of ITALIE: then they beganne to be of good chere againe, and sent a newe armie and generalles to the field, among which, the two chief generals were, *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, both which by contrary meanes in manner, wanne a like glorie and reputation. For *Marcellus* (as we haue declared in his life) was a man

Fabius confidence after the ouerthrowe at Cannae.

Fabius order for mourning.

The magnanimity of the Romanes after the ouerthrowe at Cannae.

Fabius Maximus, and *Claudius* Marcellus generalls.

A of speedy execution, of a quicke hande, of a valliant nature, and a right martiall man, as *Homer* calleth them, that valliantly put them selues in any daunger: by reason whereof, hauing to deale with another captaine a like venturous and valliant as him selfe, in all seruice and execution, he shewed the selfe boldnes and corage that *Hannibal* dyd. But *Fabius* persisting still vpon his first determination, dyd hope that though he dyd not fight with *Hannibal*, nor stirre him at all, yet continuall warres would consume him and his armie in the end, and bring them both to nought: as a commō wrestler that forceth his bodie aboue his naturall strength, doth in the ende become a lame and broofed man. Hereupon *Possidonius* writeth, that the one was called the ROMAINES sword, and the other their target. And that *Fabius* constancie and resolute in warres to fight with securitie, and to commit nothing to hazard & daunger, being mingled with *Marcellus* heate and furie: was that only, which preserued the ROMAINES empire. For *Hannibal* meeting allwayes in his waye the one that was furious, as a strong running streame, founde that his army was continually turmoyled and ouerharried: & the other that was slowe as a litle prety riuer, he founde that his army ranne softly vnder him without any noyse, but yet continually by litle and litle it dyd still consume & diminish him, vntill he sawe him selfe at the last brought to that passe, that he was weary with fighting with *Marcellus*, and affrayed of *Fabius* because he fought not. For during all the time of these warres, he had euer these two captaines almost against him, which were made either Prætors, Consuls, or Proconsuls: for either of them both had bene fūe times before chosen Consul. Yet as for *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* had layed an ambushe for him in the fift and last yere of his Consulshippe, where he set vpon him on a fodaine; and slue him. But as for *Fabius*, he layed many baytes for him, and dyd what he could by all the skill and reache he had, by ambushes, and other warlike policies to entrappe him: but he could neuer drawe him within his daunger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a litle trouble, and was in good hope then to haue made him falle vpon his ambushe he had layed for him: and by this policie. He had counterfeited letters written and sent vnto him from the cittie of METAPONT, to praye him to come to them, and they would deliuer their cittie into his handes: and withall, that such as were priuie to the contentes of the same, desired no other thing but his repaire thither. These letters prettily quickned *Fabius*, inso much as he was determined one night to haue taken parte of his armie, & to haue gone to them. But because the signes of the birdes dyd promise him no good successe, he left of his purpose. Some after he vnderstoode they were counterfeate letters, made by *Hannibals* fine deuise to haue drawn him out, & to haue intrapped him, for whom him selfe laye in persone in ambushe neere the cittie, looking and waiting for his comming: but the goddes who would haue him faued, were only to be thanked for his happy scape. Furthermore, concerning the reuolte of the citties that were subiect vnto them, and the rising of their allies & friends against them: *Fabius* thought it farre better to intreate them curteously, making them ashamed without occasion to rebell against them, rather then openly to suspect them, and to deale straightly with those that were so to be suspected. Now for this matter, it is reported that *Fabius* had a souldier in his campe that was a MARSIAN borne by nation, a valliant man of his persone, & also of as noble a house, as any that were of all the allies of the ROMAINES: who had practised with other his fellowes of the bande he serued in, to goe to see the enemy. *Fabius* hearing of this practise he went about, gaue him no ill countenance for it, but calling him to him, he sayed, I must confesse there is no reckoning made of you as your good seruice doth deserue: wherefore for this time (sayeth he) I blame the petty captaines only, which in such sorte doe bestowe their good will and fauour at adventure, and not by desert. But henceforth it shalbe your owne faulte if you doe not declare your minde vnto me, and betweene you and me make me priuie of your lacke & necessitie. When he had spoken these wordes to him, he gaue him a very good horse for seruice, and dyd reward him with other honorable giftes, as men of good seruice & desert haue commonly bestowed on them: and this dyd to encourage the souldier thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and seruicable souldier to the ROMAINES. For *Fabius* thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of horses, & such like as take vpon them to tame brute beastes, should sooner make them leaue their sauage & churlishe nature, by gentle vsage and manning of them: then by beating, and

Possidonius words of *Fabius* & *Marcellus*.

Marcellus slaine by an ambushe of *Hannibals*.

Hannibals ambushe layed for *Fabius*.

Fabius lenitie in correcting offenders.

How *Fabius* reclaimed an enuill souldier.

*Necessarie
rules for a cap-
taine.*

shacking of them. And so a gouernour of men, should rather correct his souldier by pacience, A
gentlenes, and clemency: then by rigour, violence, or feueritie. Otherwise he should handle
them more rudely, and sharply, then husbandmen doe figge trees, oliue trees, & wilde pome-
garnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, doe alter their harde and wilde
nature, & cause them in the end to bring forth good figges, oliues & pomegarnets. Another
time certaine captaines of his brought him word, that there was one of their souldiers which
would euer goe out of the cape, & leaue his ensigne. He asked them, what manner of man he
was. They answered him all together, that he was a very good souldier, and that they could
hardly finde our suche another, in all their bandes as he: and therewithall they tolde him, of
some notable seruice they had seene him doe in person. Whereupon *Fabius* made a diligent
enquierie to know what the cause was, that made him goe fo off out of the campe in the end, B
he founde he was in loue with a young woman, and that to goe see her, was the cause he dyd
fo ofte leaue his ensigne, and dyd put his life in so great danger, for that she was so farre of.
When *Fabius* vnderstoode this, he sent certaine souldiers (vnknowing to the souldier) to bring
the woman awaye he loued, and willed them to hyde her in his tente: and then called he the
souldier to him, that was a *LVCANIAN* borne, and taking him a side, sayed vnto him thus. My
friend, it hath bene tolde me, how thou hast lyen many nightes out of the campe, against the
lawe of armes, and order of the *ROMAINES*, but therewithall I vnderstande also that other-
wise thou art an honest man, and therefore I pardon thee thy faultes past, in consideration of thy
good seruice: but from henceforth I will geue thee in custodie to such a one, as shall make me
account of thee. The souldier was blanke, when he heard these wordes. *Fabius* with him, C
caused the woman he was in loue with, to be brought forth, and deliuered her into his hands,
sayng vnto him. This woman hereafter shall aunswere me thy bodie to be forth comming in
the campe amongst vs: and from henceforth thy deedes shall winnesse for the reste, that thy
loue vnto this woman, maye be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked
practise or intent. Thus much we finde written concerning this matter. Moreover, *Fabius* af-
ter suche a sorte, recouered againe the cittie of *TARENTVM*, and brought it to the obedience
of the *ROMAINES*, which they had lost by treason. It fortuned there was a young man in his
campe, a *TARENTINE* borne, that had a sister within *TARENTVM*, which was very faithfull to
him, and loued him maruelous dearely: now there was a captaine, a *BRVTIAN* borne, that fell
in loue with her, and was one of those to whom *Hannibal* had committed the charge of the
cittie of *TARENTVM*. This gaue the young souldier the *TARENTINE*, very good hope, and
waye, to bring his enterpryse to good effect: whereupon he reuealed his intent to *Fabius*, and
with his priuie fled from his campe, and got into the cittie of *TARENTVM*, geuing it out in
the cittie, that he would altogether dwell with his sister. Now for a fewe dayes at his first com-
ming, the *BRVTIAN* captaine laye alone by him selfe, at the request of the mayde his sister,
who thought her brother had not knownen of her loue: and shortly after the young fellowe
tooke his sister aside, and sayed vnto her. My good sister, there was a great speache in the *RO-
MAINES* campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefeft captaines of the garrison: I praye
thee if it be so, let me knowe what he is. For so he be a good fellowe, and an honest man (as
they saye he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all things topsy turuey, regardeth not of E
what place or calling he is of, and still maketh vertue of necessitie, without respect of shame.
And it is a speciall good fortune, at such time as neither right nor reason rules, to happen yet
into the handes of a good and gracious lorde. His sister hearing him speake these wordes, sent
for the *BRVTIAN* captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both
their loues, and indeioured him self to frame his sisters loue in better sorte towards him, then
it was before: by reason whereof, the captaine also beganne to trust him very muche. So this
young *TARENTINE* sawe it was very easie, to winne and turne the minde of this amarus and
mercenary man, with hope of great giftes that were promised him, and *Fabius* should per-
forme. Thus doe the most parte of writers set downe this storie. Howbeit some writers saye,
that this woman who wanne the *BRVTIAN* captaine, was not a *TARENTINE*, but a *BRVTIAN* F
borne, whom *Fabius* it is sayed, kept afterwards for his concubine: and that the vnderstanding
the captaine of the *BRVTIANS* (who laye in garrison within the cittie of *TARENTVM*) was
also

*How Fabius
wonne Tar-
rent againe.*

A also a *BRVTIAN* borne, and of her owne natie countrie: made *Fabius* priuie to her intent,
and with his consent, the comming to the walles of the cittie, spake with this *BRVTIAN* cap-
taine, whom he handled in such sorte, that he wanne him. But whilst this geare was a doing,
ing, *Fabius*, bicause he would traine *Hannibal* out of those quarters, wrote vnto the souldiers
of *RHEGIO*: which belonged to the *ROMAINES*, that they should enter the borders of the
BRVTIANS, and laye seige to the cittie of *CAVONIA*, and raise it to the grounde. These
RHEGIAN souldiers were about the number of eight thousand, and the most of them trai-
tours, and ronnegates, from one campe to another: and the worst sorte of them, and most
defamed of life, were those that *Marcellus* brought thither out of *SICILIE*, so that in losing
them all, the losse were nothing to the common weale, and the sorowe muche lesse. So *Fa-
bius* thought, that putting these fellows out for a praye to *Hannibal* (as a tale to drawe him
from thole quarters) he should plucke him by this meanes from *TARENTVM*: and so it came,
to passe. For *Hannibal* incontinently went thence with his armie to intrappe them: and in the
meane time *Fabius* wet to laye seige to *TARENTVM*, where he had not lien six dayes before it,
but the young man (who together with his sister had drawn the *BRVTIAN* captaine to this
treason) stole out one night to *Fabius*, to enforme him of all, hauing taken very good markes of
that side of the walles the *BRVTIAN* captaine had taken charge of, who had promised him to
keepe it secret, & to suffer them to enter, that came to assault that side. Yet *Fabius* would not
grounde his hope altogether vpon the *BRVTIANS* executing this treason, but went him self
in person to vewe the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time: C
and in the meane season, he gaue a generall assault to all partes of the cittie (as well by sea as by
lande) with great shoutes & cries. Then the *BRVTIAN* captaine seeing all the citizens and
garrison runne to that parte, where they perceyued the noyse to be greatest: made a signall vn-
to *Fabius*, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought a pace,
whereupon him selfe with his companie scaled the walles, and so wanne the cittie. But it ap-
peareth here, that ambition overcame him. For first he commaunded they should kill all the
BRVTIANS, bicause it should not be knowne he had wonne the cittie by treason. But this
bloudie policie failed him: for he missed not only of the glorie he looked for, but most de-
feruently he had the reproche of crueltye and falsehood. At the taking of this cittie, a maruelous
number of the *TARENTINES* were slaine, besides there were solde thirtie thousand of the
D chiefeft of them, & all the cittie was sacked: and of the spoyle thereof was caried to the com-
mon store treasure at *ROME*, three thousand talents. It is reported also, that when they dyd
spoyle and carie awaye all other spoyles lesse behinde, the recorder of the cittie asked *Fabius*,
what his pleasure was to doe with the goddesses, meaning the tables, and their images: and to
that *Fabius* aunswered him. Let vs leaue the *TARENTINES* their goddesses that be angrie with
them. This notwithstanding, he caried from thence *Hercules* statue, that was of a monstrous
bignes, and caused it to be set vp in the Capitoll, and withall dyd set vp his owne image in
brasse a horse backe by him. But in that act he shewed him self farre harder harted, then *Mar-
cellus* had done, or to saye more truly, thereby he made the world, knowe how muche *Mar-
cellus* cursefite, clemencie, and bowntie was to be wondered at: as we haue written in his life.
E Newes being brought to *Hannibal*, that *TARENTVM* was besieged, he marched presently with
all speede possible to raise the seige: and they saye he had almost come in time, for he was with
in 40. furlonges of the cittie when he vnderstoode the trothe of the taking of it. Then sayed he
out aloud, sure the *ROMAINES* haue their *Hannibal* to: for as we wanne *TARENTVM*, so haue
we lost it. But after that, to his friends he sayed priuately (and that was the first time they euer
heard him speake it) that he sawe long before, and now appeared plainely, that they could
not possibily with this small power keepe *ITALIE*. *Fabius* made his triumphe and entrie into
Rome the seconde time, by reason of taking of this cittie: and his seconde triumphe was
muche more honorable then the first, as of a valliant captaine that held out still with *Hanni-
bal*, and easely met with all his fine policies, muche like the slight trickes of a cunning
F wrestler, which caried not now the former roughenes and strength any more, bicause that
his armie was geuen to take their ease, and growen to delicacie, partly through the
great riches they had gotten, and partly also for that it was sore watted and diminished,
S

*Tarentum
wonne by a
woman
treason.*

*Fabius took
the cittie of
Tarentum.
Fabius ambi-
tion cause of
cruel murder.*

*Fabius seconde
triumphe.*

through the sundrie foughten battells and blowes they had bene at. Now there was one *Martius Linius* a ROMANE, that was gouernour of TARENTVM at that time, when *Hannibal* tooke it, and neuertheles kept the castell still out of *Hannibals* handes, and so held it vntill the citie came againe into the handes of the ROMAINES. This *Linius* spighted to see suche honour done to *Fabius*, so that one daye in open Senate, being drowned with enuie and ambition, he burst out and sayed: that it was him selfe, not *Fabius*, that was cause of taking of the citie of TARENTVM againe. *Fabius* smiling to heare him, aunswered him openly: in deede thou sayest true, for if thou haddest not lost it, I had neuer wonne it againe. But the ROMAINES in all other respects dyd greatly honour *Fabius*, and specially for that they chose his sonne Consul. He hauing alreadye taken possession of his office, as he was dispatching certen causes touching the warres, his father (whether it was for debilitie of his age, or to pteue his sonne) tooke his horse to come to him, and rode through the preafe of people that thronged about him, hauing busines with him. But his sonne seeing him comming a farre off, would not suffer it, but sent an officer of his vnto him, to commaund him to light of his horse, and to come a foote if he had any thing to doe with the Consul. This commaundement misliked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon *Fabius*, but sayed not a worde: thinking with them selues, that the Consul dyd great wronge to his fathers greames. So he lighted straight, and went a good rounde pace to embrace his sonne, and sayed vnto him. You haue reason sonne, and doe well to shewe ouer whom you commaund, vnderstanding the authoritie of a Consul, which place you haue receiued. For it is the direct course, by the which we and our auncesters haue increased the ROMANE empire: preferring euer the honour and state of our countrie, aboue father, mother, or children. And truly they saye, that *Fabius* great grandfather being the greatest and most noble persone of ROMANE in his time, hauing fye times bene Consul, and had obtained many triumphes, for diuers honorable and sundrie victories he had wonne: was contented after all these, to be his sonnes lieutenant, and to goe to the warres with him, he being chosen Consul. And last of all, the Consul his sonne returning home to ROMANE a conquerour, in his triumphing charret drawn with foure horses, he followed him a horse backe also, in troupe with the rest: thinking it honour to him, that hauing authoritie ouer his sonne in the right of a father, and being also the noblest man of all the cittizens, so taken and reputed, neuertheles he willingly submitted him selfe to the lawe and magistrature, who had authoritie of him. Yet besides all this, he had farre more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then those already spoken of. But it fortuned that this sonne of *Fabius* died before him, whose death he tooke paciely, like a wise man, and a good father. Now the custome being at that time, that at the death of a noble man, their neereft kinsfman should make a funerall oration in their praye at their obsequies: he him selfe made the same oration in honour of his sonne, and dyd openly speake it in the market place, and moreover wrote it, and deliuered it out abroade. About this time, *Cornelius Scipio* was sent into SPAYNE, who draue out the CARTHAGINIANS from thence, after he had ouerthrowen them in many battells, and had conquered many great cities, and greatly aduanced the honour and estimation of the state of ROMANE: for the which at his returne, he was as muche, or rather more honoured, beloued and esteemed, then any other that was in the citie of ROMANE. Hereupon *Scipio* being made Consul, considered that the people of ROMANE looked for some great matter at his handes, aboue all other. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight against *Hannibal* in ITALIE, he should but followe the olde manner, and treade to muche in the steppes of the olde man: whereupon he resoluely immediately to make warres in AFRICKE, and to burne and destroye the countrie euen vnto CARTHAGE gates, and so to transerre the warres out of ITALIE into LIBYA, procuring by all possible deuise he could, to put it into the peoples heades, and to make them like of it. But *Fabius* contrarily, perswading him selfe that the enterprise this young rashe youthe tooke in hande, was vterly to ouerthrowe the common weale, or to put the state of ROMANE in great danger: deuised to put ROMANE in the greatest feare he could possible, without sparing speache or dede he thought might serue for his purpose, to make the people change from that minde. Now he

Fabius winneth answere.

A strange commaundment of the sonne to the father.

The father obeyeth his sonnes authoritie & commendeth him.

Scipio Consul.

Fabius was against the counsell and deuise of Scipio African.

A he could so cunningly worke his purpose, what with speaking and doing, that he had drawn all the Senate to his opinion. But the people iudged, it was the secret enuie he bare to *Scipioes* glorie, that drue him to encounter this deuise, only to bleamish *Scipioes* noble fortune, fearing, least if he should happen to doe some honorable seruice (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwise to draw *Hannibal* out of ITALIE) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bene to soft, or to negligent, to drawe this warre out to suche a length. For my parte, me thinks the only matter that moued *Fabius* from the beginning to be against *Scipio*, was the great care he had of the safetie of the comon weale, by reason of the great dainger depending vpon such a resolution. And yet I doe thinke also, that afterwards he went further then he should, contending to fore against him (whether it was through ambition or obstinacie) seeking to hinder and suppress the greatnes of *Scipio*: considering also he dyd his best to persuaade *Craffus*, *Scipioes* companion in the Consulshippe, that he should not graunte vnto him the leading of the armie, but if he thought good to goe into AFRICKE, to make warres vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that he should rather goe him selfe. And moreover, he was the let that they gaue him no money for maintenance of these warres. *Scipio* hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furnish him selfe as he could: he leauied great summes of money in the cities of TVSCAN, who for the great loue they bare him, made contribution towards his iorney. And *Craffus* remained at home, both because he was a soft, and no ambitious, nor contentious man of nature: as also, because he was the chiefeft Prelate and highe bishoppe, who by the lawe of their religion, was constrained to kepe ROMANE. *Fabius* seeing his labour lost that waye, tooke againe another course to crosse *Scipio*, deuising to slaye the young men at home, that had great desire to goe this iorney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all assemblies of the Senate & people, that *Scipio* was not contented only to slay *Hannibal*, but that he would carie with him besides the whole force of ITALIE that remained: alluring the youthe with sweete baytes of vaine hope, and perswading them to leaue their wiues, their fathers, mothers, and their countrie, euen now when their enemye knocked at ROMANE gates, who dyd euer conquer, and was yet neuer conquered. These wordes of *Fabius* dyd so dampe the ROMAINES, that they appointed *Scipio* should furnish his iorney only with the armie that was in SICILIA, sauing that he might supply to them if he would, three hundred of the best souldiers that had serued him faithfully in SPAYNE. And so it doth appeare euen to this D present, that *Fabius* both dyd and sayed all things, according to his wonted manner, and naturall disposition. Now *Scipio* was no sooner arrived in AFRICKE, but newes were brought to ROMANE incontinently, of wonderfull exploitres, and noble seruice done beyond measure: and of great spoyle taken by him, which argued the trothe of the newes. As, the king of the NV-MIDIANS taken prisoner, two camps of the enemies burnt & destroyed at a time, with losse of a great number of people, armour, and horses, that were consumed in the fame: letters and postes for life running in the necke one of another from CARTHAGE to call *Hannibal* home, and to praye him to hunte no longer after vayne hope that would neuer haue ende, halting him selfe with all speede possible to come to the rescue of his countrie. These wonderfull great fortunes of *Scipio*, made him of suche renowme and fame within ROMANE, that there was E no talke but of *Scipio*. *Fabius* notwithstanding desisted not to make a newe request, being of opinion they should send him a succellour, alledging no other cause nor reason, but a common speache of euery bodie: that it was a dangerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, so great exceeding prosperitie and good successe, because it is a rare matter to see one man happie in all things. These wordes dyd so muche mislike the people, that they thought him an eniuous troublesome man, or els they thought his age had made him fearefull: and that his corage failed with his strength, fearing *Hannibal* more doubtfully then he needed. For now though *Hannibal* was forced to leaue ITALIE, and to returne into AFRICKE, yet *Fabius* would not graunte, that the peoples ioye and securitie they thought they were in, was altogether cleare, and without feare and mistruste: but gaue it out that then F they were in greatest daunger, and that the common weale was breeding more mischief now, then before. For when *Hannibal* (sayed he) shall returne home into AFRICKE, and come before CARTHAGE walles, the ROMAINES shall be lesse able to abide him there,

Craffus, highe bishoppe of Rome.

The famous actes done in Africa by Scipio Africanus.

then they haue bene before: and *Scipio* moreover, shall meete with an armie yet warme; and embrued with the bloude of so many Prætors, Dictators, and Consuls of ROME, which they haue ouercome, and put to the sword in ITALIE. With these vncomfortable speeches, he still troubled & disquieted the whole citie, perswading them that notwithstanding the warre was transferred out of ITALIE into AFRICKE, yet that the occasion of feare was no lesse neere vnto ROME, then it was euer before. But within shorte space after, *Scipio* hauing ouercome *Hannibal* in plaine battell in the field, and troden vnder foote the glory and pryde of CARTHAGE, he brought a greater ioye to ROME, then they euer looked for: and by this noble victorie of his, he shored vp again the declining state of the empire of ROME, which a litle before was falling downe right. Howbeit *Fabius* liued not to the ende of this warre, nor euer heard while he liued the ioyfull newes of *Hannibals* happy ouerthrowe, neither were his yeres prolonged to see the happy assured prosperitie of his countrie: for about that time that *Hannibal* departed out of ITALIE, a sickness tooke him, whereof he dyed. The stories declare, that the THEBANS buried *Epaminondas*, at the common charges of the people: because he dyed in so great pouertie, that when he was dead, they founde nothing in the houle but a litle iron spit. Now the ROMAINES buried not *Fabius* so, at the common charge of the citie, but every man of beneuolence gaue towards his funerall charges, a peece of coyne that caried the least value of their currant money: not for that he lacked abilitie to bring him to the grounde, but only to honour his memorie: in making his obsequies at their charges, as of one that had bene their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honorable ende and buriall.

The death of
Fabius Max.

The funerall
of Epaminon-
das.

THE COMPARISON OF

Pericles with Fabius.



HERE haue you heard what is written, of thesetwo great perſones. C And forasmuche as they haue both left behinde them, many noble examples of vertue, aswell in martiall matters, as in ciuill gouernmēt, let vs beginne to compare them together. First of all, *Pericles* began to gouerne the common weale at what time the people of ATHENS were in their chiefest prosperitie, and of greater power and wealth, then euer they had bene of before or since. The which might seeme to be a cause of the continuall maintenance of the same in securitie without danger of falling, not so muche for their worthines, as for their common power and felicitie: where contrariwise *Fabius* acts fell out in the most dishonorable & vnfortunate time, that euer happened to his countrie, in the which he dyd not only keepe the citie in good state from declining, but raised it vp, and deliuered it from calamitie, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, *Cimon*s great good fortune and successe, the victories and triumphes of *Myronides*, and of *Leocrates*, and many notable valliant dedes

A dedes of armes of *Tolmides*, gaue good cause to *Pericles*, to entertaine his citie in feastes, and playes, whilst he dyd gouerne the same: and he dyd not finde it in such ill case and distresse, that he was driuen to defend it by force of armes, or to cōquer that againe which he had lost. But *Fabius* in contrary manner, when he sawe before him many ouerthrowes, great flying away, muche murder, great slaughters of the generales of the ROMAINE armies, the lakes, the playnes, the woddies filled with scattered men, the people ouercome, the floods and riuers running all a gore bloude (by reason of the great slaughter) and the streame carying downe the dead bodies to the mayne sea: dyd take in hande the gouernment of his countrie, and a course farre contrarie to all other: so as he dyd vnderproppre and shored vp the same, that he kept it from flat falling to the grounde, amongst those ruines and ouerthrowes other had brought it to, before him. Yet a man maye saye also, that it is no great matter of difficultie to rule a citie already brought lowe by aduersitie, and which compelled by necessitie, is contented to be gouerned by a wise man: as it is to bridle and keepe vnder the infolencie of a people, puffed vp with pryde, and presumption of long prosperitie, as *Pericles* founde it amongst the ATHENIANS. The great multitude also of so many greivous calamities, as lighted on the ROMAINES neckes at that time, dyd playnely thewe *Fabius* to be a graue and a constant man, which would neuer geue waye vnto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could euer be remoued from that he had at the first determined. The winning & recouering againe of TARENTVM, maye well be compared to the taking of SAMOS, which *Pericles* wanne by force: and the cities of CAMPANIA, vnto the Ile of EUBOEAE: excepting the citie of CAPUA, C which the Consuls *Fulvius* and *Appius* recouered againe. But it seemeth that *Fabius* neuer wanne battell, saue that only for which he triumphed the first time: where *Pericles* set vp nine triumphes, of battells and victories he had wonne, aswell by sea as by lande. And so also, they cannot alledge such an acte done by *Pericles*, as *Fabius* dyd, when he refused *Mimnius* out of the handes of *Hannibal*, and saued a whole armie of the ROMAINES: which doubtles was a famous acte, and proceeded of a noble minde, great wisdomme, and an honorable harte. But *Pericles*, againe dyd neuer commit so grosse an error as *Fabius* dyd when he, was outreached, & deceyued by *Hannibals* fine stratageme of his oxen: who hauing founde his enemy by chauce to haue shut him selfe vp in the straight of a vallye, dyd suffer him to escape in the night by a subtiltie, & in the daye by playne force. For he was preuented by ouermuch delaye, D and fought withall by him he kept inclosed. Now if it be requisite, a good captaine doe not only vie well that he hath in his handes, but that he wisely iudge also what will followe after, then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in suche sorte, as *Pericles* sayed they would come to passe: for with ambition to imbrace to muche, they ouerthrew their estate. But the ROMAINES contrariwise, hauing sent *Scipio* into AFRICKE to make warres with the CARTHAGINIANS, wanne all that they tooke in hande: where their generall dyd not ouercome the enemy by fortune, but by valliantnes. So that the wisdomme of the one is witnessed, by the ruine of his countrie: and the error of the other testified, by the happy euent of that he would haue let. Now the faulte is a like in a generall, to fall into danger, for lacke of foresaie: as for cowardlines to let slippe a fit oportunitie offered, to doe any notable peece of seruice. For like E defaulte and lacke of experience, maketh the one to hardie, and the other to fearefull. And thus muche touching the warres. Now for ciuill gouernment: it was a fowle blotte to *Pericles*, to be the author of warres. For it is thought, that he alone was the cause of the same, for that he would not haue them yeld to the LACEDÆMONIANS in any respect. And yet methinks *Fabius Maximus* also would no more geue place vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, but stood firme & bold in all daūger, to mainteine thempire of his countrie against them. But the goodnes & clemency *Fabius* shewed vnto *Mimnius*, doth much condēne *Pericles* accusations & practises, against *Cimon* and *Thucydides*: bothe of them being noble & good men, & taking parte with the Nobilitie, who he expelled out of ATHENS, & banished for a time. So was *Pericles* power & authoritie in the cōmon weale greater: by reason whereof he dyd euer foreseee, F that no generall in all histime dyd rashely attempt any thing hurtfull vnto the cōmon weale, except *Tolmides* onely: who fled from him, & in despiight of him went to fight with the BOSOTIANS where he was slaine. As for all other generals, they wholly put the selues into his hāds, &

The gifte of
good generall.

The faultes of
generall.

The compar-
son betwix
Pericles and
Fabius for ci-
uill govern-
ment.

dyd obey him for the greatnes of his authoritie. But *Fabius*, although for his parte he neuer committed any faulte, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernment: yet bicaufe he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was defective. For if *Fabius* had caried like authoritie in Rome, as *Pericles* dyd in Athens: the ROMAINES had not fallen into so great miserie as they dyd. And for liberalitie: the one shewed it, in refusing the money offred him: and the other, in geuing vnto those that needed, and redeeming his poore captiue contry men. And yet *Fabius* might dispend no great reuenue: for his whole receiptes came only to fixe talents. But for *Pericles*, it is hard to saye howe riche he was, who had comming in to him, great presents by his authoritie, as wel of the subiects, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as also of Kings and straunge Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any persone liuing. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of temples, & the stately workes and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that euer were in Rome, before the times of the *Cæsars*, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith *Pericles* dyd beawtifie & adorne the citie of Athens. For neither in qualitie nor quantitie was there any proportion or like comparison, betweene the exceeding sumptuousnes of the one, and of the other.

The ende of Fabius Maximus life.

THE LIFE OF Alcibiades.



*Alcibiades
flouke.*



*Alcibiades
mourne.*

ALCIBIADES by his fathers side, was aunciently descended of *Euryaces*, that was the sonne of *Ajax*, and by his mothers side, of *Alcmaon*: for his mother *Dinomacha*, was the daughter of *Megacles*. His father *Clinias* hauing armed, and set forth a gallye, at his owne proper costes and charges, dyd winne great honour in the battell by sea, that was fought alongest the coaste of ARTEMISIVM, and he was slaine afterwards in another battell fought at CORONEA, against the BOTIANS. His sonne *Alcibiades* tutors, were *Pericles*, and *Aristophan* *Xanthippus* sonnes: who were also his neere kinsmen. They saye, and truly: that *Socrates* good will and friendship dyd greatly further *Alcibiades* honour. For it

As it appeareth not, neither was it euer written, what were the names of the mothers of *Nicias*, of *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus*, of *Phormion*, of *Thrasibulus*, & of *Themamenes*: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrarie, we finde the nource of *Alcibiades*, that she was a LACEDÆMONIAN borne, and was called *Amicla*, and that his schoolemaster was called *Zopyrus*: of the which, *Aristophanes* mentioneth the one, and *Plato* the other. Now for *Alcibiades* beawtie, it made no matter if we speake not of it, yet I will a litle touche it by the way: for he was wonderfull fayer, being a child, a boye, and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruelous amiable, and beloued of euery man. For where *Euripides* sayeth, that of all the fayer times of the yere, the Autumne or latter season is the fayerst: that commonly faileth not out true. And yet it proued true in *Alcibiades*, though in fewe other: for he was passing fayer euen to his latter time, & of good temperature of bodie. They write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fatte, and it dyd not become him ill, but gaue him a certen naturall pleasaunt grace in his talke: which *Aristophanes* mentioneth, mocking one *Theorus* that dyd counterfeate a lipping grace with his tongue.

*This Alcibiades, with his fat lipping tongue,
into mine eares, this truisty tale, and songe fallt often songe.
Looke vpon Theolus (q he) lo there he bowues,
beholde his comely crowwebright face with fat and*flasting blowues.*

*The sonne of Clinias, would lipe it thus somevvhiles,
and sure he liped neuer a lye, but rightly byt his vvhiles.*

C And *Archippus* another poet also, mocking the sonne of *Alcibiades*, sayeth thus, *Bicause he would be like his father euerie vvhay
in his long trayling gouerne he would goe setting daye by daye.
And counterfeate his speache, his countenance and face:
as though dame nature had him geuen, therein a perfect grace.
To lipe and looke aside, and holde his head awrye,
euen as his father lookt and lipst, so would he prate and pry.*

For his manners they altered and chaunged very oft with time, which is not to be wondered at, seeing his maruelous great prosperitie, as also aduerfitie that followed him afterwards. But of all the great defiers he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition. D seeking to haue the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best persone: as appeareth by certaine of his dedes, and notable sayings in his youthe, extant in writing. One daye wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to haue geuen him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit so harde, as he would haue eaten it of. The other feeling him bite so harde, let goe his holde straight, and fayed vnto him: what *Alcibiades*, bitest thou like a woman? No mary doe I not (q he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boye, he played at skayles in the middelt of the streete with other of his companions, and when his turne came about to throwe, there came a carte loden by chauce that waye: *Alcibiades* prayed the carter to staye a while, vntill he had played out his game, bicause the skayles were set right in the high way where the carte should passe ouer. The carter E was a stubborne knaue, and would not staye for any request the boye could make, but draue his horse on still, in so much as other boyes gaue backe to let him goe on: but *Alcibiades* fell flat to the ground before the carte, and bad the carter driue ouer and he durste. The carter being afeard, plucked backe his horse to staye them: the neighbours flighted to see the daunger, ranne to the boye in all hast crying out. Afterwards when he was put to schoole to learne, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him any thing, sauing that he disdaind to learne to playe of the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no gentlemanly qualitie. For, sayed he, to playe on the vyoll with a stick, doth not alter mans fauour, nor disgraceeth any gentleman: but otherwise, to playe on the flute, his countenance altereth and chaungeth so ofte, that his familiar friends can scant knowe him. Moreover, the harpe or vyoll doth not let him F that playeth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so harde to it, that it taketh not only his wordes from him, but his voyce. Therefore, sayed he, let the children of the THEBANS playe on the flute, that cannot

S iij

*The mother
of famous and
neuer known
was they,
were.*

*Alcibiades
beawtie.*

*Alcibiades
lipst by na-
ture.*

**The equiva-
lent of these
two Greeke
wordes Kyan
and Kyan, is
hard to be
expressed in
English, in
stead whereof
I haue set
flasting
blowes, for
flustering
browes, as for-
ning the grace
of lipping, as
neere as I
could, like to
the Latin and
French trans-
lations, like-
wise Theolus
for Theorus,
Alcibiades
ambitious.*

*Alcibiades
studie.*

*A vile thing
to playe of a
flute.*

tell howe to speake: as vs A THENIANS, we haue (as our forefathers tell vs) for proteclours A and patrones of our countrie, the goddesse *Pallas*, and the god *Apollo*: of the which the one in olde time (as it is sayd) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skynne ouer his eares, that played vpon the flute. Thus *Alcibiades* alledging these reasons, partly in sporte, and partly in good earnest: dyd not only him selfe leaue to learne to playe on the flute, but he turned his companions mindes also quite from it. For these wordes of *Alcibiades*, ranne from boye to boye incontinently: that *Alcibiades* had reason to despise playing of the flute, and that he mocked all those that learned to play of it. So afterwards, it fell out at A THENS, that teaching to playe of the flute, was put out of the number of honest and liberal exercises, and the flute it selfe was thought a vile instrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accusations *Antiphon* wrote against *Alcibiades*, it is declared: that when he was a boye, he fled out of his B tutors house, into the house of *Democrates* one of his louers, and howe *Antiphon* one of his tutors thought to haue made a beadle crie him through the cittie. But *Pericles* would not suffer him, saying: that if he were dead, they should knowe it but one daye sooner by crying of him: and if he were alieue, that it would be such a shame to him while he liued, that he had bene better he had neuer bene heard of againe. The same *Antiphon* accuseth him further, that he had killed a seruaut of his that attended on him, in the wrestling place of *Sibyrinus*, with a blowe of a staffe. But there is no reason to credit his writing, who confesseth he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he dyd beare him. Now straight there were many great & riche men that made much of *Alcibiades*, and were glad to get his good will. But *Socrates* loue vnto him had another ende and cause, which witnessed that *Alcibiades* had a naturall inclination to vertue. Who perceyuing that vertue dyd appeare in him, and was ioyned with the other beawtie of his face and bodye, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignitie and authoritie, and the great number of his companions, aswell of the chiefeft of the cittie, as of straungers, seeking to entise him by flatterie, and by many other pleasures: he tooke vpon him to protect him from them all, and not to suffer so goodly an ympe to lose the hope of the good fruite of his youthe. For fortune doth neuer so intangle nor snare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let & hinder him so, that philosophie should not take holde on him with her free, seure, and quicke reasons. So *Alcibiades* was at the beginning, assayed with all delightes, and shut vp as it were in their companie that feasted him with all pleasures, only to turne him that he should not hearken to *Socrates* wordes, who fought to D bring him vp at his charge, and to teach him. But *Alcibiades* notwithstanding, hauing a good naturall wit, knewe what *Socrates* was, and went to him, refusing the companie of all his riche friends and their flatteries, and fell in a kinde of familiar friendship with *Socrates*. VVhom when he had heard speake, he noted his wordes very well, that they were no persuasions of a man seeking his dishonesty, but one that gaue him good counsell, & went about to reforme his fautes and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and presumption that was in him: then, as the common prouerbe sayeth,

Like to the craven cocke, he drovruped downe his vniunges,
which cowardly doth runne awaye, or from the pit out flinges.

And dyd thinke with selfe, that all *Socrates* loue and following of young men, was in dede E thing sent from the goddes, and ordeined aboue for them, whom they would haue preferred, & put into the pathe waye of honour. Therefore he beganne to despise him selfe, and greatly to reuerence *Socrates*, taking pleasure of his good vsing of him, & much imbraced his vertue: so as he had (he wist not howe) an image of loue grauen in his harte, or rather (as *Plato* sayeth) a mutuall loue, to wit, an holy & honest affection towards *Socrates*. Insumch as all the world wondered at *Alcibiades*, to see him commonly at *Socrates* borde, to playe, to wrestle, & to lodge in the warres with *Socrates*: and contrarily to chide his other well willers, who could not so much as haue a good looke at his handes, and besides became dangerous to some, as it is sayd he was vnto *Anytus*, the sonne of *Anthemion*, being one of those that loued him well.

Anytus making good cheere to certain straungers his friends that were come to see him, F went and prayed *Alcibiades* to come and make merie with them: but he refused to goe. For he went to make merie with certain of his companions at his own house, and after he had well

Alcibiades
in *Alcibiades* vnto
Anytus.

taken

A taken in his cuppes, he went to *Anytus* house to counterfeate the foole amongst them, and staying at the halle doore, and seeing *Anytus* table and cubberd full of plate of siluer & gold, he commaunded his seruants to take awaye half of it, and carie it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come no neerer into the house, but went his waye home. *Anytus* friends and guesstes mistaking this straunge parte of *Alcibiades*, sayd it was shamefully and boldly done so to abuse *Anytus*. Nay, gently done of him, sayd *Anytus*: for he hath leit vs some, where he might haue taken all. All other also that made much of him, he serued after that sorte. Sauing a straunger that came to dwell in A THENS: who being but a poore man as the voyce went, sold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred stateres which he brought vnto *Alcibiades*, & prayed him to take it at his handes. *Alcibiades* beganne B to be merie, and being very glad to vnderstand his good will towards him, tooke his honest offer, and prayed him to come to supper to him: so he welcomed him very hartely, and made him good cheere. When supper was done, he gaue him his money againe, and commaunded him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the farmes and landes of the cittie are wont to be let out to those that byd most, and charged him he should out byd all. The poore man would sayne haue excused him self, saying, the farmes were to great for him to hyre: but *Alcibiades* threatned to whippe him, if he would not doe it. For besides the desire he had to pleasure him, he bare a priuate grudge against the ordinary farmers of the cittie. The next morning the straunger was ready in the market place, where they dyd crie out the letting of their farmes, and he raised one to a talent more, then all other dyd offer. The other farmers C were as mad with him as they could be, that they all dyd set vpon him, crying out: let him put in suertie straight, supposing he could haue founde none. The straunger was maruelous blanke thereat, and beganne to shrink backe. Then cried *Alcibiades* out alowde to the officers that fate there to take the best offers: I will be his suertie, sayeth he, put me in the booke, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him saye so, were at their wirtes ende, and wiste not what to doe. For they being allwayes accustomed to paye their yerely rent as it went before, by the helpe of the rest of the yeres that followed after: perceyuing now that they should not be able to paye the arrearages of the rentes due to the common weale, and seeing no other remedie, they prayed him to take a peece of money, and to leaue the bargain. Then *Alcibiades* would in no wise he should take lesse then a talent, which they gaue him willingly.

D So *Alcibiades* suffered the straunger then to departe, and made him gaine by his deuise. Now *Socrates* loue which he bare him, though it had many mightie and great aduertaries, yet it dyd staye much *Alcibiades*, somtime by his gentle nature, somtime by his graue counsell and aduise: so as the reason thereof tooke so deepe roote in him, and dyd so pearce his harte, that many times the teares ranne downe his cheekes. Another time also being caried awaye with the intisement of flatterers, that held vp his humour with all pleasure and delightes, he stalle awaye from *Socrates*, and made him runne after him to fetch him againe, as if he had bene a flauie that had runne awaye from his masters house: for *Alcibiades* stood in awe of no man but of *Socrates* only, and in deede he dyd reuerence him, and dyd despise all other. And therefore *Cleantes* was wont to saye, that *Alcibiades* was held of *Socrates* by the eares: but that he E gaue his other louers holde, which *Socrates* neuer sought for: for to saye truly, *Alcibiades* was muche geuen ouer to lust and pleasure. And peraduenture it was that *Thucydides* ment of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of bodie, and dissolute of life. Those that married *Alcibiades* quite, dyd still pricke forward his ambition and desire of honour, and dyd put him in the head to thrust him selfe into great matters betimes, making him beleue that if he dyd but once beginne to shewe him selfe to deale in matters of state, he would not only bleamish and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell *Pericles*, in authoritie and power among the G RECIANS. For like as iron by fire is made softe, to be wrought in to any forme, and by colde also doth shut and harden in againe: euen so *Alcibiades* being puffed vp with vanitie & opinion of him self, as ofte as *Socrates* tooke him in hande, was made faste & firme againe by his good persuasions, insumch that when he sawe his owne faule and follie, and how farre wide he had strayed from vertue, he became sodainly very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was grown to mans state, he went into a grammar schoole, and asked the

Alcibiades U-
berall facts.

Alcibiades
ranne from
Socrates.

Alcibiades
gentle to *Plato*
Iure.

*Alcibiades
strike a
schoolmas-
ter, because
he had not
Homer in his
choole.*

*Alcibiades
first foundier
fare with So-
crates.
Alcibiades
sawed by So-
crates.*

*Alcibiades
sawed Socrates
life after
the overthrow
at the battell
of Delium.*

*Alcibiades
married.*

*Hipparete
swore to be
diuorced from
Alcibiades.*

*Alcibiades
great dogge.*

schoolmaster for one of *Homers* bookes. The schoolmaster answered him, he had none of *A* the: *Alcibiades* vp with his fiste, & gaue him a good boxe on the eare, & went his waye. Another grammarian tolde him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meanest thou, to stand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teach young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, desirous to speake with him: answer was made him, he was not at leysure now, for that he was buillie occupied by him self, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the *ATHENIANS*. Why, sayed he, going his waye: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boye, he was at the iorney of *POTIDEA*, where he laye still with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battells and skirmishes he was in: among which there was one, very whotte & bloody, where they both fought valiantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurte. But *Socrates* stepped before him, and dyd defend him so valiantly before them all, that he faued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reason, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* side, because he was of a noble houle. But *Socrates*, because he would increase his desire of honour, & would pricke him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that witnesseth *Alcibiades* had defered it: and therefore prayed the captaines to iudge him the crowne and compleat armour. Afterwards, in the battell of *DELION*, the *ATHENIANS* hauing receyued the overthrow, *Socrates* retired with a fewe other a foote. *Alcibiades* being a horse backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and slue many of his company. But that was a pretty while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto *Hipponeus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greatest men of power in the citie, being a noble man borne, and of great possessions, which was done vpon a brauery and certaine lustines, as hauing layed a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light parte was straight ouer all the citie, and euery one that heard it, sayed it was lewdly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was let in: so he stripping him selfe before him, deliuered him his bodie to be whipped, and punished at his pleasure. *Hipponeus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter *Hipparete* afterwards in marriage. Howbeit some saye, it was not *Hipponeus* that gaue her to him: but *Callias* sonne, with tenne talents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of his first child he had by her, he asked tenne talents more, saying: they were promised him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing least this was an occasio sought of him to lye in waye to kill him for his goodes: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generally, if he dyed without heires speciall of his bodie. This gentlewoman *Hipparete*, being an honest true wife to *Alcibiades*, mistaking her husband dyd so muche misuse her, as to entertaine common light strumpets, alwell citizens as straungers: the went abroad one day to her brothers houle, and tolde him of it. *Alcibiades* passed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if she would, present her cause of diuorfe before the iudge. So she went thither her selfe, to sue the diuorfe betwene them, according to the lawe: but *Alcibiades* being there also, tooke her by the hande, & caried her through the market place home to his houle, and no man durst medle betwene them, to take her from him. And so she continued with him all the dayes of her life, which was not long after: for she dyed, when *Alcibiades* was in his iorney he made to *EPHESVS*. This force *Alcibiades* vfed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, because it seemeth that the lawe was grounded vpon this cause: that the wife which would be diuorced from her husband, should goe her selfe openly before the iudge to put vp her complainte, to the ende, that by this meanes, the husband might come to speake with his wife, and seeke to staye her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruelous fayer great dogge, that cost him three score and tenne minas, and he cut of his taile that was his chief beawtie. When his friends reproved him, and tolde him how euery man blamed him for it: he fell laughing, and tolde them he had that he sought. For, sayeth he, I would haue the *ATHENIANS* rather prate vpon that, then they should saye worfe of me. Moreouer, it is sayed, the first time that

*Alcibiades
largely.*

*Alcibiades
comming into
the common
weale.*

*Alcibiades
maruelous elo-
quent.*

*Alcibiades
wrote and im-
perfection.*

*Alcibiades
victorie at
the games O-
lympicall.*

that *Alcibiades* spake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, was vpon a gite of money, he gaue to the people, and not of any pretence, or former purpose he had to doe it. One daye as he came through the market place, hearing the people very lowde, he asked what the matter was: they tolde him it was about money, ceren men had genen to the people. Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purse. The people were so glad at that, as they fell to showing and clapping of their handes, in token of thankfullnes: and him selfe was so glad for companie, that he forgot a quayle he had vnder his gowne, which was so afeard of the noyse, that she tooke her flight away. The people seeing the quayle, made a greater noyse then before, and many rose out of their places to runne after her: so that in the ende, it was taken vp by a master of a shippe called *Antiochus*, who brought him the quayle againe, and for that cause *Alcibiades* dyd loue him euier after. Now about the nobilitie of his houle, his goodes, his worthines, & the great number of his kinsmen & friends made his waye open to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the only waye he desired to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets doe testifie it: and besides them, *Damagethenes* the prince of orators also doth saye, in an oration he made against *Midias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we maye beleue *Theophrastus*, the greatest searcher of antiquities, & best historiographer aboue any other philosopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades* had as good a witte to deuise and consider what he would saye, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit sometimes studying what he should saye, as also to deliuer good wordes, not hauing them very readilie at his tongues ende: he many times tooke breath by the waye, and paused in the midst of his tale, not speaking a worde, vntill he had called it to minde, that he would saye. His charge was great, and muche spoken of also, for keeping of running horses at games: not only because they were the best & swiftest, but for the number of coches he had besides. For neuer priuate person, no nor any prince, that euier sent feuen so well appointed coches, in all furniture, vnto the games *Olympicall*, as he dyd: nor that at one course had borne awaye the first, the second, and the fourth prife, as *Thucydides* sayeth: or as *Enripides* reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euier strued for victorie therein. For *Enripides* pronounced his praise, in a songe he made of him, as followeth:

D O sonne of *Clinias*, I will resounde thy praise:
for thou art bold in martiall dedes, and ouercommest all wayes.
Thy victories therewith, doe farre exceede the rest,
that euier were in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them best.
For at the *Olympike* games, thou hast with chariots vronne,
the first prife, seconde, thirde and all, with which there in race vronne ronne.
With praise and litle payne, thy head hath vronne bene crownde,
with olive boughes for victorie, and vronne by trumpets founde.
The heralds haue proclaimed thee victor by thy name:
above all those, which haue vronne thee, in hope to get the game.

E Howbeit the good affection diuers citties did beare him, contending which should gratifie him best, dyd muche increase his fame and honour. For the *EPHESIANS* dyd set vp a tente for him, very sumptuously and richely furnished. Those of the citie of *CHIO*, furnished him with prouinder for his horse, and gaue him muttons besides, and other beastes to sacrifice withall. They of *LESBOS* also sent him in wine and other prouision for vittells, to helpe him to defraye the great charges he was at in keeping open houle, & feeding such a nuber of mouthes daylie. Yet the spite they dyd beare him, or rather his breache of promise which he often made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gaue the people more cause to speake of him then before. For they saye there was one *Diomedes* at *ATHENS*, a friend of *Alcibiades*, & no ill man, who desired once in his life to winne a game at the playes *Olympicall*. This man beinge informed that the *ARGIVS* had a coche excellently furnished, belonging to their common weale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could doe very much in the citie of *ARGOS*, because he had many friends in the same: he came to intreate *Alcibiades* to buye this coche for him.

*Alcibiades a
breaker of
promise.*

*Alcibiades
strike a
schoolma-
ster, because
he had not
Homer in his
choole.*

schoolmaster for one of *Homer's* bookes. The schoolmaster answered him, he had none of them: *Alcibiades* vp with his fist, & gaue him a good boxe on the eare, & went his waye. Another grammarian tolde him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meantst thou, to stand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teache young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, desirous to speake with him: answer was made him, he was not at leysure now, for that he was busilie occupied by him self, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the *ATHENIANS*. Why, sayed he, going his waye: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreover, being but a young boye, he was at the iorney of *POTIDEA*, where he laye still with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battells and skirmishes: he was in: among which there was one, very whotte & bloody, where they both fought valiantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurte. But *Socrates* stepped before him, and dyd defend him so valiantly before them all, that he saued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equite and reason, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* side, because he was of a noble house. But *Socrates*, because he would increase his desire of honour, & would pricke him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that wimessed *Alcibiades* had deserved it: and therefore prayed the captaines to iudge him the crowne and compleat armour. Afterwards, in the battell of *DELION*, the *ATHENIANS* hauing receyued the ouerthrow, *Socrates* retired with a fewe other a foote. *Alcibiades* being a horse backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and slue many of his company. But that was a prey while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto *Hipponicus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greatest men of power in the cittie, being a noble man borne, and of great possessions, which was done vpon a brauery and certaine lustines, as hauing layed a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light prate was straight ouer all the cittie, and euery one that heard it, sayed it was lowly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was let in: so he stripping him selfe before him, deliuered him his bodie to be whipped, and punished at his pleasure. *Hipponicus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter *Hipparete* afterwards in mariage. Howbeit some saye, it was not *Hipponicus* that gaue her to him: but *Callias* sonne, with tenne talents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of his first child he had by her, he asked tenne talents more, saying: they were promised him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing lest this was an occasio sought of him to lye in waye to kill him for his goodes: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generally, if he dyed without heires speciall of his bodie. This gentlewoman *Hipparete*, being an honest true wife to *Alcibiades*, mistaking her husband dyd so muche misuse her, as to entertaine common light strumpets, as well cittizens as straungers: she went abroad one day to her brothers house, and tolde him of it. *Alcibiades* passed not for it, and made no further reckoning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if she would, present her cause of diuorfe before the iudge. So she went thither her selfe, to sue the diuorfe betwene them, according to the lawe: but *Alcibiades* being there also, rooke her by the hande, & caried her through the market place home to his house, and no man durst medle betwene them, to take her from him. And so she continued with him all the dayes of her life, which was not long after: for she dyed, when *Alcibiades* was in his iorney he made to *EPHESVS*. This force *Alcibiades* vsed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, because it seemeth that the lawe was grounded vpon this cause: that the wife which would be diuorced from her husband, should goe her selfe openly before the iudge to put vp her complainte, to the ende, that by this meanes, the husband might come to speake with his wife, and seeke to staye her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruelous fayer great dogge, that cost him three score and tenne minas, and he cut of his taile that was his chief beawtie. When his friends reproued him, and tolde him how euery man blamed him for it: he fell laughing, and tolde them he had that he sought. For, sayeth he, I would haue the *ATHENIANS* rather prate vpon that, then they should saye worfe of me. Moreover, it is sayed, the first time that

*Alcibiades
first souldier
fame with So-
crates.
Alcibiades
saues by So-
crates.*

*Alcibiades
saues So-
crates life after
the enterrow
at the battell
of Delion.*

*Alcibiades
married.*

*Hipparete
sued to be
diuorced from
Alcibiades.*

*Alcibiades
great dogge.*

*Alcibiades
largest.*

that *Alcibiades* spake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, was vpon a giste of money, he gaue to the people, and not of any pretence, or former purpose he had to doe it. One daye as he came through the market place, hearing the people very lowde, he asked what the matter was: they tolde him it was about money, certain men had gotten to the people. Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purse. The people were so glad at that, as they fell to howling and clapping of their handes, in token of thankfullnes: and him selfe was so glad for companie, that he forgot a quayle he had vnder his gowne, which was so afeard of the noyse, that she tooke her flight away. The people seeing the quayle, made a greater noyse then before, and many rofe out of their places to runne after her: so that in the ende, it was taken vp by a master of a shippe called *Antiochus*, who brought him the quayle againe, and for that cause *Alcibiades* dyd loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobilitie of his house, his goodes, his worthines, & the great number of his kinsmen & friends made his waye open to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the only waye he desired to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets do testifie it: and besides them, *Damasthenes* the prince of orators also doth saye, in an oration he made against *Midias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we maye belecue *Theophrastus*, the greatest searcher of antiquities, & best historiographer aboue any other philosopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades* had as good a witte to deuise and consider what he would saye, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit sometimes studying what he should saye, as also to deliuer good wordes, not hauing them very readilie at his tongues ende: he many times tooke breath by the waye, and paused in the midst of his tale, not speaking a worde, vntill he had called it to minde, that he would saye. His charge was great, and muche spoken of also, for keeping of running horses at games: not only because they were the best & swiftest, but for the number of coches he had besides. For neuer priuate person, no nor any prince, that euer sent seuen foell appointed coches, in all furniture, vnto the games *Olympicall*, as he dyd: nor that at one course had borne awaye the first, the second, and the fourth prize, as *Thucydides* sayeth: or as *Euripides* reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer strived for victorie therein. For *Euripides* pronounced his praise, in a songe he made of him, as followeth:

*Alcibiades
comming into
the common
weale.*

*Alcibiades
maruelous
eloquent.*

*Alcibiades
witt and im-
perfection.*

*Alcibiades
victorie at
the games O-
lympicall.*

D O sonne of *Clinias*, I will resounde thy praise:
for thou art bold in martiall dedes, and ouercommest all wayes.
Thy victories therewith, doe farre exceede the rest,
that euer were in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them best.
For at the *Olympike* games, thou hast with chariots vonne,
the first prize, seconde, thirde and all, which there in race vuerre yonne.
With praise and litle payne, thy head hath with bene crownde,
with olive boughes for victorie, and with trumpets founde.
The heraulds haue proclaimed thee victor by thy name:
above all those, which ranne with thee, in hope to get the game.

E Howbeit the good affection diuers citties did beare him, contending which should gratifie him best, dyd muche increase his fame and honour. For the *EPHESIANS* dyd yet vpon a rente for him, very sumptuously and richly furnished. Those of the cittie of *CHIO*, furnished him with prouider for his horse, and gaue him muttons besides, and other beastes to sacrifice withall. They of *LABOS* also sent him in wine and other prouision for vittells, to helpe him to defraye the great charges he was at in keeping open house, & feeding such a nuber of mouthes daylie. Yet the spite they dyd beare him, or rather his breache of promise which he often made, with this magnificence and state he shewed, gaue the people more cause to speake of him then before. For they saye there was one *Diomedes* at *ATHENS*, a friend of *Alcibiades*, & no ill man, who desired once in his life to winne a game at the playes *Olympicall*. This man F being informed that the *ARGIVS* had a coche excellently furnished, belonging to their common weale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could doe very much in the cittie of *LABOS*, because he had many friends in the same: he came to intreate *Alcibiades* to buye this coche for him.

*Alcibiades
breaker of
promise.*

Alcibiades thereupon bought it, but kept it to him selfe, not regarding *Diomedes* request he had made. *Diomedes* seeing that fell starke mad for anger, and called the goddes & men to witness, that *Alcibiades* did him open wrong, and it seemeth, that there fell out sute in lawe upon the same. For *Sperates* wrote an oration, and drue a plea in defence of *Alcibiades*, being yet but a childe, touching a couple of horses; yet in this plea, his aduersarie was called *Tisias*, and not *Diomedes*. Furthermore, *Alcibiades* being yet but a young man, when he came to practise and pleade publicly, he puttall other Orators to silence, but only two that were euer against him: the one was *Phaex* the sonne of *Erasistratus*, and the other *Nicias*, the sonne of *Niceratus*. Of these two, *Nicias* was a man grown, and had wonne the name & reputation of a good captain. And *Phaex* beganne also to come forward as he dyd, being of a good and honorable houle: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence specially. For he could more properly talke and discourse among his friends priuately, then he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as *Empolis* sayeth:

Vvordes enow, but no eloquence.

There is a certain oration extant in writing, against *Alcibiades* and *Phaex*: where among other accusations is brought in, howe *Alcibiades* was ordinarily serued in his houle, with gold & siluer plate that belonged to the common weale, and which were vsed to be borne for state & magnificence, in solemne processions before them; and how he vsed them as boldly, as if they had bene his owne. Now there was one *Hyperbolus* in *ATHENS* at that time borne in the village of *Perithoides*: of whom *Thucydides* maketh mention, as of a naughty wicked man, whose tongue was a fit instrument to deliuer matter to all the Comicall poets of that time, to poore out all their tawns and mockes against men. Howbeit he was so impudent a persone, and cared so litle what men sayed of him, that he passed not though he were defamed, neither dyd any thing greue him, whatsoever they reported of him: which some doe call boldnes, and courage, being no better in deede then plaine impudencie, extreme madnes, and desperate follie. He would neuer please any man: & if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magistrate, whom they would any way accuse, *Hyperbolus* wicked tongue was their instrument to vtter their spye. Now the people (by *Hyperbolus* procurement) being assembled, were ready to proceede to the banishment of *Ostracism* by most voyces. The manner & custome of this kynde of banishment was for a time to banish out of their citie such a one, as seemed to haue to great authoritie and credit in the citie: and that was, rather to satisfie their enie, then for to remedy their feare. And bicause it was manifest it would fall out to one of them three to be banished (to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, or *Phaex*) *Alcibiades* found meanes to ioyne all their three factions in one, becomming friends one to another: and hauing conferred with *Nicias* about it, he made *Hyperbolus* self to be banished, who was the chief instrument to prepare the waye of their banishment. Howbeit other saye, he spake not with *Nicias* about it, but with *Phaex*, and ioyning his parte with *Phaex*, he caused *Hyperbolus* to be banished, who feared nothing lesse: for it was neuer seene before, that a man of meane countenance, and of small authoritie, fell into the happe of this banishment. As *Plato* the Comicall poet testified, speaking of *Hyperbolus*.

*Although for his deserts, this payne to him is due,
or greater punishment prepared, the which might make him rue:
Yet since he was by birth, a persone meane and base,
such punishment therefore dyd seeme (for him) to great of grace.
Since Ostracism was, not made at first to be,
nor yet deuise as punishment, for suche meane folke as he.*

But of this matter, we haue spoken more at large before: and now to returne againe to *Alcibiades*. *Nicias* had great reputation among strangers, and his enemies greued at it no lesse, then at the honour the citizens selues dyd vnto him. For his houle was the common inne for all *LACEDÆMONIANS* when they came to *ATHENS*, and they euer laye with him: moreover he had very well entertained the *LACEDÆMON* prisoners that were taken at the sorte of *PLYE*. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwene *LACEDÆMON* and *ATHENS*, and their prisoners redeliuered home againe by *Nicias* meanes only & procurement they

they loued him more then euer they dyd before. This was blowen abroad through *GREECE*, that *Pericles* had kindled the warres amongst them, and *Nicias* had quenched it: so some called this peace *Nician*, as one would saye, *Nicias* worke. But *Alcibiades* stood making this, and enuying *Nicias* glorie, determined to breake the peace whatsoever came of it. Wherefore to compasse this matter, knowing first of all that the *ARGIUES* had no liking of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, but were their mortall enemies, and that they dyd but seeke matter to fall out with them: he secretly put them in hope of peace and league with the *ATHENIANS*. Moreover he dyd perswade them to it, both by letters and worde of mouthe, speaking with the magistrates, and suche as had greatest authoritie and credit amongst the people: declaring vnto them, that they should not feare the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, nor yeld to them at all, but to stick to the *ATHENIANS*, who would sone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwards when the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had made league with the *BOEOTIANS*, and had redeliuered the citie of *PANACTVM* to the *ATHENIANS*, all defaced and spoiled, contrarie to the league: *Alcibiades* perceyving how the people were much offended therat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithall brought *Nicias* in disgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelihood. As at that time, when he was general: that he would neuer take any of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, when they were shut vp within the Ile of *SPHACTERIA*, and muche lesse distresse them when he might: and moreover that when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had founde the meanes to deliuer them, and send them home againe, to gratifie the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Furthermore, that being their friende, he dyd not his duty to disswade the people from making of league offensive, and defensive with the *BOEOTIANS* and the *CORINTHIANS*: and againe also, if there were any people of *GREECE* that had a desire to become friendes and allies with the *ATHENIANS*, that he dyd the best he could to let them, if the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had no liking of the matter. Now as *Nicias* was thus in disgrace with the people, for the causes aboue sayd: in the midst of this sturre, ambassadours came by chance from *LACEDÆMON* to *ATHENS*, who at their comming gaue very good wordes, saying they had full power, and commission to compound all controuersies, vnder reasonable and equal conditions. The Senate heard them, and receaued them very curteously; and the people the next daye should assemble in counsell to geue them audience: which *Alcibiades* fearing muche, he went to labour the ambassadours, and spake with them aparte in this sorte: What meane you, my Lordes of *SPARTA*: doe ye not knowe that the Senate hath all wayes accustomed to be gracious and fauorable vnto those that sue vnto them for any matter, and that the people contrarie are of a prowde nature; and desirous to imbrace all great matters? If therefore at the first sight, ye doe geue them to vnderstand that you are come hither with full power, to treat freely with them in all manner of causes: doe you not thinke that they make you stretch your authoritie farre, to graunte them all that they will demaunde. Therefore, my Lordes ambassadours, if you looke for indifference at the *ATHENIANS* handes, and that they shall not prease you to farre against your willes, to graunte them any thing of aduantage: I would wishe you a litle to couter your full commission, and in open manner to propound certain articles, and reasonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things: and for my parte, I will assure you of my good will in fauour of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. When he had tolde them this tale, he gaue them his faithfull promise, and vowed as it were to performe his worde. Hereupon *Alcibiades* turned the ambassadours from the trust they reposed in *Nicias*, and wayne them on this side: in so muche as they gaue credit to no man but to him, wondering muche at his great wit and ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were assembled to geue the ambassadours audience. They were sent for, and brought into the marketplace. There *Alcibiades* gently asked them, what was the cause of their comming. They answered that they were come to treat of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing: a

*Nicias speaketh
Alcibiades
breake the
peace of the
Grecians.*

*Alcibiades
beguileth the
Lacedæmo-
nians.*

*Alcibiades
beguileth the
Lacedæmo-
nians.*

Alcibiades

beganne *Alcibiades* to be angrie with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he to them: calling them vnfaithfull, vnconstant, and fickle men, that were come neither to doe, nor saye any thing worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: whereat *Nicias* was so aghamed and amafed withall, that he could not tell what to saye, to see so sodaine a change, knowing nothing of *Alcibiades* malice and subtill practise with the ambassadours. So the ambassadours of *Lacedemon* were dispatched, without any thing done, and *Alcibiades* chosen generall: who presently brought the *Argives*, the *Elia*n, and the *Mantians* in league with the *Athenians*. Though no man dyd commend this practise of his, in working it after this sorte: yet was it a maruelous thing of him to deuise to put all *Peloponnesus* in armes, and to procure such a number of souldiers against the *Lacedemonians*, as he dyd before the citie of *Mantineia*, and to shifte of the miseries of warre and hazard of battell, so farre from *Athenes*. Which if the *Lacedemonians* dyd winne, could not profit them much: and if they lost it, they could hardly saue their citie of *Sparta*. After this battell of *Mantineia*, the thousand men whom the citie by an ancient order dyd keepe continually in paye, aswell in peace as in warre, within the citie of *Argos*, thinking now opportunite serued them very trimly: attempted to take the soueraine authoritie from the common people, and to make them selues Lords of the citie. And to bring this to passe, the *Lacedemonians* comming in the meane time, dyd ayde them in their purpose, and so dyd put downe the government of the people: notwithstanding, immediately after the people tooke armes againe, and became the stronger. *Alcibiades* comming thither euen at that time, dyd warrant them the victorie, and to let vp againe the authoritie of the people. Then he perswaded them to make their walles longer to ioyne their citie to the sea, to the ende they might more easely be ayded by sea, by the *Athenians*. He brought them also from *Athenes*, many carpenters, masons, stone hewers, and other workemen: and to conclude, he shewed them by all the meanes and wayes he could, that he dyd beare good will vnto them, and thereby wanne him selfe no lesse fauour particularly among them, then generally he dyd good vnto his countrie. He dyd perswade also the citizens of *Patras* to ioyne their towne to the sea, by making long walles, which they built out euen to the clyffes of the sea. And when one sayed vnto them, alas, poore people of *Patras*, what doe ye meane the *Athenians* will eate you out. *Alcibiades* answered him, it maye well be, but it shalbe by litle and litle, beginning first at the feete: but the *Lacedemonians* will deuoure you all at once, and beginne at the head. Now although *Alcibiades* dyd make the citie of *Athenes* strong by sea, yet he dyd not leaue to perswade the *Athenians* also, to make their selues strong by lande. For he dyd put the young men oftentimes in minde of the othe they were made to sweare in *Agravalos*, and dyd aduise them to accomplishe it in dede. Which was, that they should take all corne fields, vines, and olyue trees, to be the borders and confines of *Attica*, whereby they were taught to reckon all lande theirs, that was manured, and dyd bring forth fruite. Yet with all these goodly dedes and fayer wordes of *Alcibiades*, and with this great courage and quicknes of vnderstanding, he had many great fautes and imperfections. For he was to daintie in his fare, wantonly geuen vnto light women, riotous in bankets, vaine and womanishe in apparell: he wore euer a long purple gowne that swepte the market place as he walked vp and downe, it had suche a traine, and was so rich and costly for him to weare. And following these vaine pleasures and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the planks of the poore thereof to be cutte and broken vp, as he might lye the softer: for his bed was not layed upon the ouerloppe, but laye vpon girthes strained ouer the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides, and he caried to the warres with him a gilded cushion, wherein he had no cognizance nor ordinary deuise of the *Athenians*, but only had the image of *Cupid* in it, holding lightning in his hande. The noble men, and best citizens of *Athenes* perceyuing this, they hated his facions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afeard withall of his rashnes and insolencie: he dyd so contemne the lawes and customes of their countrie, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be King, and would subuert and turne all ouer hand. And as for the good will

The waller brought to the sea by the Argives.

Alcibiades was.

A good will of the common people towards him, the poet *Aristophanes* doth plainly expresse it in these wordes:

The people most desire, what most they hate to haue:
And what their minds abhorres, euen that they seeme to eate.

And in another place he sayed also, aggravating the suspicion they had of him.

For state or common vnto, much better should it be,
To keepe within the countrie home, such lions looke as he.
But if they needes will keepe, a lion to their cost,
Then must they needes obey his will, for he will rule the roste.

For to saye truly: his curtesies, his libéralities, and noble expences to shewe the people so great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more: the glorious memorie of his auncesters, the grace of his eloquence, the beawtie of his persone, the strength and valliantnes of his bodie, ioyned together with his wisdom and experience in marshall affayres: were the very causes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the *Athenians* dyd patiently endure all his light partes, and dyd couer his fautes, with the best wordes and termes they could, calling them youthfull, and gentlemen's sportes. As when he kept *Agatharchus* the painter prisoner in his house by force, vntill he had painted all his walles within: and when he had done, dyd let him goe, and rewarded him very honestly for his paines. Again when he gaue a boxe of the eare to *Taurus*, who dyd paye the whole charges of a companie of common players, in spite of him, to carie awaye the honour of the games. Also when he tooke awaye a young woman of *Melia* by his authoritie, that was taken among certaine prisoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a childe, which he caused to be brought vp. Which they called a worke of charitie, albeit afterwards they burdened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poore *Meliars*, sauing the lide children, because he had fauored and perswaded that vnnatural and wicked decree, which another had propounded, likewise where poet *Aristophanes* the painter, had painted a curtisan named *Nemus*, holding *Alcibiades* in her armes, and sitting in her lappe, which all the people ranne to see, and tooke great pleasure to behold: the graue and auncient men, were angrie at these foolish partes, accompanying them impudent things, and done against all ciuill modestie and temperancie. Wherefore it seemed *Archestratus* words.

D were spoken to good purpose, when he sayed, that *Greece* could not abide two *Alcibiades*, saying at once. And on a daye as he came from the counsaill and assembly of the citie, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obtained the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: *Timon*, surnamed *Misanthropus*, as who would saye, *Lampyris*, or the man hater, meeting *Alcibiades* thus accompanied, dyd not passe by him, nor gaue him waye (as he was wont to doe to all other men) but went straight to him, and tooke him by the hande, and sayed, O thou dost well my sonne, I can thee thank, that thou goest on, and climest vp still: for if euer thou be in authoritie, wee be vnto thee as that followe thee, for they are vnto thee vndone. When they heard these wordes, such shalbeode by sell. E laughing: other reuiled *Timon*, other againe marked well his wordes, and thought of them many a time after, such sundry opinions they had of him for the vnconstantie of his life, and waywardnes of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of *Syracusa*, the *Athenians* dyd maruelously couer it in *Pociles* life, but yet they dyd not misse withall, vntill after his death: and then they dyd it as the first vnder culler of friendship, as sayd those cities which were oppressed, and spoiled by the *Syracusians*. This was in manner a plaine bridge made, so passe afterwards a greater power and armie thither. Howbeit the only procurer of the *Athenians*, and pertrader of them, to send small companies thither no more, but to enter with a great armie, at once to conquer all the countie together, was *Alcibiades*: who had so allured the people with his pleasant tongue, that vpon his perswasion, they built castells in the ayre, and thought to doe greater wonders, by winning only of *Sicilia*. For where other dyd set their mindes upon the conquest of *Sicilia*,

Alcibiades dishonestly & vniuertely

Archestratus saying.

Alcibiades the author of the warres in Sicilia.

being that they only hoped after: it was to *Alcibiades*, but a beginning of further enterprises. And where *Nicias* commonly in all his persuasions, dyd turne the *ATHENIANS* from their purpose to make warres against the *SYRACUSANS*, as being to great a matter for them to take the citie of *SYRACUSA*: *Alcibiades* againe had a further reache in his head, to goe conquer *LIBYA*, and *CARTHAGE*, and that being conquered, to passe from thence into *ITALIE*, and so to *PELOPONNESUS*: so that *SICILIA* should serue but to furnishe them with vittells, and to paye the souldiers for their conquestes which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently caried away with a marvelous hope and opinion of this iorney, and gaue good eare to olde mens tales that tolde them wonders of the countries: inasmuch as there was no other pastime nor exercise among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to set rounde together, drawe plattes of *SICILE*, and describe the situation of *LIBYA* and *CARTHAGE*. And yet they saye, that neither *Socrates* the philosopher, nor *Meton* the astronomer dyd euer hope to see any good successe of this iorney. For the one by the reuealing of his familiar spirite, who tolde him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: & *Meton*, whether it was for the feare of the successe of the iorney he had by reason, or that he knew by diuination of his arte what would followe, he coisterfeated the mad man, & holding a burning torche in his hand, made as though he would haue set his house a fyre. Other saye, that he dyd not coisterfeate, but like a mad man in deede dyd set his house a fyre one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the market place to praye the people, that in consideration of his great losse and his grievous calamitie so late happened him, it would please them to discharge his sonne for going C this voyage. So by this mad deuise, he obtained his request of the people for his sonne, whom he abused much. But *Nicias* against his will was chosen capitaine, to take charge of men in these warres: who mistliked this iorney, as well for his companion and affociate in the charge of these warres, as for other misfortunes he foresawe therein. Howbeit the *ATHENIANS* thought the warre would fall out well, if they dyd not commit it wholly to *Alcibiades* ratherne and hardines, but dyd ioyne with him the wisdom of *Nicias*: and appointed *Lamachus* also for their third capitaine, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somewhat olde; as one that had shewed him selfe no lesse venturous and hardie in some battells, then *Alcibiades* him selfe. Now when they came to resolute of the number of souldiers, the furniture and order of these warres, *Nicias* sought crookedly to thwart this iorney, and to breake D it of altogether: but *Alcibiades* withstood him, and gate the better hande of him. There was an orator called *Demostratus*, who moued the people also that the captaines whom they had chosen for these warres, might haue full power and authoritie to leaue men at their discretion, and to make suche preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condescended, and dyd authorise them. But when they were euen readie to goe their waye, many signes of ill successe lighted in the necke one of another: and amongst the rest this was one. That they were commaunded to take shippe, on the daye of the celebration of the feast of *Adonis*, on the which the custome is, that women doe set vp in diuers places of the citie, in the midst of the streates, images, like to dead cories which they carie to buriall, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funeralles of the E dead, with blubbering, and beating them selues, in token of the sorowe the goddesse *Penny* made, for the death of her friend *Adonis*. Moreover, the *Hermes* (which are the images of *Mercurie*, and were wont to be set vp in euery lane and streete) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled specially in their faces: but this put diuers in great feare and trouble, yea euen those that made no account of suche toyes. Whereupon it was alleged that it might be the *CORINTHIANS* that dyd it, or procured that lewde acte to be done, fauoring the *SYRACUSANS*, who were their neere kynsmen, and had bene the first fownders of them, imagining vpon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake of the enterpryse, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hande. Nevertheless, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their wordes that sayed, F they should not reckon of any such signes or tokens, and that they were but some light brained youthes, that being tippled, had played this shamefull parte in their brauerie, or for sporte.

But

A But for all these reasons, they tooke these signes very greuouly, and were in deede not a litle afraid, as thinking vndoubtedly, that no man durst haue bene so bolde, to haue donee suche an abhominable facte, but that there was some conspiracie in the matter. Hereupon, they looked upon euery suspition and coniecture that might be (how like or vnluckie soeuer it were) and that very seuerely: and both Senate and people also met in counsell vpon it, very ofte, and in a fewe dayes. Now whilst they were busied searching out the matter, *Androcles* a common counsellor, and orator in the common wealth, brought before the counsell certaine flutes and straungers that dwelt in *ATHENS*: who deposed that *Alcibiades*, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that sorte, and in a mockerie had counterfeated also in a banker that he made, the ceremonies B of the holy mysteries, declaring these matters particularly. How one *Theodorus* counterfeated the herald, that is wonte to make the proclamations: *Polytion* the torche bearer, and *Alcibiades* the priest, who sheweth the holy signes and mysteries: and that his other companions were the assistants, as those that make sute to be receyued into their religion and order, and into the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call *Myistes*. These very wordes are written in the accusation *Thestalus* (*Cimon* sonne) made against *Alcibiades*, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddeses, *Ceres*, & *Proserpina*. Whereat the people being maruelously moued and offended, and the orator *Androcles* his mortall enemie aggrauating & stirring them vp the more against him: *Alcibiades* a litle at the first beganne to be amased at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners, which were C prepared for the voyage of *SICILIA*, and the souldiers also that were gathered, dyd beare him great good will, and specially how the ayde, and that bande that came from *ARGOS*, and *Mantine* (being a thousand footemen, well armed and appointed) dyd laye openly, how it was for *Alcibiades* sake they dyd take vpon them so long a voyage beyond sea, & that if they went about to doe him any hurte or wrong, they would presently returne home againe from whence they came: he beganne to be of a good courage againe, and determined with this good favorable oportunitie of time, to come before the counsell, to aunswer to all suche articles and accusations as should be layed against him. Thereupon his enemies were a litle cooled, fearing least the people in this iudgement would haue shewed him more fauour, because they stood in nede of him. Wherefore to preuent this daunger, they D had fedd other Oratours who set a good face on the matter, as they had bene *Alcibiades* friends, and yet bare him no lesse good will, then the rankest enemies he had. These fine fellows rose vp in open assembly, and sayed: it was no reason, that he that was now chosen one of the generallies of so mightie and puissant an armie (being ready to hoysse sayle and the ayde also of their allies and friends) should be driuen to staye now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilst they should goe about to choosie iudges, and appointe him his howres and time of aunswer. Therefore, they sayed, it was fit he should take his iorney betimes, and when warres were done, that he should present him selfe to requier iustice, and to purge him selfe of suche matters as should be objected against him. But *Alcibiades* smelling straight their fetches, and perceiving the practise of his staye, stept vp, E and declared how they dyd him great wrong, to make him departe with the charge of a generall of so great an armie, his minde being troubled with continuall feare of so grievous curses, as he should leaue upon him: and that he deserved death, if he could not purge and iustifie him selfe, of all the vniuist and furnished accusations against him. And if he had once clered him selfe of all things, and had published his innocence: he should then haue nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to goe on lustely to fight with his enemies, and to cast behinde him the daunger of all his slanderous detractors. But all this could not perswade them. And so he was presently commaunded in the behalfe of the people, to imbarke, & shipp away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the seas with his other companions, hauing in their nauie about a hundred and forty gallyes, all hauing three F owers to a bancke: & five thousand one hundred footemen very well armed and appointed, & throwers with slinges, archers, & other light armed men to the number of threene hundred, sufficiently furnished of all warlike and necessarie munition. Now after they were arriued

T iij

The diuination of Socrates & Meton.

Alcibiades accused for prophaneing the holy mysteries.

The craftes of Alcibiades enemies.

Images hewed and mangled at Athens.

Alcibiades iorney into Sicile.

on the coaste of ITALIE, they landed in the cittie of RHEGIO: where, holding counsell in A what sorte they should direct these warres, it was resolved in the ende that they should goe straight vnto SICILIA. This opinion was followed, although *Nicias* dyd contrarie it, when *Lamachus* gaue his consent therunto: and at his first comming, he was the occasion of winning the cittie of CATANA. But he neuer after dyd any exployte, for he was called home immediately by the ATHENIANS, to come and answer certaine accusations layed to his charge. For as we tolde you before, there was at the beginning, certaine light suspitions and accusations put vp against him, by some slaues and straungers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burdened him more cruelly, adding to his former faulte, that he had broken the images of *Mercurie*: and had committed sacriledge in counterfeiting in iest and mockery the holy ceremonies of the mysteries: and blue into the eares of the people, B that both the one and the other proceeded of one set conspiracie, to change and alter the government of the state of the cittie. Vpon these informations, the people tooke it in so ill parte, that they committed all to prifone, that were in any sorte accused or suspected thereof, and would neuer let them come to their answer: and moreouer dyd much repent them that they had not condemned *Alcibiades*, vpon so great complaints and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offense was in question before them. And the furie and hatred of the people was such towards him, that if any of *Alcibiades* friends and acquaintance came within their daunger, they were the worse handled for his sake. *Thucydides* dyd not name his accusers, but some other doe name *Diocides* and *Teucer*: amongst whom, *Phrynicus* the Comical poet is one, who discouereth it in his verses, by bringing in one that speaketh thus to C the image of *Mercury*.

*Phrynicus
the Comical
poet.*

*My good friend Mercury, I pray thee take good heede,
that thou fall not, and breake thy necke: for so thou mightst me breede,
both daunger and distrust, and though I gildes be,
some Diocides falsly might accuse and trouble me.*

Mercury answereth.

*Take thou no thought for me, my selfe I shall well saue:
and will forsee full well therewith that Teucer (that false knaue)
shall not the money get, which he by lawre hath wonne,
for his promouers bribing parte, and accusation.*

And yet for all this, these tokens doe shewe no certaintie of any thing. For one of them being asked, howe he could knowe them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced these images? he answered, that he knewe them well enough by the brightnes of the moone. And hereby it appeareth playnely that he was periuerted, bicause that the same night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a coniunction of the moone. This dyd a litle trouble and staye men of iudgement: howbeit the common sorte of people this notwithstanding, dyd not leaue to be as sharpe set, to receyue all accusations and informations, that were brought in against him, as euer they were before. Now there was among the prisoners whose cause was hanging before them, the orator *Andocides* (whom *Hellanicus* the historiographer describeth to descend of the race of *Phylus*) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the government of the common people, and bent altogether to fauour the small number of the nobilitie. But one of the chiefeft occasions why he was suspected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his house there was a fayer great image set vp in olde time, by the familie or tribe of the *Egeides*, and that alone amongst all the rest of so many famous images, was leste whole and vnbroken: whereupon it is called at this daye, the *Mercury* of *Andocides*, and is so called generally of euery bodye, albeit the inscription sheweth the contrarie. *Andocides* being in prifone, chanced to fall in acquaintance with one *Timon*, with whom he was more familiar then with all the rest, who was also prisoner with him for the self cause. This *Timon* was a man not so well known as he, but besides, a wife man, and very hardie. He perswaded him, and put into his head, that he should accuse him selfe, and certaine F other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confessing it, he should receyue grace & pardone, according to the course and promise of the lawe. Where contrairilie, if he should stande

*Andocides
the orator cast
into prifon.*

A stande vpon the cutesie of the iudges sentence, he might easely endaunger him self: bicause iudgements in such cases are vncertaine to all people, and most to be doubted and feared towards the riche. And therefore he told him it were his best waye, if he looked into the matter wisely, by lying to saue his life, rather then to suffer death with shame, and to be condemned upon this false accusation. Also he sayed if he would haue regarde to the common wealth, that it should in like case be wisely done of him, to put in daunger a few of those (which stood doubtfull whether in trothe they were any of them or not) to saue from the furie of the people, and terror of death, many honest men, who in deede were innocent of this lewde fact. *Timon* words and persuations wrought such effect with *Andocides*, that they made him yield vnto them, & brought him to accuse him selfe, & certaine other with him: by meanes where- B of *Alcibiades* according to the lawe had his pardon. But all such as he named and accused, were euery man put to death, sauing such as saued them selues by running awaye. Furthermore, to shadowe his accusation with some appaurance of trothe, *Andocides* among those that were accused, dyd accuse also certain of his owne seruants. Now though the people had no more occasion to occupie their busie heades about the breakers of these images, yet was not their malice thus appeased against *Alcibiades*, vntill they sent the galley called *Salaminiana*, commanding those they sent by a speciall commissiō to seeke him out, in no case to attempt to take him by force, nor to laye holde on him by violence: but to vse him with all the good wordes and courteous manner that they possibly could, & to will him only to appeare in person before the people, to answer to certaine accusations put vp against him. If otherwise C they should haue vsed force, they feared muche least the armie would haue mutined on his behalfe within the countrie of their enemies, and that there would haue grown some sedition amongst their souldiers. This might *Alcibiades* haue easely done, if he had bene disposed. For the souldiers were very forte to see him departe, perceyuing that the warres should be drawn out now in length, and be much prolonged vnder *Nicias*, seeing *Alcibiades* was taken from them, who was the only spur that pricked *Nicias* forward to doe any seruice: and that *Lamachus* also, though he were a valliant man of his handes, yet he lacked honour and authority in the armie, bicause he was but a meane man borne, and poore besides. Now *Alcibiades* for a farewell, disappointed the ATHENIANS of winning the cittie of *MESSINA*: for they hauing intelligence by certaine priuate persones within the cittie, that it would yield vp into D their handes, *Alcibiades* knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them vnto those that were the SYRACUSANS friends: whereupon all this practise was broken utterly. Afterwards when he came to the cittie of *THURIES*, so sone as he had landed, he went and hid him selfe incontinently in such sorte, that such as sought for him, could not finde him. Yet there was one that knewe him where he was, and sayed: Why, how now *Alcibiades*, darest thou not trust the iustice of thy countrie? Yes very well (quoth he) and it were in another matter: but my life standing vpon it, I would not trust mine own mother, fearing least negligently she should put in the blacke beane, where she should cast in the white. For by the first, condemnation of death was signified: and by the other, pardone of life. But afterwards, hearing that the ATHENIANS for malice had condemned him to death: well, quoth he, they shall knowe I am yet alieue. E Now the manner of his accusation and inditement framed against him, was found written in this sorte. *The Salus* the sonne of *Cimon*, of the village of *LACIADES*, hath accused, and doth accuse *Alcibiades*, the sonne of *Clinias*, of the village of *SCAMBONIDES*, to haue offended against the goddesses, *Ceres* & *Proserpina*, counterfeiting in mockery their holy mysteries, & shewing them to his familiar friends in his house, him selfe apparelled and arrayed in a long vestemēt or cope, like vnto the vestemēt the priest weareth when he sheweth these holy sacred mysteries: & naming him selfe the priest, *Polytion* the torch bearer, and *Theodorus* of the village of *PHYGEA* the verger, & the other lookers on, brethren, and fellows sorners with them, & all done in manifest contēpt & derision, of holy ceremonies and mysteries of the *Eumolpides*, the religious priests & ministers of the sacred tēple of the cittie of *EPYRSIN*. So *Alcibiades* for F his contēpt & not appearing, was condēned, and his goodes confiscate. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the religious priestes & women should bāne & accurse him. But hereunto answered, one of the *Nunnes* called *Theano*, the daughter of *Menon*, of the vil-

*Alcibiades
sent for to dis-
cuss to his
accusation.*

*Alcibiades
accusant.*

*Alcibiades
condemned
being absent.*

lage of AGRADIA, saying: that she was professed religious, to praye and to blesse, not to curse and banne. After this most grievous sentence and condemnation passed against him, *Alcibiades*, departed out of the citie of THYRES, & went into the countie of PELOPONNESVS, where he continued a good season in the citie of ARGOS. But in the ende fearing his enemies, and having no hope to returne againe to his owne countie with any safety: he sent vnto SPARTA to haue safe conduct and licence of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that he might come and dwell in their countie, promising them he would doe them more good being now their friend, then he euer dyd them hurte, while he was their enemy. The LACEDÆMONIANS graunted his request, & receyued him very willingly into their citie: where euen vpon his first coming, he dyd three things. The first was: That the LACEDÆMONIANS by his persuation & procurement, dyd determine speedily to send ayde to the SYRACUSANS, whom they had long before delayed: & so they sent *Gylippus* their captaine, to ouerthrowe the ATHENIANS armie, which they had sent thither. The second thing he did for them, was: That he made them of GRECE to beginne waite upon the ATHENIANS. The third, & greatest matter of importance, was: That he dyd counsell them to fortifie the citie of DECELEA, which was within the territories of ATTICA: selfe: which consumed, and brought the power of the ATHENIANS lower, then any other thing whatsoeuer he could haue done. And if he were welcome, & well esteemed in SPARTA, for the seruice he dyd to the common wealth: much more he wanne the loue & good willes of priuate men, for that he liued after the LACONIAN manner. So as they that sawe his skynne scraped to the flethe, & sawe him washe him selfe in cold water, & howe he dyd eate browne bread, & suppe of their blacke brothe: would haue doubted (or to saye better, neuer haue beleued) that such a man had euer kept cooke in his house, nor that he euer had seene so muche as a perfuming panne, or had touched clothe of tisse made at MILETUM. For among other qualities & properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they saye was one, whereby he most robbed mens hartes: that he could frame altogether with their manners and facions of life, transforming him selfe more easily to all manner of shapcs, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white culler: but *Alcibiades* could put upon him any maners, customes or facions, of what nation soeuer, & could followe, exercise, & counterfeite them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in SPARTA, he was very paynefull, & in continuall exercise: he liued sparingly with litle, & led a straight life. In IONIA, to the contrary: there he liued daintely & superfluously, & gaue him selfe to all mirth & pleasure. In THRACIA, he dranke euer, or was wayles a horse backe. If he came to *Tissaphernes*, lieutenant of the mightie king of PERSIA: he farre exceeded the magnificence of PERSIA in pompe & sumptuousnes. And these things notwithstanding, neuer altered his naturall condition from one facion to another, neither dyd his manners (to saye truly) receyue all sortes of chaunges. But bicause peraduenture, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in diuers places where he came, haue offended those whose companie he kept, he dyd with such a vifer & cloke disguise him selfe, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming him selfe into their naturall countenance. As he that had seene him when he was at SPARTA, to haue looked upon the outward man, would haue sayed as the common prouerbe sayeth:

It is not the sonne of Achilles, but Achilles selfe:

Euen so it is euen he, whom *Lycyrus* brought vp. But he that had inwardly seene his naturall doings, & good will in deede lyke naked before him: would haue sayed contrarie, as they saye commonly in another language.

This woman is no chaungeling.

For he entertained *Queene Timea*, King *Agis* wife of SPARTA, so well in his absence, he being abroade in the warres: that he got her with childe, & she her selfe denied it not. For the being brought a bed of a sonne, who was named *Leotychides*, openly to the world called him by that name: but when she was amongst her familiars & very friends, she called him softly *Alcibiades*, she was so farre in loue with him. And *Alcibiades* casting out the matter, sayed he had done it for no hurte, nor for any lust of flethe to satysfie his desire: but only to leaue of his race, to reigne amongst the LACEDÆMONIANS. This matter was brought by diuers vnto king

*Alcibiades
first to
Sparta.*

*Alcibiades
more chaun-
geable then
the camelion.*

*Alcibiades
got Timea,
king Agis
wife with
childe.*

A king: *Agis* eares, who at the length beleued it: but specially when he beganne to make a reckoning of the time, how long it was sence he laye with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ranne out of his chamber for feare the house would fall on his head: so that it was tenne moneths after ere he laye again with her. Whereupon her sonne *Leotychides* being borne at the ende of tenne moneths, he sayed he was none of his: and this was the cause that *Leotychides* dyd not succede afterwards in the Kingdome, bicause he was not of the bloude royall. After the vnter ouerthrowe of the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, those of the Iles of CHIO and LESBOS, with the CYZICENTIANs, dyd send all about a tene ambassadours to SPARTA: to let the LACEDÆMONIANS vnderstand, they had good will to leaue the ATHENIANS, so they would send them ayde to defend them. The BOEOTIANs fauored those of LESBOS: *Pharnabazus*, the king of PERSIANS lieutenant, fauored the CYZICENTIANs. This notwithstanding, the LACEDÆMONIANS were better affected to helpe those of CHIO first, by the persuation of *Alcibiades*, who tooke their matters in hande. And he tooke sea him selfe and went into ASIA, where he almost turned the countie of IONIA against the ATHENIANS: and keeping allwayes with the generallcs of the LACEDÆMONIANS, he dyd muche hurte the ATHENIANS. Yet notwithstanding, king *Agis* dyd beare him ill will, partly for the iniurie he dyd him in dishonoring and desling his wife, and partly also, for that he enuid his glorie: bicause the rumour rane all about, that the most parte of the goodly exploytes of these warres dyd happen well, by *Alcibiades* meanes. Other also of the greatest authoritie among the SPARTANS, that were most ambitious among them, beganne in their mindes to be angrie with *Alcibiades*, for the enuie they bare him: who were of so great power, that they procured their gouernours to write their letters to their captaines in the field, to kill him. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, dyd no whit desist to doe all he could for the benefit of the LACEDÆMONIANS: yet he had an eye behind him, saying all occasions to fall into their handes. So in the ende, for more fury of his persone, he went vnto *Tissaphernes*, one of the king of PERSIANS lieutenantes, with whom he wanne incontinently faye credit, that he was the first & chiefeft persone he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple persone, but rather malicious, & subtil of nature, and that loued fine & crafty men: dyd wonder how he could so easily turne from one manner of liuing to another, and also at his quicke witte and vnderstanding. Moreouer, his company and manner to passe the time awaye, was commonly maruelous full of mirth and pleasure, and he had such pleasure comely deuises with him, that no man was of so follen a nature, but he would make him merie, nor so churlishe, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also enuid him: they were yet glad to see him, & it did them good to be in his companie, & vsf talke with him. In so muche as this *Tissaphernes* (that otherwise was a churlishe man, and naturally hated the GRECIANS) dyd geue him selfe so muche vnto *Alcibiades* flatteries, and they pleased him so well: that he him selfe dyd studie to flatter *Alcibiades* againe, and make muche of him. For he called *Alcibiades* his fayer house of pleasure, & goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had many goodly gardens, sweete springes, grene arbours and pleasant meadowes, and those in all royall and magnificent manner. *Alcibiades* despairing vnto find any safetie or friend-shippe among the SPARTANS, and fearing on thother side king *Agis* also: he beganne to speake ill of them, and to disgrace all that they dyd, to *Tissaphernes*. By this practise he stayed *Tissaphernes* from ayding them so friendly as he might: moreouer, he dyd not vnterly destroye the ATHENIANS. For he perswaded him that he should furnishe the LACEDÆMONIANS but with litle money, to let them diminishie and consume by litle and litle: to the ende that after one had troubled and weakened the other, they both at the length should be the easier for the King to overcome. This barbarous man dyd easily consent to this deuise: All the world then sawe he loued *Alcibiades*, and esteemed of him very muche: in so muche as he was sought to, and regarded of all handes of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS forie, and repented them when they had receyued so great losse & hurte, for that they had decreed to severely against *Alcibiades*, who in like manner was very sorrowfull to see them brought to so harde termes, fearing, if the citie of ATHENS came to destruction, that he him selfe should fall in the ende into the handes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. Now

*Leotychides
Alcibiades
bastarde.*

*The Lacedæ-
monians pra-
ctise to kill
Alcibiades.*

*Alcibiades
flying the La-
cedæmonians
goeth to Ti-
saphernes.*

*Alcibiades
called a plei-
sant place
and goodly
prospect.*

*The inco-
nstance of the
common people.*

about that time, all the power of the *ATHENIANS* were almost in the Ile of *SAMOS*, from whence with their armie by sea, they fought to suppress the rebelles that were vp against them, and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet prettily strong to resist their enemies, at the least by sea: but they stood in great feare of the power of *Tisaphernes*, and of the hundred & fiftie gallyes which were reported to be coming out of the countie of *PERSIA*, to the ayde of their enemies, which if they had come, the citie of *ATHENS* had bene utterly spoiled, and for euer without hope of recovery. The which *Alcibiades* vnderstanding, sent secretly vnto the chiefe men that were in the armie of the *ATHENIANS* at *SAMOS*, to geue them hope he would make *Tisaphernes* their friende: howbeit not of any desire he had to gratifie the people, nor that he trusted to the communalitie of *ATHENS*, but only to the honorable, and honest citizens, and that conditionally so as they had the harre and corage, to bridle a litle the ouer licentiousnes and insolencie of the common people, & that they would take vpon them the authoritie to gouerne, and to redresse their state, and to preferre the citie of *ATHENS* from finall and vtter destruction. Vpon this aduertisement, all the heades & chiefe men dyd geue very good eare vnto it: sauing only *Phrynichus*, one of the captaynes, and of the towne of *DIRADES*. Who mistrusting (that was true in dede) that *Alcibiades* cared not which ende went forward, nor who had the chief gouernment of *ATHENS*, the nobilitie, or the communalitie, and dyd but seeke all the deuises and wayes he could, to returne againe if it might be possible, in any manner of sorte, and that he dyd but currie fauour with the Nobilitie, blaming, and accusing the people: he tooke altogether against the motion, whereupon *Alcibiades* deuise was not followed. And hauing now shewed him selfe open enemy to *Alcibiades*, he dyd secretly aduertise *Astiochus* then admirall to the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, of *Alcibiades* practise, and warned him to take heede of him, and to laye him vp safe, as a double dealer, and one that had intelligence with both sides: but he vnderstood not how it was but one traitour to speake to another. For this *Astiochus* was a follower of *Tisaphernes* for his priuate commoditie: and perceyuing *Alcibiades* in such credit with him, he dyd discouer to *Alcibiades* all that *Phrynichus* had aduertised him. *Alcibiades* straight sent men of purpose to *SAMOS*, vnto the captaynes there, to accuse *Phrynichus* of the treason he had revealed against them. Those of the counsaill there, receyuing this intelligence: were highly offended with *Phrynichus*. So, he seeing no better waye to saue him selfe for making of this fault, went about to make amends with committing a worse fault. Thereupon he sent againe to *Astiochus*, complaining muche he had disclosed him: and yet neuertheles he promised him, if he would keepe his counsaill, that he would deliuer the whole flecte and armie of the *ATHENIANS* into his handes. Howbeit this treason of *Phrynichus* dyd the *ATHENIANS* no hurte at all, by reason of *Astiochus* counter treason: for he dyd let *Alcibiades* againe vnderstand what offer *Phrynichus* had made him. *Phrynichus* looking to be charged with this againe, the second time before the counsaill, by meanes of *Alcibiades* dyd first aduertise the chief of the armie of the *ATHENIANS*, that their enemies would come and set vpon them, and where, and how: and gaue them therefore warning to keepe neere their shippes, to make a strong watche, and to fortifie them selues with all speede, the which forthwith they dyd. And as they were about it, there came other letters from *Alcibiades*, by the which he dyd warne them againe to take heede of *Phrynichus*, because he had practised against with their enemies, to deliuer the whole armie of *ATHENS* into their handes. But they gaue no credit to his second letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparations and mindes of the enemies, would serue his owne time with the false accusing of *Phrynichus*. Notwithstanding this, there was some falsehood in fellowshippes: for one *Hermion*, openly in the market place, stabbed *Phrynichus* in with a dagger, & killed him. The facte being pleaded in lawe, and abroughly considered of: the death bodie by the sentence of the people was condemned for a traitour: and *Hermion* the murderer, and his fellowes, were crowned in recompence of their facte they had done so kill a traitour to the common wealth. Wherefore those that were *Alcibiades* friends, being at that time the stronger, and greatest men of the counsaill in the armie at *SAMOS*: they sent one *Pisander* to *ATHENS*, to attempt to alter the gouernment, and to encourage the noble men to take vpon them the authoritie, & to plucke it from the people; assuring them that *Tisaphernes* would geue them ayde to doe it, by meanes of *Alcibiades*, who would make

The murder of
Phrynichus
and his con-
demnation.

A him their friende. This was the culler and cloke wherewith they serued their turnes, that dyd change the gouernment of *ATHENS*, and that brought it into the handes of a small number of nobilitie: for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called them selues fife thousand. But so fone as they felt them selues strong, and that they had the whole authoritie of gouernment, without contradiction in their handes: they made then no more reckoning of mistrusted their citizens, who founde the change of gouernment very strange: and partly also because they were of opinion that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* (who at all times dyd most fauour the gouernment of Nobilitie) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common people that remained still in the citie, sturred not, but were quier against their willes, for feare of danger, because there were many of them slaine, that boldly tooke upon them in open presence to resist these foure hundred. But those that were in the campe, in the Ile of *SAMOS*, hearing these newes, were so grievously offended: that they resolved to returne incontinently againe, vnto the haue of *PIREÆA*. First of all, they sent for *Alcibiades*, whom they chose their captaine: then they commaunded him straightly to leade them against their tyrantes, who had vsurped the libertie of the people of *ATHENS*. But neuertheles he dyd not therein, as another would haue done in this case, seeing him selfe so sodainly crept againe in fauour with the common people: for he dyd not thinke he should incontinently please and gratifie the in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their shippes and so great an armie, being before but a banished man, a vacabond, and a fugitiue. But to the contrarie, as it became a generall worthe of such a charge, he considered with him selfe, that it was his parte wisely to staye those, who would in a rage and furie carelesly cast them selues awaye, and not suffer them to doe it. And truly *Alcibiades* was the cause of the preferring of the citie of *ATHENS* at that time, from vtter destruction. For if they had sodainly (according to their determination) departed from *SAMOS* to goe to *ATHENS*: the enemies finding no man to let them, might easely haue wonne all the countie of *IONIA*, of *HALLESBORT*, and of all the other Iles without stroke striking, whilst the *ATHENIANS* were busie fighting one against another in ciuill warres, and within the compasse of their owne walles. This *Alcibiades* alone, & no other, dyd preuent, not only by perswading the whole armie, and declaring the inconueniēce thereof, which would fall out upon their sodaine departure: but also by intreating D some particularly aparte, and keeping a number backe by very force. To bring this about, one *Thraßibulus* of the towne of *STIRA*, dyd helpe him muche: who went through the armie, and cried out upon them that were bent to enterprise this iorney. For he had the biggest and lowdest voyce as they saye, of any man that was in all the citie of *ATHENS*. This was a notable acte, and a great peece of seruice done by *Alcibiades*: that he promised fife hundred saile of the *PHENICIANS* (which the *LACEDÆMONIANS* assuredly looked for, in their ayde from the king of *PERSIA*) should not come at all, or els if they came, it should be in the fauour of the *ATHENIANS*. For he departed immediately, and went with great speede to *Tisaphernes*: whom he handled in such sorte, that he brought not the shippes that laye at rode before the citie of *ASPENDA*, and so he brake promise with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Therefore *Alcibiades* was maruelously blamed and accused, both of the one & the other side, to haue altered *Tisaphernes* minde, but chiefly of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*: who sayed that he had perswaded this barbarous captaine, he should neither ayde the one nor the other, but rather to suffer them one to deuoure and destroye eache other. For it had bene out of doubt, if this great flecte and navy of the Kings had come, to ioyne their force with either partie: that they had taken from the one of them, the signotie and domination of the sea. Shortly after, the foure hundred noble men that had vsurped the authoritie and gouernment of *ATHENS*, were vntiedly driuen awaye and overthrowen, by meanes of the friendly ayde, & assistance that *Alcibiades* friends gaue those that tooke the peoples parte. So the citizens were very well pleased with *Alcibiades*, in so muche as they sent for him to returne when he thought good. But he iudging with him selfe it would be no honour nor grace vnto him to returne without some well deserving, & before he had done some greater exployte, as only vpon the peoples fauour and good will, whereas otherwise his returne might be both glorious and triumphant: departed first from *SAMOS*

Alcibiades
called home
from exile.

Thraßibulus a
man of the
biggest voyce
of all the
Athenians.

The citizens
of *Athens* sent
for *Alcibiades*
to returne.

with a small number of gallyes, and went sailing vp and downe the Iles of C^os and of G^os. There he was aduertised, that *Mindarus*, the admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was gone with all his fleet vnto the fraight of HELLESPONT, and tharthe captaines of the ATHENIANS gaue chase vnto him. Thereupon he went also and sayled thither with speede, to ayde the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with eightene gallyes euen at the very instant, whie they were both in the midst of their fight, with all their shippes before the citie of ABYDOS. The battell was cruelly foughten betwene them from morning till night, both the one and the other hauing the better in one parte of the battell, and the worst in another place. Now at the first discouerie of *Alcibiades* comming, both partes had in deepe contrarie imaginations of him. For the enemies tooke harte vnto them: and the ATHENIANS beganne to be afear'd. But *Alcibiades* set vp straight his flagge in the topp of the galley of his admirall, to shewe what he was. Wherewithall, he set vpon the PELOPONNESIANS that had the better, & had certen gallyes of the ATHENIANS in chase: whereupon the PELOPONNESIANS gaue ouer their chase, & fled. But *Alcibiades* followed them so lustely, that he ranne diuers of them a ground, & brake their shippes, & slue a great number of men that leapt into the sea, in hope to saue them selues by swimming a lande. So notwithstanding that *Pharnabazus* was come thither to ayde the LACEDÆMONIANS, and dyd his best indeuour to saue their gallyes by the sea thore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end wane thirtie gallyes of their enemies, and saued all their owne, and so dyd set vp certaine flagges of triumphe and victorie. *Alcibiades* hauing now happily gotten this glorious victorie, would nedes goe shewe him selfe in triumphe vnto *Tisaphernes*. So hauing prepared to present him with goodly riche presents, and appointed also a conuenient traine & number of sayle mete for a generall, he tooke his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for. For *Tisaphernes* standing in great hazard of displeasure, and feare of punishment at the Kings handes, hauing long time before bene defamed by the LACEDÆMONIANS, who had coplained of him, that he dyd not fulfill the Kings commaundement, thought that *Alcibiades* was arriued in very happy hower: whereupon he kept him prisoner in the citie of SARDIS, supposing the wrong he had done, would by this meanes easily discharge, and purge him to the King. Yet at the ende of thirte dayes, *Alcibiades* by fortune got a horse, and stealing from his keepers, fled vnto the citie of CLAZOMENES: and this dyd more increafe the suspition they had of *Tisaphernes*, because they thought that vnder hand he had wrought his libertie. *Alcibiades* toke then sea againe, and went to seeke out the armie of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had founde, & heard newes that *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* were together in the citie of CIZICVM: he made an oration to his souldiers, & declared vnto them how it was very requisite they should fight with their enemies, both by sea and by lande, and moreouer that they should assault them within their fortres and castells, because otherwise they could haue no money to defraye their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediatly hoyle sayle, and so to goe lye at anker in the Ile of P^onevs: where he tooke order that they should keepe in all the pinnacles and briganines among the shippes of warre, that the enemy might haue no manner of intelligence of his coming. The great showes of rayne also, with thunder and darke weather that fell out sodainly vpon it, dyd greatly further him in his attempt & enterprise: in so muche as not only his enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knewe nothing of his comming. So some of their reckoning, that they could doe lile or nothing all that daye: yet he made them sodainly imbarke, and hoyle sayle. They were no sooner in the mayne sea, but they directed a farre of the gallyes of their enemies, which laye at rode before the haven of CYZICVM. And fearing least the great number of his fleet would make them flye, and take lande before he could come to them: he commaunded certaine captaines to staye behinde, & to rowe softly after him, and him selfe with fortie gallyes with him, went towards the enemies to provoke them to fight. The enemies supposing there had bene no more shippes, then those that were in sight: dyd fet out presently to fight with them. They were no sooner ioyned together, but *Alcibiades* shippes that came behinde, were also directed: the enemies were so afear'd therat, that they cast about, and fled straight. *Alcibiades* leauing his fleet, followed the chase with twentie of the best gallyes he had, and draue them a lande. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued

Battell by sea
before the
citie of Aby-
dos, betwene
the Athenians
and Lacedæ-
monians.

Alcibiades
victorie of
the Lacedæ-
monians by
sea.

Alcibiades
taken prisoner
at Sardis, fly-
eth from *Tisaphernes*.

A lued them so courageously at their heeles, that he slue a great nuber of them on the mayne lade; who thought by flying to haue saued them selues. Moreouer, *Mindarus*, & *Pharnabazus*, being come out of the citie to rescue their people, were ouerthrowen both: He slue *Mindarus* in the field, fighting valiantly: as for *Pharnabazus*, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS spoyled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and tooke besides all their enemies shippes. After they tooke the citie of CIZICVM, *Pharnabazus* hauing left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being slaine, they had not only the possession of the whole countrie of HELLESPONT, which they kept: but they draue their enemies by force, out of all partes of the sea. There were at that time certaine letters intercepted, whereby a secrete raie gaue aduertisement vnto the Ephors at SPARTA, of the ouerthrowe in this sorte. All B is lost, *Mindarus* is slaine, our people dye for hunger, and we knowe not what to doe. Now the souldiers of ATHENS that had bene at this torney and ouerthrowe, grew to suche a pryde and reputation of them selues, that they would not, and disdained also to serue with the other souldiers that had bene beaten many times, & went away with the worse. Where they to the contrarie had neuer bene ouercome, as a litle before it happened, that the captain *Thrasyllus* had bene ouerthrowen by the citie of EPHESVS. And for this ouerthrowe, the EPHESIANS had set vp a triumphe, and token of brasse, to the vtter shame and ignominie of the ATHENIANS. For the which *Alcibiades* souldiers dyd very muche rebuke *Thrasyllus* men, and dyd exceedingly extoll their captain and them selues, and would neither encampe with them, neither haue to doe with them, nor yet keepe them companie. Vntill suche time as *Pharnabazus* C came with a great armie againt them, as well of footmen as horsemen, when they rāe a raging upon the ABYDENIAN stand then *Alcibiades* went to the rescue of them, and gaue *Pharnabazus* battell, and ouerthrew him once againe, and dyd together with *Thrasyllus* chase him euen vntill darke night. Then both *Alcibiades* and *Thrasyllus* souldiers dyd companie together, one reioicing with another: and so returned all with great ioye into one campe. The next morning *Alcibiades* set vp a triumphe for the victorie he had the daye before, and then went to spoyle and destroye *Pharnabazus* countrie, where he was gouernour, & no man durst once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken prisoners, certaine priestes and Nunnes of the coutrie: but *Alcibiades* freely deliuered them afterwards without ranfome. And preparing to make warres againt the CHALCEDONIANS, who were reuolted from the ATHENIANS, & had receuyed a garrison & gouernour of the LACEDÆMONIANS into their citie: he was aduertised that they had brought in all their goods & cartells out of the fieldes, & had deliuered them to the safe custodie of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbours & friends. Hereupon he led his armie into their borders, & sent a herald before to summonne the BITHYNIANS, to make amends for the wrōg they had done the ATHENIANS. The BITHYNIANS fearing least *Alcibiades* would set upon them, dyd straight deliuer him the goodes they had as afore in their custodie, & moreouer, made a league with the ATHENIANS besides. That done, he went & layed seige to the citie of CHALCEDON, the which he enuironed all about from the one side of the sea to the other. *Pharnabazus* came thither, thinking to haue raised the seige. And *Hippocrates*, a captain of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that was gouernour of the citie, E assembled all the force he was able to make within the same, & made a sayle out also vpon the ATHENIANS at the very same time. Whereupon *Alcibiades* putting his men in order of battell, so as they might geue a charge vpon them both at one instant: he fought so valiantly, that he forced *Pharnabazus* to runne his waye with shame enough, & slue *Hippocrates* in the field, with a great number of his men. Then tooke he the seas againe, to goe towards the countrie of HELLESPONT, to get some money, where vpon the sodaine he did take the citie of SELYBREA: because he valiantly put him selfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For certain of his friends within, with whom he had secret practise, had geuen him a token, that when time serued, they would shewe a burning torch in the ayer at midnight: but they were cōpelled to shew this fier in the ayer before they were ready, for feare least one of their cōfederacie would bewraye the matter, who sodainly repeted him. Now this torch burning in the ayer, was set vp before *Alcibiades* was ready with his cōpanie. But he perceiving the signe set, tooke about thirtie men with him in his cōpanie, & rāe with them to the walles of the citie.

Alcibiades
victorie at
Cyzicum.

Alcibiades
victorie at
Chalcedonia.

Alcibiades
rooke the ci-
tie of Sely-
brea.

hauling commaunded the rest of his armie to followe him with all speede possible. The *gallie* was opened to him, and to his thirtie men: besides them there followed twentie other light armed men. Howbeit they were no soner entered the cittie, but they heard the citizens armed come against them: so that there was no hope to scape, if he dyd tarie their coming. Neuertheles, considering that vntill that present time he was neuer ouercome in battell, where he had taken charge, it grieved him very muche to flye: wherefore it straight came in his head to make silence by sound of trumpet, and after silence made, he caused one of them that were about him to make proclamation with a lowde voyce, that the *SELYBRIANIANS* should not take armes against the *ATHENIANS*. This cooled them a litle that would sayne haue bene doing, bicause they supposed that all the armie of the *ATHENIANS* had bene already in the cittie: the other on the contrarie side, were very glad to talke of peace, without any further daunger. And as they beganne to passe vpon composition, the rest of *Alcibiades* armie was come on. Now he thynking in dedde (which was true) that the *SELYBRIANIANS* sought nothing but peace, and fearing least the *THRACIANS* which were many in number (& came with good will to serue him in that iorney) would sacke and spoyle the cittie, he made them all to goe out againe: and so concluding peace with the chiefe of the *SELYBRIANIANS*, he dyd them no more hurte, upon their humble submission, but made them paye him a summe of money, and so leauing a garrison of the *ATHENIANS* within the cittie, he departed thence. Whylest *Alcibiades* was in treatie with the *SELYBRIANIANS*, the other *ATHENIAN* captaines that laye at the siege of *CHALCEDON*, made an agreement with *Pharnabazus*, that he should geue them a summe of money, & giue vp the towne into the *ATHENIANS* handes, to enioye it as they had before. And with expresse condition also, that the *ATHENIANS* should make no rodes into *Pharnabazus* dominions, to hurte or spoyle any of his: and likewise should be bounde to geue good safe conduct vnto the ambassadours of the *ATHENIANS*, to goe and come safe from time to time, to the king of *PERSIA*. The other captaines being sworn to this peace, *Pharnabazus* conditioned also, that *Alcibiades* at his returne should likewise be sworn to the peace and conditions thereof. But *Alcibiades* sayed, he would not be sworn at all, vntill *Pharnabazus* were first sworn for his parte. Thus when othes were taken of either side, *Alcibiades* went also against those of *BYZANTIUM*, who in like case had rebelled against the *ATHENIANS*. At his first coming thither, he enuironned the cittie round about with a walles. Afterwards he practised with two secret friends of his, *Anaxilauus*, & *Lycurgus*, & certain other D within the cittie, who promised him to deliuer it into his handes, so they might be assured he would doe them no hurte. To culler this practise, he gaue it out, that he must nedes leaue the siege, & departe with speede, for certain newes that were come out of *IONIA*: & thereupon he imbarcked presently, & wet out of the haven at none dayes with all his shippes, howbeit he returned again the same night. And going a lande with the choycest & best armed men he had, he approached the walles of the cittie, without any manner of noyse, hauing left order with them that remained in the shippes, that in the meane season they should rowe with all force into the haven, with as great cries and shewes as might be, to feare and trouble the enemies partely to feare the *BIZANTIANS* the more with their sodaine coming amog them, & partely that his cōfederates within the cittie, might with better opportunitie receiue him & his cōpanie, into the towne with the more assured safety, whilest euery man ranne to the haven, to resist them that were vpon the gallyes. Neuertheles they wet not away vnthought with. For those that laye in garrison within the cittie, some of the *PELOPONNESIANS*, other *BOROTIANS*, & other *MEGARIANS*, dyd so vallyantly repulse them that came out of their gallyes, that they draue the to retire abord againe. Afterwards hearing how the *ATHENIANS* were entred: the cittie on the other side, they put them selues in battell raye, & went to mete them. The battell was terrible of both partes: but *Alcibiades* in the ende obtained victorie, leading the right winge of his battell, & *Theramenes* the lefte. The victorie being gotten, he tooke 300. of his enemies prisoners, who had escaped the furie of the battell. But after the battell, there was not a *BYZANTINE* put to death, neither banished, nor his good cōfiscated: bicause it was capitulated by *Alcibiades* with his cōfederates, that neither he, nor his, should hurt any of the *BIZANTIANS* either in persone or goodes, nor any way should rille them. And *Anaxilauus* being afterwards accused of treason in

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A *LACEDÆMON*, for this practise: he answered, and iustified him self in suche sorte, that they could not finde he had committed the faulte layed vnto his charge. For he sayed, that he was no *LACEDÆMONIAN*, but a *BYZANTINE*: & that he sawe not *LACEDÆMON* in daunger, but *BYZANTIUM*, which the enemies had compassed about with a walles they had built, that it was vnpossible to bring any thing into the cittie. Moreouer he alleaged, that they hauing very smal store of corne within the cittie (as was true in dedde) the *PELOPONNESIANS*, and *BOROTIANS*, that laye there in garrison dyd eate it vp, while the poore *BYZANTIANS* them selues, their wiues and children, dyed for very hunger. Therefore it could not be sayed of him, that he had betrayed his countrie, but rather that he had deliuered it from the miseries and calamities the warres brought vpon it: wherein he had followed the example of the honestest men of *B LACEDÆMON*, who dyd acknowledge nothing honest and iuste, but that which was necessary and profitable for their countrie. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* hearing his reasons he alleaged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him goe. Now *Alcibiades* desirous in the ende to see his natie countrie againe (or to speake more truly, that his contry men should see him) after he had for many times ouerthrowen their enemies in battell: he hoysed saile, and directed his course towards *ATHENS*, bringing with him all the gallyes of the *ATHENIANS* richely furnished, and decked all about, with skutchines and targettes, and other armour and weapon gotten amongst the spoyles of his enemies. Moreover, he brought with him many other shippes, which he had wonne & broken in the warres, besides many ensignes and other ornaments: all which being compted together one with the other, made vp the number of two hundred shippes. Furthermore, where *Darius* *SAMIAN* writeth (who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his returne one *Chryfogonus*, an excellent player of the flute (that had wonne certaine of the *Pythian* games) dyd playe suche a note, that at the sounde thereof the galley slaues would keepe stroke with their owers, and that *Calipides* another excellent player of tragedies, playing the parte of a comedie, dyd stirre them to rowe, being in suche players garments as euery master of suche science vseth commonly to weare, presenting him selfe in Theater or stage before the people to shewe his arte: and that the admirall galley wherein him self was, entred the haven with a purple saile, as if some maske had come into a mans house after some great banquet made: neither *Ephorus*, nor *Theopompus*, nor *Xenophon*, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, me thinks it should not be true, D that he returning from exile after so long a banishment, & hauing passed ouer such sorowes & calamities as he had susteined, would so proudly & presumptuously shewe him selfe vnto the *ATHENIANS*. But merely contrarie, it is most certain, that he returned in great feare & doubte. For when he was arriued in the haven of *PIREÆ*, he would not set foote a lande, before he first sawe his nephewe *Euryptolemus*, & diuers other of his friends from the hatches of his shippe, standing upon the sandes in the haven mouthe. Who were come thither to receiue and welcome him, & tolde him that he might be bolde to lande, without feare of any thing. He was no soner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to see him, with so great loue and affection, that they tooke no heede of the other captaines that came with him, but clustred all to him only, & cried out for ioye to see him. Those that could come neere him, dyd welcome E & embrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers vpon his head: & those that could not come neere him, sawe him a farre off, & the olde folkes dyd pointe him out to the yonger sorte. But this cōmon ioye was mingled notwithstanding, with reares & sorowe, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes and calamities, & to cōpare them with their present prosperitie: waying with them selues also how they had not lost *SICILIA*, nor their hope in all things els had failed the, if they had deliuered them selues & the charge of their armie into *Alcibiades* handes, when they sent for him to appeare in persone before them. Considering also how he found the cittie of *ATHENS* in manner put from their seigniorie & cōmandement on the sea, & on the other side how their force by lande was brought vnto such extremitie, that *ATHENS* scarcely could defend her suburbs, the F cittie self being so deuinded & turmoiled with ciuill diffention: yet he gathered together those fewe, & small force that remained, & had now not only restored *ATHENS* to her former power & soueraintie on the sea, but had made her also a conqueror by lande. Now the decree for his

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The presence
of Alcibiades.The Chalcidians
re-
ceiue the
Athenians.Alcibiades
strangely
come
as a conqueror.Alcibiades
winningly
dis-
cerns.Alcibiades
honorable-
ly
turne into his
countrie.

repaire home againe, was past before by the people, at the instant request of *Callias*, the sonne A of *Callesibrus*, who dyd preferre it: as he him selfe dyd testifie in his elegies, putting *Alcibiades* in remembrance of the good turne he had done him, saying:

*I was the first that moued in open conference,
the peoples voyce to call thee home, when thou wert banisht hence.
So was I eke the first, which thereto gave consent,
and therefore maye I boldly saye, by trathe of such intent:
I was the only meane, so call thee home againe,
by such request so rightly made, to moue the peoples wayne.
And this maye serue for pledge, vntill that friendshippe I thee beare:
fast scaled with a fashyfull tongue, as plainly shall appeare.*

*Alcibiades
oration to the
people.*

*Alcibiades
chosen generall
with fouraine ambassie.*

Plymeria.

*Alcibiades
restored the
olde ceremonies.*

But notwithstanding, the people being assembled all in counsaill, *Alcibiades* came before them, and made an oration: wherein he first lamented all his mishappes, and founde him selfe grieved a litle with the wronges they had offred him, yet he imputed all in the end to his cursed fortune, and some spightfull god that enuid his glorie and prosperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to haue aduantage of them: and therewithall perswaded the people to be of good courage, and asfeard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of golde, and chose him generall againe of *ATHENS*, with fouraine power and authoritie both by lande as by sea. And at that very instant it was decreed by the people, that he should be restored againe to all his goodes, and that the priestes *Eumolpides* should absolve him of all their curses, and that the herauldes should with open proclamation reuoke the execrations and cursinges they had thundered out against him before, by commaundement of the people. Vhereto they all agreed, and were very willing, saying *Theodorus* the bishoppe, who sayed: I dyd neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurte to the common wealth. Now *Alcibiades* florished in his chiefeft prosperitie, yet were there some notwithstanding that misliked very muche the time of his landing: saying it was very vnluckie and vnfortunate. For the very daye of his returne and annuall, fell out by chaunce on the feast which they call *Plymeria*, as you would saye, the washing daye, which they celebrate in honour of *Minerua*: on the which daye, the priestes that they call *Praxiergides*, doe make certen secret and hidden sacrifices and ceremonies, being the thye and twenty daye of the moneth of September, and doe take from the image of this goddesse, D all her rayment and iuells, and keepe the image close couered ouer. Hereupon the *ATHENIANS* doe ascribe that daye, for a most vnfortunate daye, & are very circumspect to doe any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly scanned abroad of euery bodye, that it seemed the goddesse was not content, nor glad of *Alcibiades* returne: and that she dyd hide her selfe, because she would not see him, nor haue him come neere her. Notwithstanding all these toyces and ceremonies, when *Alcibiades* found euery thing fall out well at his returne, and as he would haue wished it: he armed a hundred gallyes presently, to returne againe to the warres. Howbeit he wisely regarded the time and solemnitie of celebration of these mysteries, and considerately stayed vntill they had finished all. And it fell out, that after the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had taken and fortified the citie of *DECELEA*, within the territorie of *ATTICA*, and that the enemies being the stronger in the field, dyd keepe the waye going from *ATHENS* to *ELEVSIN*, so as by no possible meanes they could make their solemne procession by lande, with such honour and deuotion as they were before accustomed to doe: and thereby all the sacrifices, dawnces, and many other holy deuowte ceremonies they were wonte to doe by the waye, in singing the holy songe of *Iacchus*, came of very necessitie to be left of, and cleane layed a side. Then *Alcibiades* thought he should doe a meritorious dede to the godds, and an acceptable to men, to bring the olde ceremonies vp againe vpon the said feast: and thereupon purposed to accompanie the procession, & defend it by power, against all inuasion & disturbance by the enemies. As one that foresawe one of those two things would come to passe. Either that *Agis* king of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* would not sturte at all against the sacred ceremonies, and by this meanes should much imbase and diminish his reputation and glorie: or if he dyd come out to the field, that he would make the battell very gratefull to the goddes,

A goddes, considering it should be in defence of his most holy feast and worshippe, and in the sight of his countrie, where the people should see and witnesse both, his valliantnes, and also his courage. *Alcibiades* being fully resoluod upon this proceffion, went and made the priestes *Eumolpides*, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, priuie to his determination. Then he sent out skowtes to watche on the side of the hilles thereabouts, and to viewe the waye of their perambulation. The next morning very early he sent out light horsemen also to scowre the countrie. Then he made the priestes, the professed, and all the ministers of religion, goe in procession, together with those that followed the same: and he him selfe compassed them about with his armie on euery side, marching in battell raye, and very good order, and with great silence. This was an honorable and deuoute leading of an armie, B and such as if his greatest enemies would confesse a trothe, they could not but saye, *Alcibiades* had as muche shewed the office of a highe bishoppe, as of a noble souldier and good captaine. So he ended this procession, returning to *ATHENS* in all safe order againe, and nor an enemy that durst once looke out into the field to set vpon him. Now this dyd more increase the greatnes of his minde, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his sufficiency, and wife conduction of an armie: in so much as they thought him vnuincible, hauing the foueraigne power and authoritie of a generall. Furthermore, he spake so fayer to the poore people, and meane sorte, that they chiefly withed and desired he would take vpon him like a King: yea, and many went to him to perswade him in it, as though he should thereby withstand all enuie, and driue awaye the lawes and customes of trying of matters by the voyces of C the people, and all such fond deuises, as dyd destroye the state of the common weale. And furthermore, they layed it was very needefull that he alone should take vpon him the whole rule and gouernment of the citie, that he might dispose all things according to his will, and not stande in feare of flaunderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether *Alcibiades* euer had any minde to vsurpe the Kingdome, the matter is somewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greatest men of the citie, fearing least in deede he ment some such thing, dyd hasten his departure as sone as they could possible, doing all other things according to his minde: and dyd assigne him such associates in his charge of generally, as he him selfe best liked. So in the ende, he departed with a flecte of a hundred gallyes, and first of all he fell with the Ile of *ANDROS*, where he ouercame by fight, the inhabitants of the said Ile, and certaine *LACEDÆMONIANS* that were amongst them: but he tooke not the citie, which was one of the first matters his enemies dyd accuse him for. For if euer man was ouerthrowen and enuid, for the estimation they had of his vallure and sufficiency, truly *Alcibiades* was the man. For the notable and sundry seruices he had done, wanne him such estimation of wisdome and valliantnes, that where he slacked in any seruice whatsoeuer, he was presently suspected, iudging the ill successe not in that he could not, but for that he would, not: and that where he undertooke any enterprise, nothing could withstand or lye in his waye. Hereupon the people perswading them selues, that immediately after his departure, they should heare that the Ile of *CHIOS* was taken, with all the countrie of *IONIA*: they were angrie they could haue no newes so sodaynly from him as they looked for. Moreouer, they dyd not consider the E lacke of money he had, and specially making warre with such enemies, as were euer relieved with the great king of *PERSIANS* ayde, and that for necessities sake he was sundrie times driuen to leaue his campe, to seeke money where he could get it, to paye his souldiers, and to mainteine his armie. Now for testimony hereof, the last accusation that was against him, was only for this matter. *Lysander* being sent by the *LACEDÆMONIANS* for admiral and generall of their armie by sea, vied such policie with *CYRUS*, the king of *PERSIANS* brother, that he got into his handes a great some of money: by meanes whereof he gaue vnto his mariners foure oboles a daye for their wages, where before they were wont to haue but three, and yet *Alcibiades* had muche a doe to furnishe his with three only a daye. For this cause, to get money, *Alcibiades* sailed into *CARIA*. But in the meane time *Antiochus*, whom *Alcibiades* had left his lieutenant behind him, and had geuen him charge of all the shippes in his absence, being a very skilfull sea man, but otherwise a haffie harebraynd foole, and of small capacite: he being expressly commaunded by *Alcibiades* not to fight in

*Alcibiades
second iorney.*

Lacke of money, the occasion of the overthrowe of the Athenian armie by sea.

*Antiochus
raimes, pre-
cured his
owne death,
and the over-
throwe of the
Athenians
armie.*

*Lysander
being gene-
rall of the La-
cedæmonians,
ouercame the
Athenians.*

*Alcibiades
accused again
by Thra-
sibulus.*

*Alcibiades
pursued from
his
authoritie of
general.*

*Lysander rode
at anchor be-
fore Lampsa-
cus*

*The Athe-
nians regar-
ded not Alci-
biades good
counsel.*

any case, though the enemies offered him battell, was so foolishly rash, and made so little reckoning of his straight commandement, that he armed his owne gallye, whereof him selfe was captain, and another besides, and went to the citie of EPHESVS, passing all alonge his enemies gallyes, reuiling & offering villany to those that stood upon the hatches of their gallyes. *Lysander* being maruelously prouoked by those wordes, went and encountered him at the first with a fewe shippes. The other captaines of the gallyes of the *ATHENIANS*, seeing *Antiochus* in daunger, went to ayde him, one after another. Then *Lysander* of his parte also let out all his whole flecte against him, and in the end ouercame them. *Antiochus* selfe was killed in the conflict, and many gallyes and men were taken prisoners: wherefore *Lysander* let vp shewes of triumphe in token of victorie. *Alcibiades* hearing these ill fauored newes, returned presently with all possible speede to *SAMOS*: and when he came thither, he went with all the rest of his flecte to offer *Lysander* battell. But *Lysander* quietly contenting him selfe with his first victorie: went not out against him. Now this victorie was no soner wonne, but one *Thrasibulus* the sonne of *Thrason*, *Alcibiades* enemy, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to *ATHENS*, to accuse *Alcibiades* to the people: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that he had lost many shippes, for that he regarded not his charge, carelessly putting men in trust, whom he gaue to great credit to, because they were good fellows, and would drinke droncke with him, & were full of mariners mockes and knauish ieaftes, such as they vse commonly amongst them selues. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleasure abroad, here, and there, scraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheere, and feasting of the *ABYDENIAN* and *IONIAN* courtians, when the enemies armie was so neere theirs as it was. Moreover, they layed to his charge, that he dyd fortifie a castell in the countrie of *THRACIA*, neere vnto the citie of *BISANTHE*, for a place to retire him selfe vnto, either because he could not, or rather that he would not, liue any longer in his owne countrie. Vpon those accusations, the *ATHENIANS* geuing ouer credit to the reporte: dyd immediatly choose newe captaines, and thereby declared their milliking. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, and fearing lest they would doe him some worse harme, dyd leaue straight the *ATHENIAN* campe, and gathering a certaine number of straungers together, went of him selfe to make warre upon certaine free people of the *THRACIANS*, who were subiect to no prince nor state: where he got a maruelous masse of money together, by meanes whereof he dyd assure the *GRECIANS* inhabiting those marches, from all inuasion of forreine enemies. Now *Tydemus*, *Menander*, and *Adimantus* the *ATHENIAN* captaines, being afterwards in a place commonly called the goates river, with all the gallyes the citie of *ATHENS* had at that time upon that coast: vied euery morning commonly to goe to the sea, to offer battell to *Lysander*, who rode at an anchor before the citie of *Lampsacus*, with all the *LACEDÆMONIAN* armie by sea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watche or warde, as men that were careles of their enemies. *Alcibiades* being on the lande nor farre off, and finding their great faulte and negligence: tooke his horse, & went to them, and told them that they laye on an ill shore, where there was no good rode, nor towne, and where they were driuen to seeke their vittells, as farre as to the citie of *SESTOS*, & that they suffered their mariners to leaue their shippes, & goe a lande when they laye at anchor, straggling vp and downe the countrie as they would them selues, without regarde that there laye a great armie of their enemies before them, readie to be set out at their generall commandement: and therefore he aduised them to remoue thence, and to goe cast anchor before the citie of *SESTOS*. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduised by him: and that which was worst of all, *Tydemus*, one of the captaines, stowtely commaunded him to get him awaye, as one that had nothing to doe with the matter, & that other had charge of the armie. Whereupon *Alcibiades* fearing they would purpose some treason against him, dyd departe presently from them. And as he went his waye, he layed to some of his friends which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the *ATHENIANS* had not bene so rounde with him, he would haue forced the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to haue come to the battell in despite of their beardes, or els he would haue driuen them to forsake their shippes. Some tooke this for a glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to haue done it, because he could haue brought

A brought from lande a great number of *THRACIANS*, both archers and horsemen, with whom he might haue geuen a charge vpon the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and done great mischief vnto their campe. But now, how wisely *Alcibiades* dyd foresee the faultes he tolde the *ATHENIAN* captaines of their great misfortune & losse that followed incontinently, did to plainely witness it to the world. For *Lysander* came so fiercely upon them on a sodaine, that of all the shippes they had in their whole flecte, only eight gallyes were sau'd, with whom *Conon* fled: and the other being not much lesse then two hundred in number, were euery one of them taken and caried awaye, with three thousand prisoners whom *Lysander* put to death. Shortly after, he tooke the citie self of *ATHENS*, and rased their long walles euen to the ground. After this great and notable victorie, *Alcibiades* fearing fore the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, who then B brought let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by sea and by lande: he went into the countrie of *BITHYNIA*, and caused great good to be brought after him, and tooke a maruelous summe of money with him, besides great riches he left also in the castles of *THRACIA*, where he dyd remaine before. Howbeit he lost much of his goodes in *BITHYNIA*, which certaine *THRACIANS* dwelling in that countrie had robbed him of, & taken from him. So he determined to repaire forthwith vnto king *Artaxerxes*, hoping that when the King had once proued him, he should finde him a man of no lesse seruice, then he had found *Themistocles* before him: besides that the occasion of his going thither, should be muche iuster then his was. For he dyd not goe thither, to make warre against the citie of *ATHENS* and his countrie, as *Themistocles* did: but of a contrary intent, to make intercession to the King, that it would please C him to ayde them. Now *Alcibiades* thinking he could vse no better meane, then *Pharnabazus* helpe only, to see him safely conducted to the Kings court: he proposed his iorney to him, into the countrie of *PHRYGIA*, where he abode a certaine time to attend vpon him, & was very honorably entertained and receyued of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the *ATHENIANS* founde them selues desolate, & in miserable state to see their empire lost: but then much more, when *Lysander* had taken all their liberties, and dyd set thirtie gouernours ouer their citie. Now to late, after all was lost (where they might haue recovered againe, if they had bene wife) they beganne together to bewaile and lament their miseries and wretched state, looking backe upon all their willfull faultes and follies committed: among which, they dyd reckon their second time of falling out with *Alcibiades*, was their greatest faulte. So they banished him only of malice and displeasure, not for any offense him selfe in person had committed against them, saying that his lieutenant in his absence had shamefully lost a fewe of their shippes: and they them selues more shamefully had driuen out of their citie, the noblest fouldier, and most skillfull captaine that they had. And yet they had some litle poore hope left, that they were not altogether cast awaye, so long as *Alcibiades* liued, and had his health. For before, when he was a forsaken man, and led a banished life: yet he could not liue idely, and doe nothing. Wherefore now much more, sayed they to them selues: if there be any helpe at all, he will not suffer out of doubt the insolencie & pryde of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, nor yet abyde the cruelties and outrages of these thirtie tyrantes. And surely the common people had some reason to haue these thoughts in their heades, considering that the thirtie gouernours them E selues dyd what they could possiblie to spye out *Alcibiades* doinges, and what he went about. In so muche as *Critias* at the last, declared to *Lysander*, that so long the *LACEDÆMONIANS* might reckon them selues Lordes ouer all *GREECE*, as they kept from the common people the rule and authoritie of the citie of *ATHENS*. And further he added, that notwithstanding the people of *ATHENS* could well awaye to liue like subiects vnder the government of a fewe: yet *Alcibiades* whilst he liued, would neuer suffer them so to be reigned ouer, but would attempt by all deuise he could to bring a change and inuouation among them. Yet *Lysander* would not credit these persuasions, before speciall commandement was sent to him from the Senate of *LACEDÆMON*, vpon his allegiance, that he should deuise to kill *Alcibiades* by all meanes he could procure: either F because in trothe they feared the subtiltie of his wit, and the greatnes of his courage, to enterpraise matters of great weight and daunger, or els that they sought to gratifie king *Agis* by it. *Lysander* being thus straightly commaunded, dyd send and practise incontinently

*The Athenians
ouercome by
Lysander.
Athens taken
by Lysander.*

*Alcibiades
fleeth into the
countrie of
Bithynia.*

*Lysander ap-
pointed 30.
tyrantes ouer
the citizens
of Athens.
To loose repen-
tance of the
Athenians.*

*The Lacedæ-
monians will
Lysander to
kill Alcibi-
ades.*

*Alcibiades
dreams in
Pitygia be-
fore his death.*

*Alcibiades
death.*

*Timandra the
courtesan bur-
ied Alcibi-
des.
Lais a cour-
tesan of Co-
rinth.*

with *Pharnabazus* to execute the facte: who gaue his brother *Magus*, and his vnkle *Sa-
samithres*, commission to attempt the matter. Now was *Alcibiades* in a certen village of
P H R Y G I A, with a concubine of his called *Timandra*. So he thought he dreamed one night
that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how she dandling him in her armes, had
dressed his head, frising his heare, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other saye,
that he thought *Magus* strake of his head, and made his bodie to be burnt: and the voyce
goeth, this vision was but a litle before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not
enter the house where he was, but set it a fire round about. *Alcibiades* spying the fire, got
suche apparell and hangings as he had, and threwe it on the fire, thincking to haue put it
out: and so casting his cloke about his left arme, tooke his naked sworde in his other hande,
and ranne out of the house, him selfe not once touched with fyre, sauing his clothes were a
litle singed. These murderers so sone as they spied him, drew backe, and stood a sonder, and
durst not one of them come neere him, to stande and fight with him: but a farre of, they be-
stowed to many arrowes and dartes of him, that they killed him there. Now when they had
left him, *Timandra* went and tooke his bodie which she wrapped vp in the best linnen she
had, and buried him as honorably as she could possible, with such things as she had, and
could get together. Some holde opinion that *Lais*, the only famous curtisan, which they saye
was of C O R I N T H E (though in deede she was borne in a litle towne of S I C I L I A, called
H Y C C A R A, where she was taken) was his daughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death
of *Alcibiades*, there are some that agree to all the rest I haue written, sauing that they
saye, it was neither *Pharnabazus*, nor *Lysander*, nor the L A C E D A E M O N I A N S,
which caused him to be slaine: but that he keeping with him a young
gentlewoman of a noble house, whom he had stolen awaye,
and intised to follie: her brethern to reuenge this in-
iurie, went to set fire vpon the house where
he was, and that they killed him as
we haue tolde you, thinking
to leape out of
the fyre.

The end of Alcibiades life.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS

Martius Coriolanus.



THE house of the *Martians* at R O M E was of the number of the *Patri-
cians*, out of the which hath sprong many noble personages: whereof
Ancus Martius was one, king *Numa*s daughters sonne, who was
king of R O M E after *Tullus Hostilius*. Of the same house were *Publius*,
and *Quintus*, who brought to R O M E their best water they had by con-
ducts. *Censorinus* also came of that familie, that was so surnamed, bi-
cause the people had chosen him *Censor* twice. Through whose per-
suasion they made a lawe, that no man from thenceforth might re-
quire, or enioye the *Censorshippe* twice. *Caius Martius*, whose life we
intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a
widowe, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discomforts to a
childe, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue aboute the
common forte: as they that are meanelly borne, wrongfully doe complayne, that it is the oc-
casion of their casting awaye, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see
them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man also is a good prooffe to con-
firm some mens opinions. That a rare and excellent witte vntaught, doth bring forth many
good and euill things together: like as a fat soile bringeth forth herbes & weedes that lieth vn-
manured. For this *Martius* naturall wit and great harte dyd maruelously sturre vp his courage,
to doe and attempt notable actes. But on the other side for lacke of education, he was so chol-
lenicke and impacient, that he would yeld to no liuing creature: which made him churlishe,
vnciuill, and altogether vnfit for any mans conuersation. Yet men marueling much at his con-
stancy, that he was neuer overcome with pleasure, nor money, and howe he would endure
easily all manner of paynes and trauailles: thereupon they well liked and commended his
stoutnes and temperancie. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citi-
zen vseth to be with another in the cittie. His behauiour was so vnpleasaunt to them, by rea-
son of a certaine insolent and sterne manner he had, which because it was to lordly, was disli-
ked. And to saye truly, the greatest benefit that learning bringeth men vnto, is this: that it tea-
cheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compass and rule of reason, to be ciuill and

*The familie
of the Mar-
tians.*

*Publius and
Quintus
Martius,
brought the
water by con-
ducts to
Rome.
Censorinus
lawe.*

*Churlishe
wit.*

*The benefit
of learning.*

*Phaethon
words. Virtus
signifieth,*

*Coriolanus
first going to
the warres,*

*Coriolanus
crowned with
a garland of
oaken boughes,*

*The goodness
of the oke.*

*To soden his
honour in youth
killers fur-
ther desire of
fame.*

*Coriolanus
noble ende-
uour to contin-
ue well de-
serving.*

curteous, & to like better the meane state, then the higher. Now in those dayes, valliantnes was A
honoured in ROME above all other vertues: which they called *Virtus*, by the name of vertue
selfe, as including in that generall name, all other speciall vertues besides. So that *Virtus* in the
Latin, was as much as valliantnes. But *Martius* being more inclined to the warres, then any
other gentleman of his time: beganne from his Childehood to geue him selfe to handle wea-
pons, and daylie dyd exercise him selfe therein. And outward he esteemed armour to no pur-
pose, vnles one were naturally armed within. Moreover he dyd fo exercise his bodie to hard-
nes, and all kinde of actiuitie, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, & mightie
in griping, so that no man could euer cast him. In so much as those that would trye masteries
with him for strength and nimblenes, would saye when they were overcome: that all was by
reason of his naturall strength, and hardnes of warde, that neuer yielded to any payne or toyle
he tooke upon him. The first time he went to the warres, being but a stripling, was when *Tar-
quine* surmamed the prowde (that had beneking of ROME, and was driuen out for his pride,
after many attempts made by sundrie battells to come in againe, wherein he was euer over-
come) dyd come to ROME with all the ayde of the LATINES, and many other people of ITA-
LIE: euen as it were to set vp his whole reft upon a battell by them, who with a great & mightie
armie had vnderaken to put him into his Kingdome againe, not so much to pleasure him,
as to ouerthrowe the power of the ROMAINES, whose greates they both feared and enuid.
In this battell, wherein were many horre and sharpe encounters of either partie, *Martius* val-
liantly fought in the fight of the Dictator: & a ROMANE fouldier being throwen to the ground
euen hard by him, *Martius* straight bestid him, and slue the enemy with his owne handes
that had before ouerthrowen the ROMAINES. Hereupon, after the battell was wonne, the Di-
cator dyd not forget to noble an acte, & therefore first of all he crowned *Martius* with a gar-
land of oken boughes. For whoeuer saueh the life of a ROMANE, it is a manner among them,
to honour him with such a garland. This was, either bicause the lawe dyd this honour to the
oke, in fauour of the ARCADIANES, who by the oracle of *Apollo* were in very olde time called
eaters of akornes: or els bicause the fouldiers might easely in euery place come by oken
boughes: or lastly, bicause they thought it very necessarie to geue him that had saued a citi-
zens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto *Iupiter*, the pa-
tron and protectour of their cities, and thought amongst other wilde trees to bring forth
profitable fruite, and of plantes to be the strongest. Moreover, men at the first beginning dyd D
vse akornes for their bread, and honie for their drinke: and further, the oke dyd feede their
beastes, and geue them birdes, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made bird-
lime to catche seely birdes. They saye that *Castor*, and *Pollux*, appeared in this battell, and how
incontinently after the battell, men sawe them in the market place at ROME, all their horses
being on a white fume: and they were the first that brought newes of the victorie, euen in the
same place, where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honour of them neere vnto the
fountainne. And this is the cause, why the daye of this victorie (which was the fifteenth of Iulye)
is consecrated yet to this daye vnto *Castor* and *Pollux*. Moreover it is daylie seene, that honour
and reputation lighting on young men before their time, and before they haue no great co-
rage by nature: the desire to winne more, dieth straight in them, which easely happeneth, the
same hauing no deepe roote in them before. Where contrariwise, the first honour that val-
liant mindes doe come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, halting them forward as with
force of winde, to enterprise things of highe deservng praise. For they esteeme, not to receaue
reward for seruice done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make
them doe better in time to come: and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heeles, not
seeking to increase it still by like deserte of worthe valliant dedes. This desire being bred in
Martius, he strained still to passe him selfe in manlines: and being desirous to shewe a daylie
increase of his valliantnes, his noble seruice dyd still aduance his fame, bringing in spoyle
upon spoyle from the enemy. Whereupon, the captaines that came afterwards (for enuie of
them that went before) dyd contend who should most honour him, and who should beare F
most honorable testimonie of his valliantnes. In so much the ROMAINES hauing many warres
and battells in those dayes, *Coriolanus* was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from
whence

A whence he returned not without some rewarde of honour. And as for other, the only respect
that made them valliant, was they hoped to haue honour: but touching *Martius*, the only
thing that made him to loue honour, was the ioye he sawe his mother dyd take of him. For he
thought nothing made him so happie and honorable, as that his mother might heare euery
bodie praise and commend him, that she might allwayes see him returne with a crowne vpon
his head, and that the might still embrace him with teares running downe her cheekes for
joye. Which desire they saye *Epaminondas* dyd auowe, and confesse to haue bene in him: as
to thinke him selfe a most happie and blessed man, that his father and mother in their life time
had seene the victorie he wanne in the plaine of LEVCTERES. Now as for *Epaminondas*, he had
this good happe, to haue his father and mother liuing, to be partakers of his ioye and prosper-
B tie. But *Martius* thinking all due to his mother, that had bene also due to his father if he had
liued: dyd not only content him selfe to reioyce and honour her, but at her desire tooke a wife
also, by whom he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers house therefore. Now he
being grown to great credit & authoritie in ROME for his valliantnes, it fortune there grewe
sedition in the cittie, bicause the Senate dyd fauour the riche against the people, who dyd co-
plaine of the fore oppression of vicerers, of whom they borrowed money. For those that had
lide, were yet spoyle of that lide they had by their creditours, for lacke of abilitie to paye
theuerie: who offered their goodes to be solde, to them that would geue most. And such as
had nothing left, their bodies were layed holde of, and they were made their bonde men, not-
withstanding all the woundes and cuttes they shewed, which they had receyued in many bat-
C tles, fighting for defence of their countrie and common wealth: of the which, the last warre
they made, was against the SABYNS, wherein they fought upon the promise the riche men
had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreate them more gently, and also vpon
the worde of *Marcus Valerius* chief of the Senate, who by authoritie of the counsell, and in the
behalf of the riche, sayed they should performe that they had promised. But after that they
had faithfully serued in this last battell of all, where they overcame their enemies, seeing they
were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would geue no
care to them, but make as though they had forgotten their former promise, and suffered them
to be made slaues and bonde men to their creditours, and besides, to be turned out of all that
euer they had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutine, and to sturre vp dangerous
D tumultes within the cittie. The ROMAINES enemies hearing of this rebellion, dyd straight en-
ter the territories of ROME with a maruelous great power, spoyleing and burning all as they
came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by sounde of trumpet,
that all those which were of lawfull age to carie weapon, should come and enter their names
into the muster masters booke, to goe to the warres: but no man obeyed their commande-
ment. Whereupon their chief magistrates, and many of the Senate, beganne to be of diuers o-
pinions among them selues. For some thought it was reason, they should somewhat yeld to
the poore peoples request, and that they should a litle qualifie the seueritie of the lawe. Other
held hard against that opinion, and that was *Martius* for one. For he alleged, that the credi-
E tors losing their money they had lent, was not the worst thing that was thereby: but that the
lenitie that was fauored, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the prowde attempt of the
communalitie, was to abolish lawe, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he sayed, if the Se-
nate were wise, they should betimes preuent; & queneh this ill fauored & worse ment begin-
ning. The Senate met many dayes in consultation about it: but in the end they concluded no-
thing. The poore comon people seeing no redresse, gathered them selues one daye together,
& one encouraging another, they all forooke the cittie, & encamped them selues vpon a hill,
called at this daye the holy hill, alongest the riuier of Tyber, offering no creature any hurte or
violence, or making any shewe of actual rebellion: sauing that they cried as they went vp and
down, that the riche men had driuen them out of the cittie, and that all ITALIANS thought they
should finde ayer, water, & ground to burie them in. Moreover, they sayed, to dwell at ROME
F was nothing els but to be slaue, or hurte with continual warres, and fighting for defence of
the riche mens goodes. The Senate being afraid of their departure, dyd send vnto them cer-
taine of the pleasauntest olde men, and the most acceptable to the people among them: Of

*Coriolanus &
Epaminondas
did both place
their desire of
honour alike.*

*The obedience
of Coriolanus
to his mother.*

*Extremities of
officers com-
plained of as
Rome by the
people.*

*Counsellors
promises make
men valliant,
in hope of just
performance.
Intigantinde,
and good ser-
uice overcon-
ceded, promoueth
rebellion.*

*Martius con-
siderance ag-
ainst the
people.*

*The people
leave the cit-
ie and doe
goe to the ho-
ly hill.*

An excellent
mouche by
Memmius
Agrippa to
pacifie the
people.

The first be-
ginning of
Tribunship
be.
Iunius Bru-
tus, Sicinius
Velutius, the
2. first Tri-
bunes.

The citie of
Coriols be-
sieged by the
Consul Comi-
nius.

Titus Lar-
tius, a valiant
Romaine.

The propriety
of a souldier.

those. *Memmius Agrippa* was he, who was sent for chief man of the message from the Senate. He, after many good persuasions and gentle requestes made to the people, on the behalfe of the Senate: knit vp his oration in the ende, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of mans bodie, dyd rebell against the bellie, complaining of it, that it only remained in the middelt of the bodie, without doing any thing, neither dyd beare any labour to the maintenance of the rest: whereas all other partes and members dyd labour paynfully, & was very carefull to satisfie the appetites and desiers of the bodie. And so the bellie, all this notwithstanding, laughed at their folle, and sayed, It is true, I first receyue all meates that nourish the mans bodie: but afterwards I send it againe to the northerment of other partes of the same. Euen so (q he) you, my masters, and citizens of Rome: the reason is a like betwene the Senate, & you. For matters being well digested, & their counsells thoroughly examined, touching the benefit of the common wealth: the Senatours are cause of the common comoditie that cometh vnto euery one of you. These persuasions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would graunte there should be yerely chosen fise magistrates, which they now call *Tribuni Plebis*, whose office should be to defend the poore people from violence and oppression. So *Iunius Brutus*, and *Sicinius Velutius*, were the first Tribunes of the people that were chosen, who had only bene the causers & procurers of this sedition. Hereupon the citie being grown againe to good quiet and vnite, the people immediatly went to the warres, shewing that they had a good will to doe better then euer they dyd, and to be very willing to obey the magistrates in that they would commaund, concerning the warres. *Martius* also, though it liked him nothing to see the greatnes of the people thus increased, considering it was to the preiudice, and imbalming of the nobilitie, and also sawe that other noble *Patricians* were troubled as well as him selfe: he dyd perswade the *Patricians*, to shew them selues no lesse forward and willing to fight for their countrie, then the common people were: and to let them knowe by their dedes and actes, that they dyd not so muche passe the people in power and riches, as they dyd exceede them in true nobilitie and valliantnes. In the countrie of the *Volscs*, against whom the *Romaines* made warre at that time, there was a principall citie & of most fame, that was called *CORIOLES*, before the which the Consul *Cominius* dyd laye siege. Wherefore all the other *Volscs* fearing least that citie should be taken by assault, they came from all partes of the countrie to saue it, intending to geue the *Romaines* battell before the citie, and to geue an onset on them in two seuerall places. The Consul *Cominius* vnderstanding this, deuised his armie also in two partes, and taking the one parte with him selfe, he marched towards them that were drawing to the citie, out of the countrie: and the other parte of his armie he left in the campe with *Titus Lartius* (one of the valliantest men the *Romaines* had at that time) to resist those that would make any salye out of the citie upon them. So the *CORIOLEANS* making small accompt of them that laye in campe before the citie, made a salye out upon them, in the which at the first the *CORIOLEANS* had the better, and draue the *Romaines* backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But *Martius* being there at that time, running out of the campe with a few men with him, he slue the first enemies he met withall, and made the rest of them staye vpon a sodaine, crying out to the *Romaines* that had turned their backs, and calling them againe to fight with a lowde voyce. For he was euen such another, as *Cato* would haue a souldier and a capitaine to be: not only terrible, and fierce to laye about him, but to make the enemye asfearde with the founde of his voyce, and grimmes of his countenance. Then there flocked about him immediatly, a great number of *Romaines* whereat the enemies were so asfearde, that they gaue backe presently. But *Martius* not staying so, dyd chase and followe them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there, perceyuing that the *Romaines* retired backe, for the great number of darts and arrowes which flew about their eares fro the walles of the citie, & that there was not one man amongst them that durst venture him selfe to followe the flying enemies into the citie, for that it was full of men of warre, yette well armed, and appointed: he dyd encourage his fellowes with wordes and dedes, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the citie; more for the followers, then the flyers. But all this notwithstanding, fewe had the hartes to followe him. Howbeit *Martius* being in the strong among the enemies, thrust him selfe into the gates of the citie, and entered

ated the same among them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turne their face vpon him, or els offer to staye him. But he looking about him, & seeing he was entred the citie with very fewe men to helpe him, & perceyuing he was enuironed by his enemies that gathered round about to set upon him: dyd things then as it is written, wonderfull & incredible, as well for the force of his hande, as also for the agilitie of his bodie, and with a wonderfull courage & valliantnes, he made a lane through the middelt of them, and ouerthrowe also those he layed at: that some he made ronne to the furthest parte of the citie, & other for feare he made yeld them selues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, *Lartius* that was gotten out, had some leysure to bring the *Romaines* with more safety into the citie. The citie being taken in this sorte, the most parte of the souldiers beganne incontinently to spoyle, to carie awaye, & to looke vp the bootie they had wonne. But *Martius* was maruelous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to looke after spoyle, & to ronne straggling here and there to enrich them selues, whilst the other Consul and their fellowe citizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and howe that leauing the spoyle they should seeke to winde them selues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit, crye, and saye to them what he could, very fewe of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered them selues to followe him, he went out of the citie, and tooke his waye towards that parte, where he vnderstoode the rest of the armie was: exhorting and intreating them by the waye that followed him, not to be faine harted, and ofte holding vp his handes to heauen, he besought the goddes to be so gracious and fauorable vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in good howe to hazarde his life in defence of his country men. Now the *Romaines* when they were put in battell raye, and ready to take their targettes on their armes, and to guide them vpon their arming coates, had a custome to make their willes at that very instant, without any manner of writing, naming him only whom they would make their heire, in the presence of three or foure wimesses. *Martius* came iust to that reckoning, whilst the souldiers were a doing after that sorte, and that the enemies were approached so neere, as one stoode in viewe of the other. When they sawe him at his first comming, all bloody, and in a swet, and but with a fewe men following him: some thereupon beganne to be asfearde. But sone after, when they sawe him ronne with a liuely cheere to the Consul, and to take him by the hande, declaring howe he had taken the citie of *CORIOLES*, and that they sawe the Consul *Cominius* also kisse and embrace him: then there was not a man but tooke hart againe to him, and beganne to be of a good corage, some hearing him reporte from poynte to poynte, the happy successe of this exployte, and other also coniecturing it by seeing their gestures a farre off. Then they all beganne to call vpon the Consul to marche forward, and to delaye no longer, but to geue charge vpon the enemye. *Martius* asked him howe the order of their enemies battell was, and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The Consul made him answer, that he thought the bandes which were in the vaward of their battell, were those of the *Antiates*, whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valliant corage would geue no place, to any of the hoste of their enemies. Then prayed *Martius*, to be let directly against them. The Consul granted him, greatly praying his corage. Then *Martius*, when both armies came almost to ioyne, aduanced him selfe a good space before his companie, and went so fiercely to geue charge on the vaward that came right against him, that they could stande no longer in his handes: he made suche a lane through them, and opened a passage into the battell of the enemies. But the two winges of either side turned one to the other, to compass him in betwene them: which the Consul *Cominius* perceyuing, he sent thither straight of the best souldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruelous bloudie about *Martius*, and in a very shorte space many were slaine in the place. But in the ende the *Romaines* were so strong, that they distressed the enemies, and brake their arraye: and scattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed *Martius* that he would retire to the campe, because they sawe he was able to doe no more, he was already so wearied with the great payne he had taken, & so faine with the great woundes he had upon him. But *Martius* answered them, that it was not for con-

The citie of
Coriols takē.

Souldiers re-
sumes.

By Coriolanus
meanes, the
Volscs were
overcome in
battell.

querours to yeld, nor to be sainte harred: and thereupon beganne a frefhe to chafe those that fled, untill fuche time as the armie of the enemies was vterly ouerthrowen, and numbers of them slaine, and taken prifoners. The next morning betimes, *Martius* went to the Consul, and the other *ROMAINEs* with him. There the Consul *Cominius* going vp to his chayer of state, in the prefence of the whole armie, gaue thanks to the goddess for great, glorious, and prosperous a victorie: then he spake to *Martius*, whose valliantnes he commended beyond the moone, both for that he him selfe sawe him doe with his eyes, as also for that *Martius* had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed *Martius*, he should choole out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all the goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of euery sorte which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honorable offer he had made him, he gaue him in testimonie that he had wonne that daye the price of prowes aboue all other, a goodly horse with a capparillon, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, dyd maruelously praise and commend. But *Martius* stepping forth, tolde the Consul, he dyd thankfully accepted the gift of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his seruice had deserued his generalls commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenary reward, then an honorable recompence, he would none of it, but was contented to haue his equall parte with other souldiers. Only, this grace (sayd he) I craue, and beseeche you to graunt me. Among the *VOISCES* there is an olde friende and hoste of mine, an honest wealthie man, and now a prifoner, who liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrie, liueth now a poore prifoner in the handes of his enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his miserie and misfortune, it would doe me great pleasure if I could saue him from this one daunger: to keepe him from beinge solde as a slaue. The souldiers hearing *Martius* wordes, made a maruelous great shoute among them: and they were moe that wondered at his great contentation and abstinence, when they sawe so little couetousnes in him, then they were that highly praised and extolled his valliantnes. For euen they them selues, that dyd somewhat malice and enuie his glorie, to see him thus honoured, and passingly prayd, dyd thinke him so muche the more worthy of an honorable recompence for his valliant seruice, as the more carelesly he refused the great offer made him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse fuche rewards, then that which made them to be offered him, as vnto a wortheie persone. For it is farre more commendable to vse riches well, then to be valliant: and yet it is better not to desire them, then to vse them well. After this shouerte and noyse of the assembly was somewhat appealed, the Consul *Cominius* beganne to speake in this sorte. We cannot compell *Martius* to take these giftes we offer him, if he will not receaue them: but we will geue him fuche a rewarde for the noble seruice he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we doe order and decree, that henceforth he be called *Coriolanus*, onles his valliant acts haue wonne him that name before our nomination. And so euer since, he stil bare the third name of *Coriolanus*. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the *ROMAINEs* haue, as *Cato*: was our Christian name now. The second, as *Martius*: was the name of the house and familie they came of. The third, was some addition geuen, either for some acte of notable seruice, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their bodie, or els for some speciall vertue they had. Euen so dyd the *GRECIANS* in olde time giue additions to Princes, by reason of some notable acte wortheie memorie. As when they haue called some, *Soter*, and *Calinicos*: as muche to saye, sauour and conquerour. Or els for some notable appaunt marke on some face, or on his bodie, they haue called him *Phiscon*, and *Grypos*: as ye would saye, gorbelle, and hooke nosed: or els for some vertue, as *Euergetes*, and *Phyladelphos*: to wit, a Benefactour, and louer of his brethren. Or otherwise for some great felicitie, as *Eudemon*: as muche to saye, as fortunate. For so was the second of the *Batter* furnamed. And some Kings haue had furnames of ieast and mockerie. As one of the *Antigones* that was called *Dofon*, to saye, the Geuer: who was euer promising, and neuer geuing. And one of the *Ptolomees* was called *Lamyros*: to saye, conceitue. The *ROMAINEs* vse more then any other nation, to giue names of mockerie in this sorte. As there was one *Metellus* furnamed

The tenth parte of the enemies goods offered *Martius* for reward of his seruice, by *Cominius* the Consul. Valliantie rewarded with honour in the field. *Martius* noble answer & refusal.

Martius furnamed *Coriolanus* by the Consul. How the *ROMAINEs* came to their names. Why the *GRECIANS* giue Kings furnames.

* These were the princes that built the citie of Cyrene.

A furnamed *Diadematus*, the banded: because he caried a bande about his heade of longe time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne familie was called *Celer*: the quicke flye. Because a fewe dayes after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruell fight of fencers at vnrebrated swordes, which they founde wonderfull for the thornes of time. Other had their furnames deriued of some accident of their birth. As to this daye they call him *Proculus*, that is borne, his father being in some farre voyage: and him *Posthumus*, that is borne after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twinned, the one doth dye, and thother suruiue: they call the suruiuer, *Postumus*. Sometimes also they geue furnames deriued of some marke or misfortune of the bodie. As *Sylla*, to saye, crooked nosed: *Niger*, blacke: *Rufus*, red: *Cecus*, blinde: *Claudius*, lame. They dyd wisely in this thing to accustomen men to thincke, that neither the losse of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as maye chaunce to men, are any shame or disgrace vnto them, but the manner was to answer boldly to fuche names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories then this. Now when this warre was ended, the flatterers of the people beganne to sturre vp sedition againe, without any newe occasion, or iust matter offered of complainte. For they dyd grounde this seconde insurrection against the Nobilitie and *Patricians*, upon the peoples miserie & misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discorde and sedition betweene them and the Nobilitie. Because the most parte of the errable lande within the territorie of *ROME*, was become heathie and barren for lacke of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cause corne, to be brought them out of other countries to sowe, by reason of their warres which made the extreme dearth they had emong them. Now those buse praters that sought the peoples good will, by fuche flattering wordes, perceyuing great scarcitie of corne to be within the citie, and though there had bene plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buye it: they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the Nobilitie, that they in reuenge of the people, had practised and procured the extreme dearthe among them. Furthermore, in the midst of this sturre, there came ambassadours to *ROME* from the citie of *VELITRES*, that offered vp their citie to the *ROMAINEs*, and prayed they would send newe inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had bene so extreme among them, & had killed such a number of them, as there was not left aliuie the tenth persone of the people that had bene there before. So the wise men of *ROME* beganne to thincke, that the necessitie of the *VELITRIANS* fell out in a most happy hower, and howe by this occasion it was very mete in so great a scarcitie of vittailles, to disburden *ROME* of a great number of citizens: and by this meanes as well to take awaye this newe sedition, and vterly to ryd it out of the citie, as also to cleare the same of many mutinous and seditious persones, being the superfluous ill humours that greuously fedde this disease. Hereupon the Consuls prickt out all those by a bill, whom they intended to sende to *VELITRES*, to goe dwell there as in forme of a colonie: and they leauied out of all the rest that remained in the citie of *ROME*, a great number to goe against the *VOISCES*, hoping by the meanes of forreine warre, to pacifie their sedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the riche, and the E meane sorte with the nobilitie, should by this deuise be abroad in the warres, & in one campe, and in one seruice, and in one like daunger: that then they would be more quiet and louing together. But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these deuises, and cried out upon the noble men, that vnder the gentle name of a colonie, they would cloke and culler the most cruell and vnnatural facte as might be: because they sent their poore citizens into a fore infected citie and pestilent ayre, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there also to dwell vnder the tyuion of a straunge god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people. This were (said they) euen as muche, as if the Senate should hedlong cast downe the people into a most bottomles pyt. And are not yet contented to haue famished some of the poore citizens heretofore to death, & to put other of them enen to the mercie of the plague: but a frefhe, they haue procured a voluntarie warre, to the ende they would leaue behind no kynde of miserie and ill, wherewith the poore *SYLLE* people should not be plagued, and only because they are werie to serue the riche. The common people being set on a broyle

Names of mockerie among the *ROMAINEs*.

Sedition among *ROME*, by reason of famine.

Velitres made a colonie to *ROME*. Two praetors to remove the sedition in *ROME*.

Sicinius and *Brutus* Tribunes of the people, against both these deuises.

and brauerie with these wordes, would not appeare when the Consuls called their names A by a bill, to prest them for the warres, neither would they be sent out to this newe colonie: in so muche as the Senate knewe not well what to saye, or doe in the matter. *Martius* then, who was now growen to great credit, and a shewe man besides, and of great reputation with the noblest men of ROME, rose vp, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the cittie of VELITRES, he dyd compell those that were chosen, to goe thither, and to departe the cittie, upon great penalties to him that should disobey: but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or constrained. So *Martius* taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he could by fayer wordes intreate to goe with him, dyd ronne certen forreyes into the dominion of the ANTIATES, where he met with great plenty of corne, and had a maruelous great spoyle, aswell of cattell, as of men he had taken prisoners, whom he brought away with him, and refused nothing for him selfe. Afterwardes hauing brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, safe and sounde to ROME, and euery man riche and loden with spoyle: then the hometrarriers and housefodoues that kept ROME still, beganne to repent them that it was not their happe to goe with him, and so enuid both them that had sped so well in this iorney, and also of malice to *Martius*, they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accompted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, *Martius* stooode for the Consulshipp: and the common people fauored his sute, thinking it would be a shame to them to denie, and refuse, the chieft noble man of bloude, and most worthie persone of ROME, and specially him that had done so great seruice and good to the common wealth. For the custome of ROME was at that time, that suche as dyd fye for any office, should for certen dayes before be in the market place, only with a poore gowne on their backes, and without any coate vnderneath, to praye the citizens to remember them at the daye of election: which was thus deuised, either to moue the people the more, by requesting them in suche meane apparell, or els because they might shewe them their woundes they had gotten in the warres in the seruice of the comon wealth, as manifest markes & testimonie of their valliantnes. Now it is not to be thought that the suters went thus lose in a simple gowne in the market place, without any coate vnder it, for feare, and suspition of the common people: for offices of dignitie in the cittie were not then geuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and selling fell out in election of officers, and that the voyces of the electours were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten waye into the election of offices, it hath ronne from man to man, euen to the very sentence of iudges, and also among captaynes in the warres: so as in the ende, that only turned common wealthes into Kingdomes, by making armes subiect to money. Therefore me thinckes he had reason that sayed: he that first made banketts, and gaue money to the common people, was the first that tooke awaye authoritie, and destroyed common wealth. But this pestilence crept in by litle and litle, and dyd secretly winne ground still, continuing a long time in ROME, before it was openly known and discouered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the peoples voyces for money, nor that corrupted the sentence of the iudges. Howbeit at ATHENS some holde opinion, that *Amyus*, the sonne of *Anthemion*, was the first man that fedde the iudges with money, about the ende of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, being accused of treason for yielding vp the forte of PYLE, at that time, when the golden and vnsoiled age remained yet whole in iudgement at ROME. Now *Martius* following this custome, shewed many woundes and cuttes upon his bodie, which he had receyued in seuentene yeres seruice at the warres, and in many sundrie battells, being euer the foremost man that dyd set out his feete to fight. So that there was not a man among the people, but was ashamed of him selfe, to refuse so valliant a man: and one of them sayed to another, we must needs chuse him Consul, there is no remedie. But when the daye of election was come, and that *Martius* came to the market place with great pompe, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole Nobilitie of the cittie about him, who sought to make him Consul, with the greatest instance and intreatie they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter: then the loue and good will of the common people,

Coriolanus offends the people.

Coriolanus imadueth the Antiates, and bringeth rich spoyle home.

The manner of suting for office at Rome.

Whereupon this manner of suting was devised.

Offices geuen then by desire, without fauour or corruption.

Banketts and money geuen: only destroyers of common wealth.

Anytus the Athenian, the first that with money corrupted the sentence of the iudge, and voyces of the people.

A people, turned straight to an hate and enuie toward him, fearing to put this office of sournaine authoritie into his handes, being a man somewhat partiall toward the nobilitie, and of great credit and authoritie amongst the *Patricians*, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the libertie from the people. Whereupon for these considerations, they refused *Martius* in the ende, and made two other that were suters, Consuls. The Senate being maruelously offended with the people, dyd accompt the shame of this refusal, rather to redound to them selues, then to *Martius*: but *Martius* tooke it in farre worse parte then the Senate, and was out of all pacience. For he was a man to full of passion and choller, and to muche geuen to ouer selfe will and opinion, as one of a highe minde and great courage, that lacked the grauity, and affabilitie that is gotten with iudgment of learning and reason, which only is to be looked for in a gouernour of state: and that remembered not how wilfulnes is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a comon wealth for pleasing should shone, being that which *Plato* called solitarines. As in the ende, all men that are wilfully geuen to a selfe opinion & obstinate minde, and who will neuer yeld to others reason, but to their owne: remaine without copanie, & forsaken of all men. For a man that will lue in the world, must needs haue patience, which lusty bloudes make but a mocke at. So *Martius* being a shewe man of nature, that neuer yielded in any respect, as one thinking that to ouercome allwayes, and to haue the vpper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimitie, and of no base and fainte courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and passionned parte of the harre, much like the matter of an impostume: went home to his house, full fraught with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest young gentlemen, whose mindes were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly vsed for to followe and honour him. But then specially they flockt about him, and kept him companie, to his muche harme: for they dyd but kyndle and inflame his choller more and more, being forie with him for the iniurie the people offered him, because he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that taught them all marshall discipline, and stirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valliantnes, and yet without enuie, praising them that deserved best. In the meane season, there came great plenty of corne to ROME, that had bene bought, parte in ITALIE, and parte was sent out of SICILIE, as geuen by *Gelon* the tyranne of SYRACUSA: so that many stooode in great hope, that the dearthe of vittells being holpen, the ciuill dissention would also cease.

D The Senate sate in counsell upon it immediately, the common people stooode also about the palace where the counsell was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out: perswading them selues, that the corne they had bought should be solde good cheape, and that which was geuen, should be deuied by the polle, without paying any pennie, and the rather, because certaine of the Senatours amongst them dyd so wishe and perswade the same. But *Martius* standing vp on his feete, dyd somewhat sharply take vp those, who went about to gratifie the people therein: and called them people pleasers, and traitours to the nobilitie. Moreouer he sayed they nourished against them selues, the naughty seede and cockle, of insolencie and sedition, which had bene sowed and scattered abroad amongst the people, whom they should haue cut off, if they had bene wise, and haue prevented their greatnes: and not to their owne destruction to haue suffered the people, to stablish a magistratre for them selues, of so great power and authoritie, as that man had, to whom they had graunted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would, and dyd nothing but what he listed, neither passed for any obedience to the Consuls, but lued in all libertie, acknowledging no superiour to commaund him, sauing the only heades and authours of their faction, whom he called his magistrates. Therefore sayed he, they that gaue counsell, and perswaded that the corne should be geuen out to the common people gratis, as they vsed to doe in citties of GRACE, where the people had more absolute power: dyd but only nourish their disobedience, which would breake out in the ende, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrowe of the whole state. For they will not thincke it is done in recompense of their seruice past, sithence they know well enough if they haue so ofte refused to goe to the warres, when they were commaunded: neither for their mutinies when they wet with vs, whereby they haue rebelled & forsaken their coutrie: neither for their accusations which their flatterers haue preferred vnto them, & they haue receyued,

See the fickle mindes of common people.

The fruites of selfe will and obstinacie.

Great store of corne brought to Rome.

Coriolanus' oration against the insolencie of the people.

and made good against the Senate: but they will rather iudge we geue and graunt them this, A
as abasing our selues, and standing in feare of them, & glad to flatter them euery waye. By this
means, their disobedience will still growe worse and worse: and they will neuer leaue to pra-
ctise newe sedition, and vprores. Therefore it were a great follie for vs, me thinckes to doe it
yea, shall I saye more? we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneshippe, which
most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulshippe, & the cause of the diuision of the citie.
The state whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becommeth dismembred
in two factions, which mainteines allwayes ciuill dissention and discorde betwene vs, and will
neuer suffer vs againe to be vnited into one bodie. *Martius* dilating the matter with many such
like reasons, wanne all the young men, and almost all the riche men to his opinion: in so much
they range it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the citie, who stoode out against the
people, & neuer flattered them. There were only a fewe olde men that spake against him, fear-
ing least some mischief might fall out upon it, as in dede there followed no great good after-
ward. For the Tribunes of the people, being present at this consultation of the Senate, when
they sawe that the opinion of *Martius* was confirmed with the more voyces, they left the Se-
nate, and went downe to the people, crying out for helpe, and that they would assemble to
saue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ranne on head in tumult together, before whom the
wordes that *Martius* spake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people so to ma-
ked, that euen in that furie they were readie to flye upon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes
layed all the faulte and burden wholly vpon *Martius*, and sent their sergeantes forthwith to
arrest him, presently to appeare in person before the people, to aunswere the wordes he had
spoken in the Senate. *Martius* stowely withstoode these officers that came to arrest him. Then
the Tribunes in their owne persones, accompanied with the *Aediles*, went to fetch him by
force, and so layed violent hands vpon him. Howbeit the noble *Patricians* gathering together
about him, made the Tribunes geue backe, and layed it fore upon the *Aediles*: so for that time,
the night parted them, & the tumult appealed. The next morning betimes, the Consuls seing
the people in an vprore, running to the market place out of all partes of the citie, they were
affrayed least all the citie would together by the eares: wherefore assembling the Senate in
all hast, they declared how it stoode them vpon, to appeale the furie of the people, with some
gentle wordes, or gratefull decrees in their fauour: and moreover, like wise men they should
consider, it was now no time to stande at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for ho-
nour against the communalitie: they being fallen to so great an extremitie, and offering such
imminent danger. Wherefore they were to consider temperately of things, & to deliuer some
present and gentle pacification. The most parte of the Senatours that were present at this
counsaill, thought this opinion best, & gaue their consents vnto it. Whereupon the Consuls
rising out of counsaill, went to speake vnto the people as gently as they could, and they dyd
pacifie their furie & anger, purging the Senate of all the vniuelt accusations layed vpon them,
and vsed great modestie in perswading them, and also in reprouing the faultes they had com-
mitted. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corne: they promised there should be no
disliking offered them in the price. So the most parte of the people being pacified, and appea-
ring so plainly by the great silence and still that was among them, as yelding to the Consuls,
and liking well of their wordes: the Tribunes then of the people rose out of their seates, and
sayed, Forasmuche as the Senate yelded vnto reason, the people also for their parte, as became
them, dyd likewise geue place vnto them: but notwithstanding, they would that *Martius*
should come in person to aunswere to the articles they had deuised. First, whether he had not
solicited and procured the Senate to chaunge the present state of the common weale, and to
take the foureraine authoritie out of the peoples handes. Next, when he was sent for by autho-
ritie of their officers, why he dyd contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had dri-
uen and beaten the *Aediles* into the market place before all the worlde: if in doing this, he had
not done as muche as in him laye, to raise ciuill warres, and to set one citizen against another.
All this was spoken to one of these two endes, either that *Martius* against his nature should
be constrained to humble him selfe, and to abase his hawty and fierce minde: or els if he con-
tinued still in his stowtnes, he should incurre the peoples displeasure and ill will so farre, that
he

Sedition at
Rome for Co-
riolanus.

Articles a-
gainst Corio-
lanus.

A he should neuer possibly winne them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, then
otherwise: as in dede they gest vnhappyly, considering *Martius* nature and disposition. So
Martius came, and presented him selfe, to aunswere their accusations against him, & the peo-
ple held their peace, and gaue attentue eare, to heare what he would saye. But where they
thought to haue heard very humble and lowly wordes come from him, he beganne not only
to vife his wonted boldnes of speaking (which of it selfe was very rough and vnpleasunt, and
dyd more aggravate his accusation, then purge his innocencie) but also gaue him selfe in his
wordes to thunder, and looke therewithall so grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the
matter. This stirred coales among the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, & their hate
and malice grew so toward him, that they could holde no longer, beare, nor indure his bra-
uery and careles boldnes. Whereupon *Scinius*, the cruellest and stowtest of the Tribunes, af-
ter he had whispered a litle with his companions, dyd openly pronounce in the face of all the
people, *Martius* as condemned by the Tribunes to dye. Then presently he commaunded the
Aediles to apprehend him, and carie him straight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to cast him hed-
long downe the same. When the *Aediles* came to laye handes vpon *Martius* to doe that they
were commaunded, diuers of the people them selues thought it to cruell, and violent a dede.
The noble men also being muche troubled to see such force and rigour vsed, beganne to crie
alowde, helpe *Martius*: so those that layed handes of him being repulled, they compassed
him in rounde among them selues, and some of them holding vp their handes to the people,
besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their wordes, nor crying out could
C ought preuaile, the tumulte and hurly burley was so great, vntill suche time as the Tribunes
owne friends and kinsmen weying with them selues the impossiblenesse to conuey *Martius*
to execution, without great slaughter & murder of the nobilitie: dyd persuaide and aduise not
to proceede in so violent and extraordinary a sorte, as to put such a man to death, without
lawfull proceesse in lawe, but that they should referre the sentence of his death, to the free
voyce of the people. Then *Scinius* bethinking him selfe a litle, dyd aske the *Patricians*, for what
cause they tooke *Martius* out of the officers handes that went to doe execution? The *Patrici-
ans* asked him againe, why they would of them selues, so cruelly and wickedly put to death,
so noble and valliant a Roman, as *Martius* was, and that without lawe or iustice? Well, then
sayed *Scinius*, if that be the matter, let there be no more quarrell or dissention against the peo-
ple: for they doe graunt your demaunde, that his cause shalbe heard according to the law. There-
fore sayed he to *Martius*, we doe will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third
daye of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shalbe
obiected against you, that by free voyce the people maye geue sentence upon you as shall
please them. The noble men were glad then of the adionment, and were muche pleased they
had gotten *Martius* out of this danger. In the meane space, before the third day of their next
cession came about, the same being kept euery ninth daye continually at Rome, whereupon
they call it now in Latin, *Nundine*: there fell out warre against the *Antiatres*, which gaue
some hope to the nobilitie, that this adionment would come to litle effect, thinking that this
warre would hold them so longe, as that the furie of the people against him would be well
E swaged, or vterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expec-
tation, the peace was concluded presently with the *Antiatres*, and the people returned a-
gain to Rome. Then the *Patricians* assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might
stande to *Martius*, and keepe the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutine a-
gain, and rise against the nobilitie. And there *Appius Claudius* (one that was taken euer as an
heauy enemy to the people) dyd auowe and protest, that they would vterly abase the autho-
ritie of the Senate, and destroye the common weale, if they would suffer the common people
to haue authoritie by voyces to geue iudgment against the nobilitie. On thother side againe,
the most ancient Senatours, & suche as were geuen to fauour the comon people sayed: that
when the people should see they had authoritie of life and death in their handes, they would
F not be so cruell & fierce, but gentle and ciuill. More also, that it was not for contempt of no-
bilitie or the Senate, that they sought to haue the authoritie of iustice in their handes, as a
preheminance and prerogative of honour: but bicause they feared, that them selues should

*Coriolanus
flourishes in
defence of
him selfe.*

*Scinius the
Tribune, pro-
nounceth the
sentence of death
vpon Martius.*

*Coriolanus
hath daye ge-
uen him to
answer the
people.*

be contemned and hated of the nobilitie. So as they were perswaded, that so fone as they gaue them authoritie to iudge by voyces: so fone would they leaue all enuie and malice to condemne anye. *Martius* seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolute, partly for the loue and good will the nobilitie dyd beare him, and partly for the feare they stood in of the people: asked alowde of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would shewe howe he dyd aspire to be King, and would proue that all his actions tended to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer Rome. *Martius* with that, rising vp on his seere, sayed: that thereupon he dyd willingly offer him selfe to the people, to be tried upon that accusation. And that if it were proued by him, he had so muche as once thought of any suche matter, that he would then refuse no kinde of punishment they would offer him: conditionally (& he) that you charge me with nothing els besides, and that I ye doe not also abuse the Senate. They promised they would not. Vnder these conditions the iudgement was agreed vpon, and the people assembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoeuer became of it) that the people would proceede to geue their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needy people (and all suche rable as had nothing to lose, and had lesse regard of honestie before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voyces were numbred by the polle) then the noble honest citizens, whose persones and purse dyd duefully serue the common wealth in their warres. And then when the Tribunes sawe they could not proue he went about to make him self King: they beganne to broache a freshe the former wordes that *Martius* had spoken in the Senate, in hindring the distribution of the come at meane price vnto the common people, and perswading also to take the office of Tribuneshippe from them. And for the third, they charged him a newe, that he had not made the common distribution of the spoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the *ANTIATES*: but had of his owne authoritie deuied it among them, who were with him in that iorney. But this matter was most strange of all to *Martius*, looking least to haue bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sodaine, and hauing no ready excuse to make euen at that instant: he beganne to fall a praising of the souldiers that had serued with him in that iorney. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out so lowde, and made suche a noyse, that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odde, which condemned him to be banished for life. After declaration of the sentence, the people made suche ioye, as they neuer reioyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were so braue and liuely, & went homeward iocundly from the assembly, for triumphe of this sentence. The Senate againe in contrary manner were as sad and heauie, repenting them selues beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to haue done & suffered any thing whatsoever, before the common people should so arrogantly, and outrageously haue abused their authoritie. There needed no difference of garments I warrant you, nor outward shewes to know a *Plebeian* from a *Patrician*, for they were easily decerned by their looks. For for that was on the peoples side, looked cheerefully on the matter: but he that was sad, and hence downe his head, he was sure of the noble mens side. Sauiug *Martius* alone, who neither in his countenance, nor in his gate, dyd euer shewe him selfe abashed, or once let fall his great courage: but he only of all other gentlemen that were angrie at his fortune, dyd outwardly shewe no manner of passion, nor care at all of him selfe. Not that he dyd patiently beare and temper his good happe, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but because he was so caried away with the vehemencie of anger, and desire of reuenge, that he had no sence nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people iudge, not to be sorow, although in dede it be the very same. For when sorow (as you would saye) is set a fyre, then it is conuerted into spite and malice, and drieth away for that time all faintnes of harte and naturall feare. And this is the cause why the cholerick man is so altered, and mad in his actions, as a man set a fyre with a burning agewe for when a mans harte is troubled within, his pulte will beare maruelous strongly. Now that *Martius* was euen in that taking, it appeared true fone after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house againe, and had taken his leaue of his mother and wife, finding them weeping

Coriolanus
accused, that
he sought to
be King.

Coriolanus
banished for
life.

Coriolanus
confesseth
in aduersitie.

The force of
anger.

A weeping, and shrieking out for sorowe, and had also comforted and perswaded them to be content with his chauce: he went immediatly to the gate of the citie, accompanied with a great number of *Patricians* that brought him thither, from whence he went on his waye with three or foure of his friends only, taking nothing with him, nor requesting any thing of any man. So he remained a fewe dayes in the countrey at his houses, turmoyled with sundry forties and kynde of thoughtes, suche as the fyre of his choller dyd stirre vp. In the ende, seeing he could resolute no waye, to take a profitable or honorable course, but only was pricked forward still to be reuenged of the *ROMAINEs*: he thought to raise vp some great warres against them, by their neerest neighbours. Whereupon, he thought it his best waye, first to stirre vp the *VOLSCES* against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had receyued not long before, & that their power was not so muche impaired, as their malice and desire was increased, to be reuenged of the *ROMAINEs*. Now in the citie of *ANTIUM*, there was one called *Tullus Aufidius*, who for his riches, as also for his nobilitie and valliantnes, was honoured among the *VOLSCES* as a King. *Martius* knewe very well, that *Tullus* dyd more malice and enuie him, then he dyd all the *ROMAINEs* besides: because that many times in battells where they met, they were euer at the encounter one against another, like lustie coragious youtthes, struing in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. In so muche, as besides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruelous priuate hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that *Tullus Aufidius* was a man of a great minde, and that he aboue all other of the *VOLSCES*, most desired reuenge of the *ROMAINEs*, for the iniuries they had done vnto them: he dyd an acte that confirmed the true wordes of an auncient Poet, who sayed:

*It is a thing full harde, mans anger to withstand,
if it be stiffely bent to take an enterpryse in hande.*

*For then most men will haue, the thing that they desire,
although it cost their liues therefore, suche force hath wricked ire.*

And so dyd he. For he disguised him selfe in suche arraye and attire, as he thought no man could euer haue knowne him for the persone he was, seeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe: and as *Homer* sayed of *Ulysses*,

So dyd he enter into the enemies towne.

It was euen twy light when he entered the citie of *ANTIUM*, and many people met him in the streetes, but no man knewe him. So he went directly to *Tullus Aufidius* house, and when he came thither, he got him vp straight to the chimney harthe, and sat him downe, and spake not a worde to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the house spying him, wondered what he should be, and yet they durst not byd him rise. For ill fauoredly muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maiestie in his countenance, and in his silence: whereupon they went to *Tullus* who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. *Tullus* rose presently from the borde, and coming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then *Martius* vnuffled him selfe, and after he had paused a while, making no answer, he sayed vnto him. If thou knowest me not yet, *Tullus*, and seeing me, dost not perhappes beleue me to be the man I am in dede, I must of necessitie bewraye my selfe to thee that I am. I am *Caius Martius*, who hath done to thy self particularly, and to all the *VOLSCES* generally, great hurte and mischief, which I cannot denie for my surname of *Coriolanus* that I beare. For I neuer had other benefit nor recompence, of all the true and paynefull seruice I haue done, and the extreme daungers I haue bene in, but this only surname: a good memorie and wimes, of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest beare me. In dede the name only remaineth with me: for the rest, the enuie and crueltie of the people of Rome haue taken from me, by the sufferance of the darstardly nobilitie and magistrates, who haue forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremitie hath now daüen me to come as a poore fletcher, to take thy chimney harthe, not of any hope I haue to faue my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not haue come higher to haue put my life in hazard: but prick forward with spite and desire I haue to be reuenged of them that thus haue banished me, whom now

Tullus Aufidius, a great
person emig
the *Volsces*.

Coriolanus
disguised,
goeth to *Antium*, a citie
of the *Volsces*

Coriolanus o-
ration to *Tul-
lus Aufidius*.

I beginne to be auenged on, putting my persone betweene thy enemies. Wherefore, if thou
 haſt any hate to be wrecked of the iniuries thy enemies haue done thee, ſpede thee now, and
 let my miſerie ſerue thy turne, and ſo ſe it, as my ſeruiſe maye be a benefit to the VOIſCES:
 promiſing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then euer I dyd when I was
 againſt you, knowing that they fight more valiantly, who knowe the force of their enemies,
 then ſuch as haue neuer proued it. And if it be ſo that thou dare not, and that thou art wearye
 to proue fortune any more then am I alſo weary to liue any longer. And it were no wiſedome
 in thee, to ſaue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortal enemy, and whole ſer-
 uice now can nothing helpe nor pleaſure thee. *Tullus* hearing what he ſayed, was a maruelous
 glad man, and taking him by the hande, he ſayed vnto him. Stande vp, o *Martius*, and bee of
 good chere, for in profering thy ſelfe vnto vs, thou doſt vs great honour: and by this meanes
 thou mayeſt hope alſo of greater things, at all the VOIſCES handes. So he feaſted him for
 that time, and entertained him in the honorableſt manner he could, talking with him in no o-
 ther matters at that preſent: but within fewe dayes after, they ſell to conſultation together, in
 what ſorte they ſhould beginne their warres. Now on thother ſide, the citie of ROME was in
 maruelous vprore, and diſcord, the nobilitie againſt the communaltie, and chiefly for *Martius*
 condemnation and baniſhment. Moreouer the prieſtes, the Soothſayers, and priuate men
 alſo, came and declared to the Senate certaine ſightes and wonders in the ayer, which they
 had ſene, and were to be conſidered of: amongſt the which, ſuch a viſion happened. There
 was a citizen of ROME called *Titus Latinus*, a man of meane qualitie & condition, but other-
 wiſe an honeſt ſober man, geuen to a quiet life, without ſuperſtition, and much leſſe to vanitie
 or lying. This man had a viſion in his dreame, in the which he thought that *Iupiter* appeared
 vnto him, and commaunded him to ſignifie to the Senate, that they had cauſed a very vile
 lewde daunſer to goe before the proceſſion: and ſayed, the firſt time this viſion had appeared
 vnto him, he made no reckoning of it: and comming againe another time into his minde, he
 made not much more account of the matter then before. In the ende, he ſawe one of his
 ſonnes dye, who had the beſt nature and condition of all his brethern: and ſodainely he him
 ſelfe was ſo taken in all his limmes, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he tolde
 the whole circumſtance of this viſion before the Senate, ſitting vpon his litle couche or bedde,
 whereon he was caried on mens armes: and he had no ſooner reported this viſion to the Se-
 nate, but he preſently felt his bodie & limmes reſtored againe, to their former ſtrength & uſe. So
 railing vp him ſelf vpon his couche, he got vp on his feete at that inſtant, & walked home to his
 houſe, without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent en-
 querie to vnderſtand the trothe: & in the ende they found there was ſuch a thing. There was
 one that had deliuered a bodman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other ſlaues
 & bondemen, & had commaunded them to whippe him vp & down the market place, & after-
 wards to kill him: & as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they dyd ſo marrye
 the poore wretch, that for the cruell ſmart & payne he felt, he turned & writhed his bodie in
 ſtraunge & pittifull ſorte. The proceſſion by chance came by euen at the ſame time, & many
 that followed it, were hartely moued & offended with the ſight, ſaying: that this was no good
 ſight to behold, nor mete to be met in proceſſio time. But for all this, there was nothing done,
 ſauing they blamed & rebuked him, that puniſhed his ſlave ſo cruelly. For the ROMAINES
 that time dyd vſe their bondemen very gently, becauſe they them ſelues dyd labour with their
 owne hands, and liued with them, & among them: and therefore they dyd vſe them the more
 gently and familiarly. For the greateſt puniſhment they gaue a ſlave that had offended, was
 this. They made him carie a limmer on his ſhoulders that is faſtened to the axeltree of a
 coche, and compelled him to goe vp and downe in that ſorte amongſt all their neighbours.
 He that had once abidden this puniſhment, and was ſcene in that manner, was proclaimed
 and cried in euery market towne: ſo that no man would euer truſt him after, and they called
 him *Euerſifer*, becauſe the LATINES call the wodd that ronneth into the axeltree of the coche,
Euerſifer, as much to ſaye, as a ſpoke. Now when *Latinus* had made reporte to the Senate of the
 viſion that had happened to him, they were deuſing whom this vnpleaſant daunſer ſhould
 be, that went before the proceſſion. Thereupon certain that ſtoode by, remembered the poore
 ſlave

Great differ-
 ence at Rome
 about *Mar-
 tius* banish-
 ment.

The Romaines
 manner of
 puniſhing
 their ſlaves.

Whereof
Euerſifer came

A ſlave that was ſo cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwarde put to
 death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the ſtraunge and rare manner of his
 puniſhment. The prieſtes hereupon were repaired vnto their aduſe: they were wholly of
 opinion, that it was the whipping of the ſlave. So they cauſed the ſlaves maſter to be puniſhed,
 and beganne againe a newe proceſſion, and all other ſhowes and ſightes in honour of *Iupiter*.
 But hereby appeareth plainly, how king *Numa* dyd wiſely ordaine all other ceremonies
 concerning deuotion to the goddes, and ſpecially this cuſtome which he ſtabliſhed, to bring the
 people to religion. For when the magiſtrates, biſhoppes, prieſtes, or other religious miniſters
 goe about any diuine ſeruiſe, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying
 out alowde, *Hoc age*: as to ſaye, doe this, or minde this. Hereby they are ſpecially comanded,
 wholly to diſpoſe them ſelues to ſerue God, leauing all other buſines and matters a ſide: know-
 ing well enough, that whatſoeuer moſt men doe, they doe it as in a manner conſtrained vnto
 it. But the ROMAINES dyd euer vſe to beginne againe their ſacrifices, proceſſions, playes, and
 ſuche like ſhowes done in honour of the goddes, not only vpon ſuche an occaſion, but ap-
 on lighter cauſes then that. As when they went a proceſſion through the citie, and dyd carie the
 images of their goddes, and ſuche other like holy relikes vpon open hallowed coches or char-
 rets, called in LATIN *Thenſe*: one of the coche horſes that dree them ſtoode ſtill, and would
 drawe no more: and becauſe alſo the coche man tooke the raynes of the bridle with the left
 hande, they ordained that the proceſſion ſhould be begonne againe a newe. Of later time alſo,
 they dyd renewe and beginne a ſacrifice thirtie times one after another, becauſe they thought
 C ſtill there fell out one faulte or other in the ſame, ſo holy and deuout were they to the goddes.
 Now *Tullus* and *Martius* had ſecret conference with the greateſt perſonages of the citie of
 ANTIUM, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre
 with the ROMAINES, while they were in diſſention one with another. They answered them,
 they were aſhamed to breake the league, conſidering that they were ſworne to keepe peace
 for two yerres. Howbeit ſhortely after, the ROMAINES gaue them great occaſion to make
 warre with them. For on a holy daye common playes being kept in ROME, ap-
 on ſome ſuſpi-
 tion, or falſe reporte, they made proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that all the VOIſCES
 ſhould auoyde out of ROME before ſunne ſet. Some thincke this was a craffe and deceit of
Martius, who ſent one to ROME to the Conſuls, to accuſe the VOIſCES falſely, aduertifying
 D them howe they had made a conſpiracie to ſet ap-
 on them, whileſt they were buſie in ſeeing
 theſe games, and alſo to ſet their citie a fyre. This open proclamation made all the VOIſCES
 more offended with the ROMAINES, then euer they were before: and *Tullus* aggrauating the
 matter, dyd ſo inflame the VOIſCES againſt them, that in the ende they ſent their ambaffa-
 dors to ROME, to ſummon them to deliuer their landes and townes againe, which they had
 taken from them in times paſt, or to looke for preſent warres. The ROMAINES hearing this,
 were maruelouſly netled: and made no other anſwer but thus. If the VOIſCES be the firſt
 that beginne warre: the ROMAINES will be the laſt that will ende it. Incontinently vpon re-
 turne of the VOIſCES ambaffadours, and deliuerie of the ROMAINES anſwer: *Tullus* cauſed
 an aſſembly generally to be made of the VOIſCES, and concluded to make warre ap-
 on E the ROMAINES. This done, *Tullus* dyd counſell them to take *Martius* into their ſeruiſe,
 and not to miſtruſt him for the remembrance of any thing paſt, but boldly to truſt him in any
 matter to come: for he would doe them more ſeruiſe in fighting for them, then euer he dyd
 them diſpleaſure in fighting againſt them. So *Martius* was called forth, who ſpake ſo excel-
 lently in the preſence of them all, that he was thought no leſſe eloquent in tongue, then war-
 like in ſhowe: and declared him ſelfe both expert in warres, and wiſe with vallianties. Thus he
 was ioyned in commiſſion with *Tullus* as generall of the VOIſCES, hauing abſolute authori-
 tie betwene the to follow & purſue the warres. But *Martius* fearing leaſt tract of time to bring
 this armie together with all the munition & furniture of the VOIſCES, would robbe him of the
 meane he had to execute his purpoſe and intent: left order with the rulers and chief of the
 F citie, to aſſemble the reſt of their power, and to prepare all neceſſary prouiſion for the campe.
 Then he wich the lighteſt ſouldiers he had, and that were willing to followe him, ſate away
 vpon the ſodaine, and marched with all ſpeede, and entred the territories of ROME, before the

A ceremony
 inſtituted by
 king *Numa*,
 touching reli-
 gion.

The ſuperſti-
 tion of the
 Romaines.

Thenſe.

The Romaines
 gaue the
 VOIſces occa-
 ſion of warre.

Martius' Co-
 uſion gave the
 VOIſces cauſe
 of the VOIſces.

Coriolanus
 choſen gene-
 rall of the
 VOIſces, ſith
Tullus ſuſ-
 taine againſt
 the Romaines.
Coriolanus:
 inuadeſ the
 territories of
 the Romaines.

ROMAINEs heard any newes of this comming. In so much the VOLSCES found such spoyle in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their campe, and were wearie to drine and carie awaye that they had. Howbeit the gayne of the spoyle and the hurte they dyd to the ROMAINEs in this inuasion, was the least parte of his intent. For his chieft purpouse was, to increase still the malice and dissention betwene the nobilitie, and the communalitie: and to drawe that on, he was very carefull to keepe the noble mens landes & goods safe from harme and burning, but spoyled all the whole countrie besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurte any thing of the noble mens. This made greater sturre and broyle betwene the nobilitie and people, then was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, because they had so vniuittly banished a man of so great value and power. The people on thother side, accused the nobilitie, how they had procured *Martius* to make these warres, to be reuenged of them: because it pleased them to see their goodes burnt and spoyled before their eyes, whilest them selues were well at ease, and dyd behold the peoples losses and misfortunes, & knowing their owne goodes safe and out of daunger: and howe the warre was not made against the noble men, that had the enemy abroad, to keepe that they had in safety. Now *Martius* hauing done this first exploit (which made the VOLSCES bolder, and lesse fearefull of the ROMAINEs) brought home all the armie againe, without losse of any man. After their whole armie (which was maruelous great, and very forward to seruice) was assembled in one campe: they agreed to leaue parte of it for garrison in the countrie about, and the other parte should goe on, and make the warre upon the ROMAINEs. So *Martius* bad *Tullus* choole, and take which of the two charges he liked best. *Tullus* made him answer, he kneue by experience that *Martius* was no lesse valliant then him selfe, and howe he euer had better fortune and good happe in all battells, then him selfe had. Therefore he thought it best for him to haue the leading of those that should make the warres abroade: and him selfe would keepe home, to provide for the safety of the cities and of his countrie, and to furnishe the campe also of all necessary provision abroade. So *Martius* being stronger then before, went first of all vnto the cittie of CIRCES, inhabited by the ROMAINEs, who willingly yelded them selues, and therefore had no hurte. From thence, he entred the countrie of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINEs would fight with him there, to defend the LATINES, who were their confederates, and had many times sent vnto the ROMAINEs for their ayde. But on the one side, the people of Rome were very ill willing to goe: and on the other side the Consuls being upon their going out of their office, would not hazard them selues for so small a time: so that the ambassadours of the LATINES returned home againe, and dyd no good. Then *Martius* dyd besiege their cities, and hauing taken by force the townes of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDANIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made resistance: he sacked all their goodes, and tooke them prisoners. Suche as dyd yeld them selues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as possible might be, to defend them from hurte: and because they should receyue no damage by his will, he removed his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the cittie of BOLES by assault, being about an hundred furlonge from Rome, where he had a maruelous great spoyle, and put euery man to the sword that was able to carie weapon. The other VOLSCES that were appointed to remaine in garrison for defence of their countrie, hearing this good newes, would tary no longer at home, but armed them selues, and ranne to *Martius* campe, saying they dyd acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through all ITALIE, and euery one praised him for a valliant captaine, for that by change of one man for another, suche and so strange euents fell out in the state. In this while, all went still to wracke at Rome. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abyde to heare of it, they were one so muche against another, and full of seditious wordes, the nobilitie against the people, & the people against the nobilitie. Vntill they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had layed seige to the cittie of LAVINIUM, in the which were all the temples and images of the goddes their protectours, and from whence came first their ancient originall, for that *Aeneas* at his first arriual into ITALIE dyd build that cittie. Then fell there out a maruelous sodain change of minde among the people, & farre more strange & contrarie in the nobilitie. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and

A fine desire
to make the
communalitie
suspect the
nobilitie.

Great hate
burning be-
twixt the no-
bilitie and
people.

Lavinium
built by AE-
neas.

exile

A exile of *Martius*. The Senate assembled vpon it, would in no case yeld to that. Who either dyd it of a selfe will to be contrarie to the peoples desire: or because *Martius* should not returne through the grace and fauour of the people. Or els, because they were thoroughly angrie and offended with him, that he would set upon the whole, being offended but by a fewe, and in his doings would shewe him selfe an open enemy besides vnto his countrie: notwithstanding the most parte of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruelous ill parte, and as if the iniurie had bene done vnto them selues. Reporte being made of the Senates resolution, the people founde them selues in a straight: for they could authorise and confirme nothing by their voyces, vnles it had bene first propounded and ordeined by the Senate. But *Martius* hearing this sturre about him, was in a greater rage with them then before: for so muche as he raised his seige incontinently before the cittie of LAVINIUM, and going towardes Rome, lodged his campe within fortie furlonge of the cittie, at the ditches called *Clulie*. His incamping so neere Rome, dyd put all the whole cittie in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the present time it appeased the edition and dissention betwixt the Nobilitie and the people. For there was no Consul, Senatour, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrarie the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of *Martius*. When they sawe the women in a maruelous feare, running vp and downe the cittie: the temples of the goddes full of olde people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the goddes: and finally, not a man either wife or hardie to provide for their safetie: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home *Martius* againe, to reconcile them selues to him, and that the Senate on the contrary parte, were in maruelous great faulte to be angrie and in choller with him, when it floode them vpon rather to haue gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to send ambassadours vnto him, to let him vnderstand howe his countrymen dyd call him home againe, and restored him to all his goodes, and besought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambassadours that were sent, were *Martius* familiar friends, and acquaintance, who looked at the least for a courteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friende and kynsman. Howbeit they founde nothing lesse. For at their comming, they were brought through the campe, to the place where he was set in his chayer of state, with a maruelous and an vnspokeable maiestie, hauing the chieft men of the VOLSCES about him: so he commaunded them to declare openly the cause of their comming. Which they deliuered in the most humble and lowly wordes they possible could deuise, and with all modest countenance and behauiour agreeable for the same. When they had done their message: for the iniurie they had done him, he answered them very hottely, and in great choller. But as generall of the VOLSCES, he willed them to restore vnto the VOLSCES, all their landes and citties they had taken from them in former warres: and moreover, that they should geue them the like honour and freedome of Rome, as they had before geuen to the LATINES. For otherwise they had no other meane to end this warre, if they dyd not graunte these honest and iust conditions of peace. Thereupon he gaue them thirtie dayes respite to make him answer. So the ambassadours returned straight to Rome, and *Martius* forthwith departed with his armie out of the territories of the ROMAINEs. This was the first matter wherewith the VOLSCES (that most enuied *Martius* glorie and authoritie) dyd charge *Martius* with. Among those, *Tullus* was chief: who thought he had receyued no priuate iniurie or displeasure of *Martius*, yet the common faulte and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to see his owne reputation bleamished, through *Martius* great fame and honour, and so him selfe to be lesse esteemed of the VOLSCES, then he was before. This fell out the more, because euery man honoured *Martius*, and thought he only could doe all, and that all other gouernours and captaines must be content with suche credit and authoritie, as he would please to countenance them with. From hence they deriued all their first accusations and secret murmurings against *Martius*. For priuate captaines conspiring against him, were very angrie with him: and gaue it out, that the removing of the campe was a manifest treason, not of the townes, nor fortres, nor of armes, but of time and occasion, which was a losse of great

The Roma-
nes send am-
bassadours to
Coriolanus to
reue of
peace.

The first oc-
casion of the
Volsces enuy
to Coriolanus.

Y.

*ambassador
beside sent
to Coriolanus*

*The priestess
and sooth-
sayer sent to
Coriolanus.*

importance, because it was that which in treason might both lose and binde all, and pre-
serue the whole. Now *Martius* hauing geuen the *ROMAINE*s thirte dayes respite
for their answer, and specially because the warres haue not accustomed to make any
great chaunges, in lesse space of time then that: he thought it good yet, not to lye a
sleepe and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the landes of the enemies allies,
and tooke seuen great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the *ROMAINE*s durst not
once put their selues into the field, to come to their ayde and helpe: they were so
fainte harted, so mistrustfull, and lothe besides to make warres. In so muche as they
properly resembled the bodies paralyticke, and losed of their limmes and members
as those which through the palsey haue lost all their fence and feeling. Wherefore, the
time of peace expired, *Martius* being returned into the dominions of the *ROMAINE*s
again with all his armie, they sent another ambassade vnto him, to praye peace, and
the remoue of the *VOLSCES* out of their countrie: that afterwarde they might with
better leysure fall to suche agreeementes together, as should be thought most mete and
necessarie. For the *ROMAINE*s were no men that would euer yield for feare. But if
he thought the *VOLSCES* had any grounde to demaunde reasonable articles and con-
ditions, all that they would reasonably aske should be graunted vnto, by the *ROMAINE*s,
who of them selues would willingly yeld to reason, conditionally, that they dyd
laye downe armes. *Martius* to that answered: that as generall of the *VOLSCES* he
would reple nothing vnto it. But yet as a *ROMAINE* citizen, he would counsell them
to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they
should returne againe within three dayes, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which
he had first deliuered them. Or otherwise, that he would no more geue them assurance
or safe conuite to returne againe into his campe, with suche vaine and friuolous
messages. When the ambassadours were returned to *ROME*, and had reported *Mar-
tius* answer to the Senate: their citie being in extreme daunger, and as it were in a
terrible storme or tempest, they threw out (as the common prouerbe sayeth) their holy
anker. For then they appointed all the bishoppes, priestes, ministers of the goddes,
and keepers of holy things, and all the augures or soothsayers, which forthowe things to
come by obseruation of the flying of birdes (which is an olde auncient kynde of pro-
phecying and diuination amongst the *ROMAINE*s) to goe to *Martius* apparelled,
as when they doe their sacrifices: and first to intreate him to leaue of warre, and then that
he would speake to his contrymen, and conclude peace with the *VOLSCES*. *Martius*
suffered them to come into his campe, but yet he graunted them nothing the more,
neither dyd he entertaine them or speake more curteously to them; then he dyd the
first time that they came vnto him, sauing only that he willed them to take the one of
the two: either to accept peace vnder the first conditions offered, or els to recte
warre. When all this goodly rable of superstition and priestes were returned, it was
determined in counsell that none should goe out of the gates of the citie, and that
they should watche and warde vpon the walles, to repulse their enemies if they came
to assault them: referring them selues and all their hope to time, and fortunes.
vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwise howe to remedie the daun-
ger. Now all the citie was full of tumult, feare, and maruelous
doubt what would happen: vntill at the length there fell
our suche a like matter, as *Homer* oftentimes
sayeth they would least haue thought
of. For in great matters, that
happen feldome, *Homer*
sayeth, and crieth
out in this
sorte,
*The goddesse Pallas she, with her fayer glittering eyes,
dyd put into his minde suche thoughts, and made him so deuise.*

And

A And in another place:

*But sure some god hath s'ane out of the peoples minde,
both v'is and vnderstanding eke, and haue therewith asyn'de
some other simple spirite, in steede thereof to byde,
that so they might their doings all, for lacke of v'is misgyde.*

And in another place:

*The people of them selues, did either it consider,
or else some god instructed them, and so they soynde together.*

Many reckon not of *Homer*, as referring matters vnpossible, and fables of no likely hooode
ortrothe, vnto mans reason, free will, or iudgement: which in deede is not his meaning. But
B things true & likely, he maketh to depend of our owne free wil and reason. For he oft speaketh
these wordes:

I haue thought it in my noble harte.

And in another place:

*Achilles angrie vvas, and sorie for to heare
him so to say, his beauey brest vvas fraught vwith pensiue feare.*

And againe in another place:

*Bellerophon (she) could not moue vwith her fayer songe,
so honest and so vertuous, he vvas the rest aming.*

But in wonderous and extraordinary things, which are done by secret inspirations and
C motions, he doth not say that God taketh away, from man his choyce and freedome of will,
but that he doth moue it: neither that he doth worke desire in vs, but obiecteth to our
minde certain imaginations whereby we are lead to desire, and thereby doth not make this
our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope
of successe. For, either we must say, that the goddes meddle not with the causes and be-
ginninges of our actions: or else what other meanes haue they to helpe and further men? It
is appaunt that they handle not our bodies, nor moue not our feete and handes, when
there is occasion to vse them: but that parte of our minde from which these motions pro-
ceede, is induced thereto, or caried away by such obiectes and reasons, as God offereth
vnto it. Now the *ROMAINE* Ladies and gentlewomen did visite all the temples and goddes
D of the same, to make their prayers vnto them: but the greatest Ladies (and more parte of
them) were continuallie about the altar of *Iupiter Capitolin*, emonge which troupe by
name, was *Valeria*, *Publicola*s owne sister. The selfe same *Publicola*, who did such notable
seruice to the *ROMAINE*s, both in peace & warres: and was dead also certaine yeares before,
as we haue declared in his life. His sister *Valeria* was greatly honoured and reuerenced a-
monge all the *ROMAINE*s: and did so modestlie and wisely behaue her selfe, that she did
not shame nor dishonour the house she came of. So she sodainly fell into suche a fanisie, as
we haue rehearsed before, and had (by some god as I thinke) taken holde of a noble deuise.
Whereuppon therofe, and thother Ladies with her, and they all together went straight to
the house of *Volumnia*, *Martius* mother: and comming in to her, founde her, and *Martius*
E wife her daughter in lawe set together, and hauinge her husbande *Martius* young children
in her lappe. Now all the traine of these Ladies sitinge in a ringe rounde about her: *Valeria*
first beganne to speake in this sorte vnto her. We Ladies, are come to visite you Ladies
(my Ladie *Volumnia* and *Virgilia*) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaundement
of other magistrate: but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god aboue.
Who hauinge taken compassion and pitie of our prayers, hath moued vs to come vnto you,
to intreate you in a matter, as well beneficiall for vs, as also for the whole citizens in gene-
"

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*Valeria Pu-
blicola's
sister.*

*Volumnia,
Martius mo-
ther.
The wordes
of Valeria,
Volumnia and Vir-
gilia.*

Y ij

all: but to your selues in especial (if it please you to credit me) and shall redounde to our
 more fame and glorie, then the daughters of the Sabyne obtained in formerage, when
 they procured louinge peace, in stead of hatefull warre, betwene their fathers and their hus-
 bands. Come on good ladies, and let vs goe all together vnto *Martius*, to intreate him to
 take pittie vpon vs, and also to reporte the trothe vnto him, howe much you are bounde
 vnto the citizens: who notwithstanding they haue susteined greate hurte and losses by him,
 yet they haue not hetherto sought reuenge apon your persons by any discourtuous viage,
 neither euer conceyued any such thought or intent against you, but doe deliuer ye safe
 into his handes, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemency from him.
 When *Valeria* had spoken this vnto them, all thother ladies together with one voyce con-
 firmed that she had sayed. Then *Volumnia* in this sorte did aunswer her. My good ladies, we
 are partakers with you of the common miserie and calamitie of our countrie, and yet your
 griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular misfortune: to seele the losse
 of my sonne *Martius* former valiancie and glorie, and to see his persone enuironed now
 with our enemies in armes, rather to see him forth comming and safe kept, then of any
 loue to defende his persone. But yet the greatest griefe of our heaped mishappes is, to see
 our poore countrie brought to such extremitie, that all the hope of the safetie and pre-
 seruation thereof, is now unfortunately cast vpon vs simple women: because we knowe
 not what accompt he will make of vs, since he hath cast from him all care of his natu-
 rall countrie and common weale, which heretofore he hath holden more deere and pre-
 cious, then either his mother, wife, or children. Notwithstandinge, if ye thinke we can
 doe good, we will willingly doe what you will haue vs: bringe vs to him I pray you. For if
 we can not preuaile, we maye yet dye at his feete, as humble suiters for the safetie of our
 countrie. Her aunswere ended, she tooke her daughter in lawe, and *Martius* children with
 her, and being accompanied with all the other *ROMAINE* ladies, they went in troupe to-
 gether vnto the *Volsces* campe: whome when they sawe, they of them selues did both pittie
 and reuerence her, and there was not a man amonge them that once durst say a worde vnto
 her. Nowe was *Martius* set then in his chayer of state, with all the honours of a generall,
 and when he had spide the women comming a farr off, he marueled what the matter meant
 but afterwarde knowing his wife which came foremost, he determined at the first to persist in
 his obstinate and inflexible rancker. But ouercomen in the ende with naturall affection,
 and being altogether altered to see them: his harte would not serue him to tarie their
 comming to his chayer, but comming downe in hast, he went to meete them, and first he
 kissed his mother, and imbraced her a pretie while, then his wife and litle children. And na-
 ture so wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he could not keepe him
 selfe from making much of them, but yielded to the affection of his blood, as if he had
 bene violently caried with the furie of a most swift running streame. After he had thus lo-
 uingly receiued them, and perceiuinge that his mother *Volumnia* would beginne to speake
 to him, he called the chiefe of the councill of the *Volsces* to heare what she would
 say. Then she spake in this sorte. If we helde our peace (my sonne) and determined not to
 speake, the state of our poore bodies, and present sight of our payment, would easely be-
 tray to thee what life we haue led at home, since thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now
 with thy selfe, howe much more vnfortunatly, then all the women liuinge we are come he-
 ther, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all other to beholde, spite-
 full fortune hath made most fearefull to vs: making my selfe to see my sonne, and my daugh-
 ter here, her husband, besieging the walles of his natie countrie. So as that which is thonly
 comforte to all other in their aduersitie and miserie, to pray vnto the goddess, and to call
 to them for aide: is the onely thinge which plongeth vs into most deepe perplexitie. For we
 can not (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for safetie of thy life
 also: but a worlde of greivous curses, yea more then any mortall enemy can heape vpon
 vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our prayers. For the bitter soppe of most harde choyce is offered
 thy wife & children, to forgoe the one of the two: either to lose the persone of thy selfe, or the
 nurse of their natie contrie. For my selfe (my sonne) I am determined not to tarie, till fortune

The miserie
of Volumnia
to the Ro-
maine ladies.

The oration
of Volumnia,
vnto her sonne
Coriolanus.

A in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot persuaide thee, rather to doe
 good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrowe and destroye the one, preferring loue and na-
 ture, before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou shalt see, my sonne, and trust vnto it,
 thou shalt no foner marche forward to assault thy countrie, but thy foote shall treade vpon
 thy mothers wombe, that brought thee first into this world. And I maye not deferre to see the
 daye, either that my sonne be led prisoner in triumphe by his naturall country men, or that he
 him selfe doe triumphe of them, and of his naturall countrie. For if it were so, that my request
 tended to saue thy countrie, in destroying the *Volsces*: I must cōfesse, thou wouldest hardly
 and doubtfully resolute on that. For as to destroye thy naturall countrie, it is altogether vnmete
 and vnlawfull: so were it not iust, and lesse honorable, to betraye those that put their trust in
 thee. But my only demaunde consisteth, to make a gayle deliuerie of all euills, which deliue-
 reth equall benefit and safetie, both to the one and the other, but most honorable for the *Vols-
 ces*. For it shall appeare, that hauing victorie in their handes, they haue of speciall fauour
 granted vs singular graces: peace, and amitie, albeit them selues haue no lesse parte of both,
 then we. Of which good, if so it came to passe, thy selfe is thonly author, and so hast thou
 thonly honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrarie: thy selfe alone deferuently shall carie the
 shamefull reproche and burden of either partie. So, though the ende of warre be vnertaine,
 yet this notwithstanding is most certaine: that if it be thy chauce to conquer, thy benefite
 shalt thou reape of thy goodly cōquest, to be chronicled the plague & destroyer of thy coun-
 trie. And if fortune also ouerthrowe thee, then the world will saye, that through desire to re-
 uenge thy priuate iniuries, thou hast for euer vndone thy good friendes, who dyd most louing-
 ly and curteously receiue thee. *Martius* gaue good eare vnto his mothers wordes, without
 interrupting her speache at all: and after she had sayed what she would, he held his peace a
 pretie while, and answered not a worde. Hereupon she beganne againe to speake vnto him,
 and sayed. My sonne, why dost thou not aunswer me? dost thou thinke it good altogether
 to geue place vnto thy choller and desire of reuenge, and thinkest thou it not honestie for thee
 to graunt thy mothers request, in so weighty a cause? dost thou take it honorable for a no-
 ble man, to remember the wronges and iniuries done him: and dost not in like case thinke it
 an honest noble mans parte, to be thankefull for the goodnes that parents doe shewe to their
 children, acknowledging the duty and reuerence they ought to beare vnto them? No man
 D liuing is more bounde to shewe him selfe thankefull in all partes and respects, then thy selfe:
 who so vnaturally sheweth all ingratitude. Moreouer (my sonne) thou hast forely taken of thy
 countrie, exacting greivous payments apon them, in reuenge of the iniuries offered thee: be-
 sides, thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poore mother any curtesie. And therefore, it is not on-
 ly honest, but due vnto me, that without compulsion I should obtaine my so iust and reasona-
 ble request of thee. But since by reason I cannot persuaide thee to it, to what purpose doe I de-
 ferre my last hope? And with these wordes, her selfe, his wife and children, fell downe vpon
 their knees before him. *Martius* seeing that, could restraîne no longer, but went straight and
 lifte her vp, crying out: Oh mother, what haue you done to me? And holding her hard by the
 right hande, oh mother, sayed he, you haue wonne a happy victorie for your countrie, but
 E mortall and vnhappy for your sonne: for I see my self vanquished by you alone. These wordes
 being spoken openly, he spake a litle aparte with his mother and wife, and then let them re-
 turne againe to *ROME*, for so they dyd request him: and so remaining in campe that night, the
 next morning he dislodged, and marched homewards into the *Volsces* countrie againe,
 who were not all of one minde, nor all alike contented. For some misliked him, and that he had
 done. Other being well pleased that peace should be made, sayed: that neither the one, nor
 the other, deserued blame nor reproche. Other, though they misliked that was done, dyd not
 thincke him an ill man for that he dyd, but sayed: he was not to be blamed, though he yielded
 to suche a forcible extremitie. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his
 commaundement, more for respect of his worthines and valiancie, then for feare of his au-
 thoritie. Now the citizens of *ROME* plainly shewed, in what feare and daunger their cittie
 stood of this warre, when they were deliuered. For so fone as the watche vpon the walles of
 the cittie perceyued the *Volsces* campe to remoue, there was not a temple in the cittie but

Coriolanus
compassion of
his mother.

Coriolanus
withdraws
his armie
from Rome.

was presently set open, and full of men, wearing garlands of flowers vpon their heads, sacrific-
 ing to the goddesses, as they were wont to doe vpon the newes of some great obtained victo-
 rie. And this common ioye was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honorable curtesies the
 whole Senate, and people dyd bestowe on their ladies. For they were all thoroughly persua-
 ded, and dyd certainly beleue, that the ladies only were cause of the sauing of the citie, and
 deliuering them selues from the instant daunger of the warre. Whereupon the Senate or-
 deined, that the magistrates to graunt and honour these ladies, should graunte them all that
 they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of *Fortune* of
 the women, for the building whereof they offered them selues to defraye the whole charge
 of the sacrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the seruice of the goddesses. Neuertheles,
 the Senate commending their good will and forwardnes, ordeined, that the temple and
 image should be made at the common charge of the citie. Notwithstanding that, the ladies
 gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of *Fortune*, which
 the *ROMAINES* saye dyd speake as they offered her vp in the temple, and dyd set her in her
 place: and they ascribe, that she spake these wordes. Ladies, ye haue deuoutly offered me
 vp. Moreouer, that the spake that twise together, making vs to beleue things that neuer
 were, and are not to be credited. For to see images that seeme to sweate or weepe, or to put
 forth any humour red or blowdie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wodde and stone doe com-
 monly receiue certaine moysture, whereof is ingendred an humour, which doe yeld of them
 selues, or doe take of the ayer, many sortes and kyndes of spottes and cullers: by which signes
 and tokens it is not amisse we thincke, that the goddesses sometimes doe warne men of things
 to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues doe sometimes put forth foundes,
 like vnto sighes or mourning, when in the midst or bosome of the same, there is made
 some violent separation, or breaking a sonder of things, blown or deuised therein: but that
 a bodie which hath neither life nor soule, should haue any direct or exquisite worde formed
 in it by expresse voyce, that is altogether vnpossible. For the soule, nor god him selfe can dis-
 tinctly speake without a bodie, hauing necessarie organes and instrumentes mete for the
 partes of the same, to forme and vtter distinct wordes. But where stories many times doe force
 vs to beleue a thing reported to be true, by many graue testimonies: there we must saye,
 that it is some passion contrarie to our due naturall senses, which being begotten in the ima-
 ginatiue parte or vnderstanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfe, euen as we doe in our slee-
 ping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we doe not heare: and we imagine we see, that
 we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously geuen to thinke upon
 heavenly things, so as they can no waye be drawn from beleueing that which is spoken of
 them, they haue this reason to grounde the foundation of their beleefe vpon. That is, the
 omnipotencie of God which is wonderfull, and hath no manner of resemblance or like-
 lines of proportion vnto ours, but is altogether contrarie as touching our nature, our mo-
 uing, our arte, and our force: and therefore if he doe any thing vnpossible to vs, or doe
 bring forth and deuise things, without mans common reach and vnderstanding, we must
 not therefore thinke it vnpossible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrarie to vs,
 muche more in his workes and secret operations, he farre passeth all the rest: but the most
 parte of goddesses doings, as *Heraclitus* sayeth, for lacke of faith, are hidden and vnknown
 vnto vs. Now when *Martius* was returned againe into the citie of *ANTIUM* from his
 voyage, *Tullius* that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare he had of his autho-
 ritie: sought diuers meanes to make him out of the waye, thinking that if he let slippe that
 present time, he should neuer recouer the like and fit occasion againe. Wherefore *Tullius*
 hauing procured many other of his confederacy, required *Martius* might be deposed from
 his estate, to render vp accompt to the *VOLSCES* of his charge and government. *Martius*
 fearing to become a priuate man againe vnder *Tullius* being generall (whose authoritie was
 greater otherwise, then any other among all the *VOLSCES*) answered: he was willing to
 geue vp his charge, and would resigne it into the handes of the lordes of the *VOLSCES*, if
 they dyd all commaund him, as by all their commaundement he receiued it. And moreo-
 uer, that he would not refuse euen at that present to geue vp an accompt vnto the people,
 if

The temple of
Fortune built
for the women.

The image of
Fortune spake
to the ladies
at Rome.

Of the free-
zing & voyces
of images.

Of the omni-
potencie of
God.

Tullius Anti-
dus seeketh
to kill *Corio-
lanus*.

A if they would tarie the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counsaill, in
 which assembly there were certen orators appointed, that stirred vp the common people
 against him: and when they had tolde their tales, *Martius* rose vp to make them answer.
 Now notwithstanding the mutinous people made a maruelous great noyse, yet when they
 sawe him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valliantnes, they quieted them selues, and gaue
 still audience to alledge with leysure what he could for his purgation. Moreouer, the hone-
 stillest men of the *ANTIATES*, and who most reioyced in peace, shewed by their countenance
 that they would heare him willingly, and iudge also according to their conscience. Whereu-
 pon *Tullius* fearing that if he dyd let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people,
 because amongest other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good seruice
 he had done to the people of the *VOLSCES*, dyd winne him more fauour, then these last ac-
 cusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they layed to his
 charge, was a testimonie of the good will they ought him, for they would neuer haue thought
 he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the citie of *ROME*, if they had not bene
 very neere taking of it, by meanes of his approche and conduction. For these causes *Tullius*
 thought he might no longer delaye his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarie for the mu-
 tining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the
 conspiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not suffer a
 traytour to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the *VOLSCES*, who would not yeld vp
 his estate and authoritie. And in saying these wordes, they all fell vpon him, and killed him in
 the market place, none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a clere case,
 that this murder was not generally consented vnto, of the most parte of the *VOLSCES*: for
 men came out of all partes to honour his bodie, and dyd honorably burie him, setting out
 his tombe with great store of armour and spoyle, as the tombe of a worthie persone and
 great captain. The *ROMAINES* vnderstanding of his death, shewed no other honour or
 malice, sauing that they graunted the ladies the request they made: that they might moune
 tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they vsed to weare blackes for the death
 of their fathers, brethern, or husbands, according to *Numa Pompilius* order, who stablished
 the same, as we haue enlarged more ampie in the description of his life. Now *Martius* being
 dead, the whole state of the *VOLSCES* hartely wished him aliue againe. For first of all they fell
 out with the *ÆQVIBS* (who were their friends and confederates) touching preheminece
 and place: and this quarrell grew on so farre betwene them, that frayes and mur-
 ders fell out upon it one with another. After that, the *ROMAINES*
 ouercame them in battell, in which *Tullius* was slaine in the
 field, and the flower of all their force was put to
 the sworde: so that they were compelled to accept most
 shamefull conditions of peace, in yelding them
 selues subiect vnto the conquerers, & pro-
 mising to be obedient at their
 commandement.

Coriolanus
buried, red, in
the citie of
Antium.
Coriolanus
funerall.

The time of
mourning ap-
pointed by
Numa.

Tullius Anti-
dus slaine in
battell.

THE COMPARISON OF AL- cibiades with *Martius Coriolanus.*



The gifts done
by bush.



The manner
of Alcibiades
& Coriolanus.

NOW that we haue written all the dedes of worthie memorie, done by either of them both: we maye presently diserne, that in matters of warre, the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were a like hardie & valliant for their persones, as also wise and politike in the warres: vnles they will saye, that *Alcibiades* was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battells with his enemies, both by sea and lande, then euer *Coriolanus* had done, and had allwayes the victorie of his enemies. For otherwise, in this they were much a like: that where they were both present & had, charge and power to commaund, all things prospered notably, and with good successe on the parte they were of: and also when they tooke the contrary side, they made the first haue the worse euery waye. Now for matters of gouernment, the noble men and honest citizens dyd hate *Alcibiades* manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man most dissolute, and geuen to flatterie: bicause he euer studied by all deuise he could, to currie fauour with the common people. So dyd the *ROMAINES* malice also *Coriolanus* gouernment, for that it was to arrogant, prowde, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithstanding, he is lesse to be blamed, that seeketh to please and gratifie his common people: then he that despiseth and disdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and iniurie, bicause he would not seeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an euill thing to flatter the common people to winne credit: euen so is it besides dishonesty, and iniustice also, to attaine to credit and authoritie, for one to make him selfe terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that *Martius* was euer counted an honest natured man, plaine and simple, without arte or cunning: Howbeit *Alcibiades* merely contrarie, for he was fine, subtil, and deceifull. And the greatest faulte they euer burdened *Alcibiades* for, was his malice and deceit, whereby he abused the ambassadours of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, & that he was a let that peace was not concluded, as *Thucydides* reporteth. Now, though by this acte he sodainly brought the citie of *ATHENS* into warres, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the *MANTINIANES* and the *ARGIVES*, who by *Alcibiades* practise entred into league with the *ATHENIANES*. And *Martius*, as *Dionysius* the historiographer writeth: dyd by craft and deceit bring the *ROMAINES* into warres against the *VOLSCES*, causing the *VOLSCES* maliciously, and wrongfully to be suspected, that went to *ROME* to see the games played. But the cause why he dyd it, made the fact so much more fowle and wicked. For it was not done for any ciuill disension, nor for any ielousy and contention in matters of gouernment, as *Alcibiades* dyd: but only following his cholerike moode, that would be pleased with no thing, as *Dion* sayed, he would

A world needes trouble and turmoile the most parte of *ITALIE*, and so beinge angrie with his countrie, he destroyed many other townes and cities that could not helpe it, nor doe with all. This is true also, that *Alcibiades* spite and malice did worke great muchiefe and miserie to his countrie: but when he saw they repented them of the iniurie they had done him, he came to him selfe, and did withdrawe his armie. An other time also, when they had banished *Alcibiades*, he would not yet suffer the captaines of the *ATHENIANES* to runne into great errors, neither would he see them cast away, by followinge ill counsell which they tooke, neither would he forsake them in any danger they put them selues into. But he did the very same that *Aristides* had done in olde time vnto *Themistocles*, for which he was then, and is yet so greatly praised. For he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the armie of the *ATHENIANES*, although they were not his friends, and tolde them wherein they did amisse, and what they had further to doe. Where *Martius* to the contrarie, did first great hurte vnto the whole citie of *ROME*, though all in *ROME* had not generally offended him: yea, and when the best and chiefe part of the citie were grieved for his sake, and were very sone and angrie for the iniurie done him. Furthermore, the *ROMAINES* sought to appeale one onely displeasure and despite they had done him, by many ambassades, petitions and requestes they made, whereunto he neuer yielded, while his mother, wife, and children came, his hate was so hardened. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would harken to no peace) of an intent vtterly to destroy and spoyle his countrie, and not as though he ment to recouer it, or to returne thither againe. Here was in deede the difference betwene them: that spialls beinge layed by the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to kill *Alcibiades*, for the malice they did beare him, as also for that they were affrayed of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to *ATHENS*. Where *Martius* contrariwise, hauing bene so honorably receiued and entertained by the *VOLSCES*, he could not with honestie forsake them, considering they had done him that honour, as to choole him their generall, and trusted him so farre, as they put all their whole armie and power into his handes: and not as thother, whome the *LACEDÆMONIANS* rather abused, then vfed him, suffering him to goe vp and downe their citie (and afterwards in the midst of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the ende *Alcibiades* was compelled to put him selfe into the handes of *Tisaphernes*: vnlesse they will say that he went thither of purpose to him, with intent to saue the citie of *ATHENS* from vtter destruction, for the desire he had to returne home againe. Moreover, we read of *Alcibiades*, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with money: and when he had it, he would most licentiously and dishonestly spend it. Where *Martius* in contrarie maner would not so much as accept giftes lawefully offered him by his Captaines, to honour him for his valliantesse. And the cause why the people did beare him such ill will, for the controuersie they had with the Nobilitie about clearing of dettes, grew: for that they knewe well enough it was not for any gayne or benefite he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and displeasure he thought to doe them. *Antipater* in a letter of his, writing of the death of *Aristotle* the philosopher, doth not without cause commending the singular giftes that were in *Alcibiades*, and this inespically: that he passed all other forwinning mens good willes. Whereas *Alcibiades* noble actes and vertues, wanting that affabilitie, became hatefull euen to those that receiued benefit by them, who could not abide his feueritie and selfe will: which causeth delolation (as *Plato* sayeth) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forsaken. Contrariwise, seeing *Alcibiades* had a trimme entertainment, and a very good grace with him, and could fashion him selfe in all companies: it was no maruell if his well doing were gloriously commended, and him selfe much honoured and beloued of the people, considering that some faultes he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of sporte, and toyes of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurte to the common weale, yet they did ofte make him their generall, and trusted him with the charge of the whole citie. Where *Martius* suing for an office of honour that was due to him, for the fundrie good seruices he had done to the state, was notwithstanding repulled, and put by. Thus doe we see, that they to whome the one did hurte, had no power to hate him: and thother that honoured his vertue, had no liking to loue his person. *Martius* also did neuer any great explayte, beinge generall of his

Alcibiades
& Coriolanus
manner for
money.

*Alcibiades &
Coriolanus
loue vnto
their contrie.*

contrie men, but when he was generall of their enemies against his naturall contrie: whereas *Alcibiades*, being both a priuate person, and a generall, did notable seruice vnto the *ATHE-
NIANS*. By reason whereof, *Alcibiades* wherefoeuer he was present, had the vpper hande euer
of his accusers, euen as he would him selfe, and their accusations tooke no place against him:
onlesse it were in his absence. Where *Martius* being present, was condemned by the *RO-
MAINES*: and in his person murdered, and slaine by the *VOLSCES*. But here I can not say they
haue done well, nor iustly, albeit him selfe gaue them some colour to doe it, when he openly
denied the *ROMAINE* Ambassadors peace, which after he priuadly graunted, at the request of
women. So by this dede of his, he tooke not away the enmity that was betwene both people:
but leauing warre still betwene them, he made the *VOLSCES* (of whome he was generall) to
lose the oportunitie of noble victory. Where in deede he should (if he had done as he ought)
haue withdrawn his armie with their counsaill & consent, that had reposed so great affiance
in him, in making him their generall: if he had made that accompt of them, as their good will
towards him did in duety binde him. Or else, if he did not care for the *VOLSCES* in the enter-
prise of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue
it of, when his anger was blowne ouer: yet he had no reason for the loue of his mother to par-
done his contrie, but rather he should in pardoning his contrie, haue spared his mother, be-
cause his mother & wife were members of the bodie of his contrie and city, which he did be-
siege. For in that he vncurtously reiected all publike petitions, requestes of Ambassadors, in-
treaties of the bishoppes & priestes, to gratifie only the request of his mother with his depar-
ture: that was no acte so much to honour his mother with, as to dishonour his contrie by the
which was preferred for the pitie and intercession of a woman, & not for the loue of it selfe, as
if it had not bene worthie of it. And so was this departure a grace, to say truly, very odious and
cruell, and deserued no thanks of either partie, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army,
nor at the request of the *ROMAINE*s, against whom he made warre: nor with their consent,
whose charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill happe, the austeritie of
his nature, and his hawtie obstinate minde, was the onely cause: the which of it selfe being
hatefull to the world, when it is ioyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churlish,
fierce, and intollerable. For men that haue that fault in nature, are not affable to the people,
seeming thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the people: and yet on the
other side, if the people should not geue them honour and reuerence, they would straight take
it in scorne, and litle care for the matter. For so did *Metellus*, *Aristides*, and *Epaminondas*,
all vsed this manner: not to seeke the good will of the common people by flatterie and dissi-
mulation: which was in deede, because they despised that which the people could geue or
take away. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced,
and set at any fines, or that they banished them, or gaue them any other repulle: but they lo-
ued them as wel as they did before, so soone as they shewed any token of repentance, & that
they were sorie for the wrong they had done them, and were easely made frendes againe with
them, after they were restored from their banishment. For he that didd ineith to make much
of the people, and to haue their fauour, should much more scorne to seeke to be reuenged,
when he is repulled. For, to take a repulle and deniall of honour, so inwardly to the hart: com-
meth of no other cause, but that he did too earnestly desire it. Therefore *Alcibiades* did not
dissemble at all, that he was not very glad to see him selfe honored, and sorie to be reiected and
denied any honour: but also he fought all the meanes he could to make him selfe beloued of
those amongst whome he liued. Whereas *Martius* stowtnes, and hawty stomake, did stay
him from making much of those, that might aduaunce and honour him: and yet his ambi-
tion made him gnawe him selfe for spite and anger, when he sawe he was despised. And this is
all that reasonably may be reprov'd in him: for otherwise he lacked no good commendable
vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and cleane handes from taking of bribes and mo-
ney, he may be compared with the most perfect, vertuous, and honest men of all *GREEKS*: but
not with *Alcibiades*, who was in that vndoubtedly alwayes too licentious & loosely geuen, and
had too small regard of his credit and honestie.

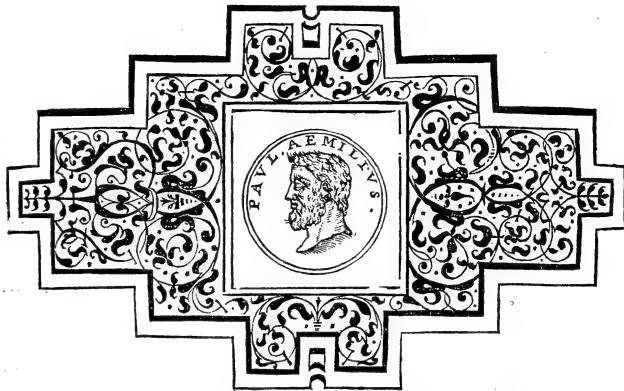
The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

*Coriolanus
misable abstin-
ence from
bribes.*

THE

THE LIFE OF

Paulus Æmilius.



WHEN I first beganne to write these liues, my intent was to profit o-
ther: but since, continuing and going on, I haue muche profited my
self by looking into these histories, as if I looked into a glasse, to frame
and facion my life, to the mould and patteredne of these vertuous no-
ble men. For ronning ouer their manners in this sorte, and seeking also
to describe their liues: me thinks I am still conuersant and famil-
iar with them, and doe as it were lodge them with me, one after ano-
ther. And when I come to peruse their histories, and to waye the ver-
tues and qualities they haue had, and what singularitie eche of them
possessed: and to choose and culle out the chiefest things of note in them, and their best spea-
ches and doings most worthie of memorie: Then Icrie out,

O gods, can there be more passing pleasure in the world?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man ciuill maners, & a ruled life, or to reforme
the vice in man? *Democritus* the philosopher writeth, that we should praye we might euer see
happy images and sightes in the ayer, and that the good which is meete and proper to our na-
ture, maye rather come to vs, then that is euill and vnfortunate: presupposing a false opinion
and doctrine in philosophie, which allureth men to infinite superstitions. That there are good
and bad images flying in the ayer, which geue a good or ill impression vnto men, and incline
men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of auncient histories, and ga-
thering these liues together which now I leaue before you, and by keeping allwayes in minde
the actes of the most noble, vertuous, and best geuen men of former age, and worthie memo-
rie: I doe teache and prepare my selfe to shake of & banishe from me, all lewde and dishonest
condition, if by chance the companie and conuersation of them whose companie I keepe,
and must of necessitie haunte, doe acquainte me with some vnhappy or vngratious touche.
This is easie vnto me, that doe dispose my quiet minde, & not troubled with any passion, vnto
the deepe consideration of so many noble examples. As I doe present vnto you now in this
volume, the liues of *Timoleon* the *CORINTHIAN*, and of *Paulus Æmilius* the *ROMAINE*, who
had not only a good & an vpright minde with them, but were also fortunate and happie, in all
the matters they both did take in hand. So as you shall hardly iudge, when you haue red ouer
their liues, whether wisdome, or good fortune brought them to archieue to suche honora-

The house of the Æmylians case of Pythagoras found.

Lucius Tullius Æmylius, floure at the battell of Cannæ.

The virtues of Paulus Æmylius.

Paulus Æmylius made Ædilis and Augur.

The philosophic opinion of religion.

Paulus diligencie in the conseruation of wealth, and in riches.

The discipline of warre.

ble actes and employes as they dyd. Many (& the most parte of historiographers) doe write, that the house and familie of the *Æmylians* in *ROME*, was allwayes of the most ancient of the nobilitie, which they call *Patricians*. Some writers affirme also, that the first of the house that gaue name to all the posteritie after, was *Marcus*, the sonne of *Pythagoras* the wife, whom king *Numa* for the sweetnes and pleasaunt grace of his tongue, furnished *Marcus Æmylius*, and those specially affirme it, that saye king *Numa* was *Pythagoras* scholler. Howsoever it was, the most parte of this familie that obtained honour and estimation for their vertue, were euer fortunate also in all their doings, sauing *Lucius Paulus* only, who dyed in the battell of *CANNES*. But his misfortune doth beare manifest testimonie of his wilddome and valliancy together. For he was forced to fight against his will, when he sawe he could not brydle the rashnes of his fellowe Consul that would neder ioyne battell, and to doe as he dyd, flied that he fled not as the other, who being first procurer of the battell, was the first that ranne awaye where he to the contrary, to his power dyd what he could to let him, and dyd sicke by it, & fought it valliantly vnto the last gaspe. This *Æmylius* left a daughter behind him called *Æmylia*, which was married vnto *Scipio* the great: and a sonne, *Paulus Æmylius*, being the same man whose life we presently treat of. His youth fortunately fell out in a flourishing time of glorie and honour, through the sundrie vertues of many great and noble persones liuing in those dayes, among whom he made his name famous also: and it was not by that ordinarie arte and course, which the best esteemed young men of that age dyd take and followe. For he dyd not vse to plead priuate mens causes in lawe, neither would creepe into mens fauour by fawning vpon any of them: though he sawe it a common practise, & policie of men, to seeke the peoples fauour and good willes by such meanes. Moreover, he refused not that common course which other tooke, for that it was contrary to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had bene so disposed: but he rather fought to winne reputation by his honestie, his valliantnes, and vpriight dealing, as chooseth that the better waye, then either of thother two, in so much as in maruelous thorte time he passed all those that were of his age. The first office of honour he sued for, was the office of *Ædilis*, in which sure he was preferred before twelue other that sued for the selfe same office: who were men of no small qualitie, for they all came afterwards to be Consuls. After this, he was chosen to be one of the number of the priestes, whom the *ROMAINES* call *Augures*: who haue the charge of all the diuinations and soothesayings, in telling of things to come by flying of byrdes, & signes in the ayer. He was so carefull, and tooke suche paynes to vnderstand how the *ROMAINES* dyd vse the same, & with suche diligence fought the obseruation of the ancient religion of *ROMAINES* in all holie matters: that where that priesthood was before esteemed but a title of honour, & desired for the name only: he brought it to passe, that it was the most honorable science, & best reputed of in *ROME*. Wherein he confirmed the philosophers opinion: that religion is the knowledge how to serue God. For when he dyd any thing belonging to his office of priesthood, he dyd it with great experience, iudgment, and diligence, leauing all other thoughtes, & without omitting any auncient ceremonie, or adding to any newe, contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which seemed light, and of small moment: declaring vnto them, that though we doe presume the goddesses are easie to be pacified, and that they readilie pardon all faultes & escapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for respect of common wealths sake, they should not lightly, nor carelesly dissemble or passe ouer faultes committed in those matters. For no man (sayeth he) at the first that committeth any faulte, doth alone trouble the state of the common wealth: but withall, we must thincke he leaueth the groundes of ciuill gouernment, that is not as carefull to keepe the institutions of small matters, as also of the great. So was he also a seuerer captaine, and strict obseruer of all marshall discipline, not seeking to winne the souldiers loue by flatterie, when he was general in the field, as many dyd in that time: neither corrupting them for a second charge, by shewing him selfe gentle and curteous in the first, vnto those that serued vnder him: but him selfe dyd orderly shew them the very rules and preceptes of the discipline of warres, euen as a priest that should expresse the names and ceremonies of some holy sacrifice, wherein was danger to omit any parte or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the lawe of armes upon rebellious

lious and disobedient souldiers, he kept vp thereby the state of the common weale the better: iudging, to overcome the enemy by force, was but an accefforie as a man maye terme it, in respect of well training and ordering his citizens by good discipline. While the *ROMAINES* were in warres against king *Antiochus* furnished the great, in the South partes: all the chiefe captaines of *ROME* being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West partes towards *SPAYNE*, where they were all vp in armes. Thither they sent *Æmylius* Prætor, not with sixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue: so that vnder the name of Prætor, he had the authoritie and dignitie of a Consul. He twice overcame the barbarous people in mayne battell, and slue a thirtie thousand of them, and got this victorie through his great skill and wilddome, in chooseth the aduantage of place and time, to fight with his enemies, euen as they passed ouer a riuer: which easely gaue his souldiers the victorie. Moreover he tooke there, two hundred and fiftie citties, all which dyd open, and gladly receyue him in. So, leauing all that countrie quiet and in good peace, and hauing re- ceaued their fealtie by othe made betwene his handes, he returned againe to *ROME*, not enriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke little regard to his expences, he spent so frankly, neither was his purse his master, though his reue- nue was not great to beare it out: as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had, was little enough to satisfie his wives ioynter. His first wife was *Pappia*, the daughter of a noble Consul *Pappyrus Masso*, and after they had liued a long time together, he was diuorced from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*. The iust cause of the diuorfe betwene them, appeareth not vs in writing: but me thinckes the tale that is tolde concerning the separation of a certaine marriage is true. That a certain *ROMAINE* hauing forsaken his wife, her friendes fell out with him, and asked him: what fault dost thou finde in her? is she not honest of her bodie? is she not fayer? doth she not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foote, shewed them his shoe, and answered them. Is not this a goodly thoe? is it not finely made? and is it not newe? yet I dare saye there is neuer a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to saye truly, great and open faultes are commonly occasions to make husbands put awaye their wives: but yet oftentimes house- hold wordes runne so betwene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diuersitie of natures, which strangers are not priuie vnto) that in processe of time they doe begete such a straunge alteration of loue and mindes in them, as one house can no longer holde them. So *Æmylius*, hauing put awaye *Pappia* his first wife, he married another that brought him two sonnes, which he brought vp with him selfe in his house, and gaue his two first sonnes (to wit, *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*) in adoption, to two of the noblest and richest families of the citie of *ROME*. The elder of the twaine, vnto *Fabius Maximus*, he that was sixe times Consul: and the younger vnto the house of the *Cornelians*, whom the sonne of the great *Scipio* the *AFRICAN* dyd adopt, being his cosin germaine, and named him *Scipio*. Concerning his daughters, the sonne of *Cato* married the one, and *Ælius Tubero* the other, who was a maruelous honest man, and dyd more nobly mainteine him selfe in his pouertie, then any other *ROMAINE*: for they were sixtene persones all of one name, and of the house of the *Ælians*, very neere a kynne one to the other, who had all but one litle house in the citie, and a small farme in the countrie, wherewith they entertained them selues, and liued all together in one house, with their wiues, and many litle children. Amongst their wiues, one of them was the daughter of *Paulus Æmylius*, after he had bene twice Consul, and had triumphed twice, not being alhamed of her husbands pouertie, but wondering at his vertue that made him poore. Whereas brethren and kynsmen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not farre a fonder, and in other countries, not one neere another, and that riuers parte them not, or f wallies deuide their landes, leauing great large waistes betwene them: they are neuer quiet, but still in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this storie laye before the wife, and well aduised readers, to learne thereby howe to frame their life, and wisely

Paulus Æmylius sent Prætor into Spayne.

Æmylius skillful to choose place and time to fight.

Scipio the second, & Fabius Maximus, were the sonnes of P. Æmylius, by Pappia his first wife.

A pretty tale of a Romaine that forsooke his wife.

The vertue of Ælium Tubero, his pouertie and quiet life.

Inmarriage enough kinred inhouse.

*Æmylius
Consul.*

to behaue them selues. Now *Æmylius* being chosen Consul, went to make warre with the *LIGVRIANS*, who dwelled in the *ALPES*, & which otherwise are called *LIGVSTINES*. These are very valliant & warlike men, & were very good souldiers at that time, by reason of their continual warres against the *ROMAINEs*, whose neere neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the best parte of *ITALIE*, that bordereth vpon the great *ALPES*, & the rowe of *ALPES*, whereof the foote ioyneth to the *THYSCAN* sea, & pointeth towards *AFRIKE*, and are mingled with the *GAVLES*, & *SPANYARDS*, neighbours vnto that sea coast: who scowling all the *Mediterranean* sea at that time, vnto the straight of *Hercules* pillars, dyd with their litle light pinnacles of pirates, let all the trafficke & entercoure of marchandise. *Æmylius* being gone to seeke them in their countrie, they taried his coming with an armie of forty thousand men: neuertheles, though he had but eight thousand men in all, and that they were fiew to one of his, yet he gaue the onset apon them, and ouerthrew them, and draue them into their cities. Then he sent to offer them peace, for the *ROMAINEs* would not altogether destroye the *LIGVRIANS*, because their countrie was as a rampeyr or bullwarke against the inuasion of the *GAVLES*, who laye lurking for opportunitie and occasion to inuade *ITALIE*: whereupon these *LIGVRIANS* deliuered them selues vnto him, and put all their fortes and shippes into his handes. *Æmylius* deliuered vnto them their holdes againe, without other hurte done vnto them, sauing that he raised the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he tooke all their shippes from them, leauing them litle botes of three owers only, and no greater, & set all the prisoners at libertie they had taken, both by sea and by lande, as well *ROMAINEs* as other, which were a maruelous number. These were all the notable acts he dyd worthe memorie, in the first yere of his Consulshippe. C
Afterwards, he oftentimes shewed him self very desirous to be Consul againe, & dyd put forth him selfe to sue for it: but when he was denied it, he neuer after made lute for it againe, but gaue him selfe only to studie diuine things, and to see his children virtuously brought vp, not only in the *ROMAINE* tongue which him selfe was taught, but also a litle more curiously in the *GREEKE* tongue. For he dyd not only retaine *Grammarians*, *Rethoricians*, and *Logicians*, but also painters, grauers of images, riders of horses, and huntres of *GREECE* about his children: and he him selfe also (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with them in the schoole when they were at their bookes, and also when they otherwise dyd exercise them selues. For he loued his children as much, or more, then any other *ROMAINE*. Now concerning the state of the common wealth, the *ROMAINEs* were at warres with king *Perseus*, & they D much blamed the captaines they had sent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and corage, they had so cowardly behaued them selues, as their enemies laughed them to scorn: and they receyued more hurte of them, then they dyd vnto the King. For not long before, they had driuen king *Antiochus* beyond mount *Taurus*, and had made him forsake the rest of *ASIA*, and had shut him vp within the borders of *SYRIA*: who was glad that he had bought that countrie with fiftene thousand talents, which he payed for a fine. A litle before also, they had ouercome *Philip*, king of *MACEDON*, in *THESSALY*, and had deliuered the *GRECIANS* from the bondage of the *MACEDONIANS*. And moreover, hauing ouercome *Hannibal* (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the worlde was comparable, either for his power or valiantnes) they thought this to great a dishonour to them, that this warre they had against king *Perseus*, should hold so long of euen hande with them, as if he had bene an enemy equall with the people of *ROME*: considering also that they fought not against them, but with the refuse and scattered people of the ouerthrowen armie his father had lost before, and knew not that *Philip* had left his armie stronger, and more experte by reason of his ouerthrowe, then it was before. As I will briefly reherse the storie from the beginning. *Antigonus*, who was of the greatest power of all the captaines & successours of *Alexander* the great, hauing obtained for him self & his posteritie the title of a King, had a sonne called *Demetrius*, of who came *Antigonus* the second, that was surnamed *Gonatas*, whose sonne was also called *Demetrius*, that reigned no long time, but dyed, and left a young sonne called *Philippe*. By reason whereof, the Princes and Nobilitie of *MACEDON*, fearing that the Realme should be left without heire: they preferred one *Antigonus*, cosin to the last deceased King, and made him marie the mother of *Philip* the lesse, geuing him the name at the first of the Kings protectour only, and lieutenant

*The con-
dlines of
the
Remaines
in
Spayne.*

*The success-
of
Antigonus
king of Ma-
cedon.*

A lieutenant generall of his maiestie. But after, when they had founde he was a good and wise prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the absolute name of a King, and surnamed him *Dofon*, to saye, the giuer: for he promised much, and gaue litle. After him reigned *Philip*, who in his grene youth gaue more hope of him selfe, then any other of the Kings before: in so much they thought that one daye he would restore *MACEDON* her ancient fame and glorie, and that he alone would plucke downe the pride and power of the *ROMAINEs*, who rose against all the world. But after that he had lost a great battell, and was ouerthrowen by *Titus Quintus Flaminius* neere vnto the cittie of *SCOTVA*: then he beganne to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercie of the *ROMAINEs*, thinking he escaped good cheape, for any light ranfome or tribute the *ROMAINEs* should impose apon him. Yet afterwards coming to vnderstand him selfe, he grewe to disdaine it much, thinking that to reigne through the fauour of the *ROMAINEs*, was but to make him selfe a slaue, to seeke to liue in pleasure at his ease, & not for a valliant & noble prince borne. Whereupon he set all his minde, to studie the discipline of warres, and made his preparations as wisely and closely, as possible he could. For he left all his townes alongest the sea coast, & standing vpon any high wayes, without any fortification at all, & in manner desolate without people, to the end there might appeare no occasion of doubt or mistrust in him: & in the meane time, in the high countries of his Realme farre from great beaten wayes, he leauied a great number of men of warre, & replenished his townes & strong holdes that laye scattering abroad, with armour & weapon, money, & men, prouiding for warre, which he kept as secretly as he could. For he had prouision of armour in his armorie, to arme thirtie thousand men, & eight million busshels of corne safely lott vp in his fortes & stronger places, & ready money, as much as would serue to entertaine tenne thousand strangers in paye, to defend his countrie for the space of tenne yerres. But before he could bring that to passe he had purposed, he dyed for grief & sorowe, after he knewe he had vniustly put *Demetrius* the best of his sonnes to death, apon the false accusation of the worlde, that was *Perseus*: who as he dyd inherite the Kingdom of his father by succession, so dyd he also inherite his fathers malice against the *ROMAINEs*. But he had no shouldres to beare so heauy a burden, and especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many lewde & naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous & miserable. They saye also, that he was not legitimate, because *Philippe*s wife had taken him from *Gnathania* (a tailours wife borne at *ARGOS*) immediately after he was borne, & dyd adopt the child to be hers. And some think that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put *Demetrius* to death, fearing least this lawful sonne would seeke occasiō to proue him a bastard. Notwithstanding, (simple though he was, & of vile & base nature, he found the strength of his Kingdom so great, that he was contented to take vpon him to make warre against the *ROMAINEs*, which he maintained a long time, and fought against their Consuls, that were their generalles, and repulged great armies of theirs both by sea and lande, and ouercame some. As *Publius Licinius* among other, the first that inuaded *MACEDON*, was ouerthrowen by him in a battell of horsemen, where he slewe at that time two thousand fise hundred good men of his, and tooke sixe hundred prisoners. And their armie by sea, riding at anchor before the cittie of *OREVM*, he dyd sodainly set apon, and tooke twenty great shippes of burden, and all that was in them, and loncke the rest, which were all laden with corne: & tooke of all fortes besides, about foure & fiftie foyltes, and galliots of fiftie owers a peece. The second Consul & generall he fought with all, was *Hostilius*, whom he repulged, attempting by force to inuade *MACEDON*, by waye of the cittie of *ELVMIA*. Another time again, whē he entred in by stealth vpon the coast of *THESSALY*, he offered him battell, but the other durst not abide it. Furthermore, as though the warre troubled him nothing at all, & that he had cared litle for the *ROMAINEs*: he wet and fought a battell in the meane time with the *DARDANIANS*, where he slue tēne thousand of those barbarous people, & brought a maruelous great spoyle awaye with him. Moreover he procured the nation of the *GAVLES* dwelling vpon the riuier of *Danubie*, which they call *Basarnas* (mē very warlike, & excellēt good horsemen) & did practise with the *ILLYRIANS* also by meane of their king *Gtius*, to make the ioynie with him in these warres: so that there ranne a rumour all about, that for money he had gotten these *GAVLES* to come downe into *ITALIE*, from the high contrie

*Antigonus
Defon, king
of
Macedon.*

*Philip king
of Macedon
was ouercome
in battell, by
Titus Quintus
Flaminius
at the cittie
of Scotua.*

*Philippe
sould
preparation
for warre in
Macedon.*

*Philippe
arm-
orie.*

*The death
of
king Philip.*

*Perseus
extreme
couetous
and
miserable.*

*King Perseus
maketh warre
with the
Rom-
maines.*

*Publius Li-
cinius Consul,
ouerthrowen
by Perseus.*

*Hostilius
C-
sul repulged
out of Ma-
cedon.*

*Basarnas, the
Gauies dwell-
ing upon the
riuer of Da-
nubie.*

of GAVLE, all alongest the Adriatick sea. The ROMAINES being aduertised of these newes, A thought the time serued not now to dispose their offices in warres. any more by grace & fauour vnto those that sued for them: but contrariwise, that they should call some noble man that were very skillfull, and a wife captaine, and could discretely gouerne and performe things of great charge. As *Paulus Æmylius*, a man well stepped on in yerres, being three score yere olde: and yet of good power, by reason of the lusty young men his sonnes, & sones in law, besides a great number of his friends and kinsfolke. So all that bare great authoritie, dyd altogether with one consent counsaill him to obey the people, which called him to the Consulshippe. At the beginning, in deede he delayed the people muche that came to importune him, and vterly denied them: saying, he was no meete man neither to desire, nor yet to take vpon him any charge. Howbeit in the ende, seeing the people dyd vrge it upon him, by knocking continually at his gates, and calling him alowde in the streetes, willing him to come into the market place, and perceyuing they were angry with him, because he refused it: he was content to be perswaded. And when he stood among them that sued for the Consulshippe, the people thought straight that he stood not there so muche for desire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of assured victorie, and happie successe of this begonne warre: so great was their loue towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they chose him Consul againe the second time. Wherefore so sone as he was chosen, they would not proceede to drawing of lottes according to their custome, which of the two Consuls should happen to goe into MACEDON: but presently with a full and whole consent of them all, they gaue him the whole charge of the warres of MACEDON. So being Consul now, and appointed to make warre upon king *Perseus*, all the people dyd honorably companie him home vnto his house: where a litle girle (a daughter of his) called *Tertia*, being yet an infant, came weeping vnto her father. He making muche of her: asked her why she wept. The poore girle answered, colling him about the necke, and kissing him: Alas, father, wote you what? our *Perseus* is dead. She ment it by a litle whelpse so called, which was her play fellowe. In good hower, my girle, sayd he, I like the signe well. Thus doth *Cicero* the orator reporte it in his booke of diuinations. The ROMAINES had a custome at that time, that sutch as were elected Consuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) should make an oration of thanckes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the custome) being gathered together to heare *Æmylius* speake, he made this oration vnto them. That the first time he sued to be Consul, was in respect of him selfe, standing at that time in neede of sutch honour: now he offered him selfe the second time vnto it, for the good loue he bare vnto them, who stood in nede of a generall, wherefore he thought him selfe nothing bounde nor beholding vnto them now. And if they dyd thincke allo this warre might be better followed by any other, then by him selfe, he would presently with all his harte resigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any trust or confidence in him, that they thought him a man sufficient to discharge it: then that they would not speake nor medle in any matter that concerned his duetie, and the office of a generall, sauing only, that they would be diligent (without any wordes) to doe whatsoeuer he commaunded, and should be necessarie for the warre and seruice they tooke in hande. For if euery man would be a commander, as they had bene heretofore, of those by whom they should be commaunded: then the world would more laughe them to scorne in this seruice, then euer before had bene accustomed. These wordes made the ROMAINES very obedient to him, and conceyued good hope to come, being all of the very glad that they had refused those ambitious flatterers that sued for the charge, & had geue it vnto a man, that durst boldly & frankly tell them the troth. Marke how the ROMAINES by yielding vnto reason & vertue, came to comend all other, & to make them selues the mightiest people of the world. Now that *Paulus Æmylius* setting forward to this warre, had winde at will, and fayer passage to bring him at his iourneys ende: I impute it to good fortune, that so quickly and safely conueyed him to his campe. But for the rest of his employes he dyd in all this warre, when parte of them were performed by his owne hardines, other by his wisdom and good counsell, other by the diligence of his friendes in seruing him with good will, other by his owne resolute constancy and corage in extremest

Æmylius chosen Consul the second time, taketh charge of the warres of MACEDON.

Good lucke promised by Tertia, a litle girle.

Paulus Æmylius orator of thankes to the ROMAINES when he was Consul, observing the custome.

See what fruit fouler receiue by obedience & reason.

A extremest danger, and last, by his maruelous skill in determining at an instant what was to be done: I cannot attribute any notable acte or worthy seruice vnto this his good fortune, they talke of so much, as they maye doe in other captaines doings. Onles they will saye peraduenture, that *Perseus* couetousnes and miserie was *Æmylius* good fortune: for his miserable feare of spending money, was the only cause and destruction of the whole realme of MACEDON, which was in good state and hope of continuing in prosperitie. For there came downe into the countrie of MACEDON at king *Perseus* request, tenne thousand Bastarnæ a horse backe, and as many footemen to them, who alwayes ioyned with them in battell, all mercenary souldiers, depending vpon paye and enterainment of warres, as men that could not plowe nor sowe, nor trafficke marchandise by sea, nor skill of grating to gaine their liuing with: & to be shorte, that had no other occupation or marchandise, but to serue in the warres, and to overcome with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incampe & lodge in the MEDICA, neere to the MACEDONIANS, who sawe them so goodly great men, and so well trained & exercised in handling all kinde of weapons, so braue and lustie in wordes and threats against their enemies: they beganne to plucke vp their hartes, & to looke bigge, imagining that the ROMAINES would neuer abide them, but would be afeard to looke them in the face, and only to see their marche, it was so terrible and fearefull. But *Perseus*, after he had encouraged his men in this forte, and had put them in such a hope and iollitie, when this barbarous supply came to aske him a thousand crownes in hande for euery captaine, he was so damped & troubled withall in his minde, casting vp the summe it came to, that his only couetousnes and miserie made him returne them backe, and refuse their seruice: not as one that ment to fight with the ROMAINES, but rather to spare his realme, and to be a husband for them, as if he should haue geuen vp a straight account vnto them of his charges in this warre, against whom he made it. And notwithstanding also his enemies dyd teache him what he had to doe, considering that besides all other their warlike furniture & munition, they had no lesse then a hundred thousand fighting meny in campe together, ready to execute the Consuls commaundement. Yet he taking vpon him to resist to pusillan an armie, and to mainteine the warres, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in enterreining such multitudes of men, and more then needed: hardly would depart with his gold and siluer, but kept it safe locked vp in his treasure, as if he had bene affrayed to touche it, and had bene none of his. And he dyd not shewe that he came of the noble race of these kings of LYDIA, and of PHOENICIA, who gloried to be riche: but shewed howe by inheraunce of bloude he challenged some parte of the vertue of *Philip*, and of *Alexander*, who both because they esteemed to buye victorie with money, not money with victorie, dyd many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common saying in olde time, that it was not *Philip*, but his gold and siluer that wanne the citties of GRECE. And *Alexander* when he went to conquer the INDES, seeing the MACEDONIANS carie with them all the wealth of PERSEA, which made his campe very heauie, and slowe to marche: he him selfe first of all set fire of his owne cariage that conueyed all his necessaries, and perswaded other to doe the like, that they might marche more lightly, and easelier goe on the iorney. But *Perseus* contrariwise would not spend any parte of his goodes, to saue him selfe, his children and Realme, but rather yielded to be led prisoner in triumphe with a great ranfome, to shewe the ROMAINES howe good a husband he had bene for them. For he dyd not only fend away the GAVLES without geuing them paye as he had promised, but moreover hauing perswaded *Gentius* king of ILLYRIA to take his parte in these warres, for the summe of three hundred talents which he had promised to furnish him with: he caused the money to be told, and put vp in bagges by those whom *Gentius* sent to receiue it. Whereupon *Gentius* thinking him selfe sure of the money promised, committed a fond and fowle parte: for he stayed the ambassadours the ROMAINES sent vnto him, and committed them to prison. This parte being come to *Perseus* eares, he thought now he needed not hier him with money to be an enemy to the ROMAINES, considering he had waded so farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifest signe of his ill will towards them, and that it was to late to looke backe and repent him; now that his fowle parte had plunged him into certain warres, for an vnccerten hope. So dyd he abuse the vnfortunate King, and defrauded

Perseus couetousnes and miserie, was the destruction of his realme of MACEDON, a mercenary people.

Perseus became of Perseus husband.

Æmylius army against Perseus, was a hundred thousand men.

Perseus king of the ILLYRIA, dyed Perseus.

Gentius king of the ILLYRIA, dyed Perseus.

Perseus double dealing with king Gentius.

King Gentius
ouercome by
Lucius Anti-
civus Prætor.

Perseus laye
at the foote of
the mount O-
lympus, with
4000 best-
men & 4000
footemen.

Æmylius
admission
to his foun-
taines.

Perseus Æ-
mylius would
haue the
watch to haue
no speares nor
pikes.

The original
offspringes.

Fountaines
compared to
womens brests.

him of the three hundred talents he had promised him. And worse then this, shortly after he suffered *Lucius Anticus* the ROMANE Prætor, whom they sent against him with an army, to plucke king *Gentius*, his wife, and children, out of his Realme and Kingdome, and to carie them prisoners with him. Now when *Æmylius* was arrived in MACEDON, to make warre against such an enemy: he made no manner of reckoning of his person, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one campe he had foure thousand horlemen, and no lesse then forty thousand footemen, with the which armie he had planted him selfe alongest the sea side, by the foote of the mount *Olympus*, in a place vnpossible to be approached: and there he had so well fortified all the straites and passages vnto him with fortifications of woode, that he thought him selfe to lye safe out of all daunger, and imagined to dale with *Æmylius*, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. *Æmylius* in the meane season laye not idle, but occupied his wittes throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put some thing in proofe. And perceyuing that his souldiers by ouermuche licentious libertie (wherein by sufferance they liued before) were angrie with delaying and lying still, and that they dyd busilie occupie them selues in the generall office, saying this, and suche a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundly, and commaunded them they should medle no more to curiously in matters that pertained not to them, and that they should take care for nothing els, but to see their armour & weapon ready to serue valiantly, & to vse their swordes after the ROMAINES facion, when their generall should appoint and commaund them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to them selues, he commaunded those that watched should haue no speares nor pykes, bicause they should be more wakefull, hauing no long weapon to resist the enemy, if they were assaulted. The greatest trouble his army had, was lacke of freshe water, bicause the water that ranne to the sea was very lide, and maruelous fowle by the sea side. But *Æmylius* considering they were at the foote of the mount *Olympus* (which is of a maruelous height, and full of woode withall) coniectured, seeing the trees so freshe and grene, that there should be some litle pretie springes among them, which ranne vnder the grounde. So he made them digge many holes and welles alongest the mountaine, which were straight filled with fayer water, being pent within ground before for lacke of breaking open the heades, which then ranne downe in streames, and met together in sundrie places. And yet some doe denie, that there is any meeting of waters within the grounde, from whence the springes doe come. For they saye, that running out of the earth as they doe, it is not for that, that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendred and riseth at the same time and place where it runneth out, turning the substance into water, which is a moist vapour, thicketh and waxeth cold by the coldnes of the earth, and so becommeth a streame, and runneth downe. Euen so, saye they, as womens brestes are not alwayes full of milke, as milke pannes are that continually keepe milke, but doe of them selues conuert the nutriment women take into milke, and after commeth forth at their nipples: the very like are springes and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, which haue no meeting of hidden waters, nor hollowe places capable, readily to deliuer water from them, as one would drawe it out of a pompe, or sesterne, from so many great brookes, and deepe riuers. But by their naturall coldnes and moisture, they waxe thicke, and put forth the vapour & ayer so strong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reason why the places where they digge and open the earth, doe put forth more abundance of water by opening the grounde: like as womens brestes doe geue more milke, when they are most drawn and sucked, bicause in a sorte they doe better feede the vapour within them, and conuert it thereby into a running humour. Where, to the contrarye, those partes of the earth that are not digged, nor haue no vent outward, are the more vnable, and lesse mete to ingender water, hauing not that prouocation and course to runne, that causeth the bringing forth of moisture. Yet such as mainteine this opinion, doe geue them occasion that loue argument, to contrarye them thus. Then we may saye by like reason also, that in the bodies of beastes there is no blood long before, and that it ingendred vpon a sodaine, when they are hurte, by transferring of some spirite or fleshe that readilie chaungeth into some running licoure. And moreover, they

arc

are confuted by the comon experience of these mine men, that digge in the mines for mettell or that vndermine castles to winne them: who when they digge any great depth, doe many times meete in the bowells of the earth with running riuers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle and litle, as of necessity it should be, if it were true, that vpon the present opening of the ground, the humour should immediately be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we see oftentimes that in cutting through a mountaine or rocke, sodainly there runneth out a great quantitie of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our historie againe. *Æmylius* laye there a convenient time, & stirred not: and it is sayed there were neuer seene two so great armies one so neere to the other, and to be so quiet. In the ende, casting many things with him selfe, and deuising sundrie practises, he was enformed of another waye to enter into MACEDON, through the cuntry of PERRÆBIA, ouer against the temple called *Pythion*, & the rocke vpon which it is built, where there laye no garrison: which gaue him better hope to passe that waye, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrownes & hardnes of the waye vnto it. So, he brake the matter to his counsaill. Thereupon *Scipio* called *Nasica* (the sonne adopted of that great *Scipio* the *African*, who became afterwards a great mā, & was president of the Senate or counsell) was the first man that offered him selfe to leade them, whom it would please him to send to take that passage, & to assault their enemies behind. The second was *Fabius Maximus*, the eldest sonne of *Æmylius*, who being but a very young man, rose notwithstanding, & offered him selfe very willingly. *Æmylius* was very glad of their offers, & gaue them not so many men as *Polybius* writeth, but so many as *Nasica* him selfe declareth, in a letter of his he wrote to a King, where he reporteth all the storie of this iorney. There were 3000 ITALIANS leauied in ITALIE, by the confederates of the ROMAINES, who were not of the ROMAINES legions, & in the left winge about 5000. Besides those, *Nasica* tooke also 120 men at armes, & about 200 CRETANS & THRACIANS mingled together, of those *Harpalus* had sent thither. With this number *Nasica* departed from the campe, & tooke his waye toward the sea side, & lodged by the temple of *Hercules*, as if he had determined to doe this feate by sea, to ensuronne the cape of the enemies behind. But when the souldiers had supped, & that it was dark night, he made the captaines of euery bande priuie to his enterprize, & so marched all night a contrary waye from the sea, vntill at the length they came vnder the temple of *Pythion*, where he lodged to rest the souldiers that were fore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount *Olympus* is about tenne furlonges highe, as appeareth in a place ingrauen by him that measured it.

Olympus mounte is iust, by measure made with line, & vntwelve hundred seuentie paces trodde, as measure can assigne. The measure being made, right ore against the place, whereas *Apolloes* temple stands, built with stately grace. Euen from the leauell plot, of that same countrie plaine. vnto the toppe which all on high, doth on the hill remaine. And so *Xenagoras* the sonne of *Emulius*, in olden dayes by measure made, the same dyd finde for vs. And dyd engraua it here in writing for vs see, when as he tooke his laste leaue (Apollo god) of thee.

Yet the *Geometricians* saye, that there is no mountaine higher, nor sea deeper, then the length of tenne furlonges: so that I thinke this *Xenagoras* (in my opinion) dyd not take his measure at auenture, and by gesse, but by true rules of the arte, and instruments *Geometricall*. There *Nasica* rested all night. King *Perseus* perceyuing in the meane time that *Æmylius* stirred not from the place where he laye, mistrusted nothing his practise, and the coming of *Nasica* who was at hande: vntill such time as a traitour of CRETA (stealing from *Nasica*) dyd reueale vnto him the pretended practise, as also the ROMAINES compassing of him about. He was dispatched much at these newes; howbeit he removed not his campe from the place he laye in, but dispatched one of his captaines called *Nitron*, with tenne thousand straungers, and two thousand MACEDONIANS; and straightly commaunded him with all the possible speede he could, to get the toppe of the hill before them: *Polybius* sayeth, that the ROMAINES came and gaue them an alarme, when they were sleeping. But *Nasica* writeth, that there was a maruelous

The height of
the mount O-
lympus.

Apollonius
et alii

Apollonius
et alii

Apollonius
et alii

*Nasica ranne
the straights
of Macedon.*

*Perseus pic-
ched his cape
before the
cittie of Pyd-
ne.*

*The rivers of
Æson and
Lencus.*

*Æmylius
discovered
Scipio Nasica
for geuing
charge upon
the enemies.
The skill and
forethought of
his wife capitaine.*

*The eclipse of
the moon.*

*The supersti-
tio of the Ro-
maines when
the moon is
eclipsed.*

*The cause of
an eclipse of
the moon.*

sharpe and terrible battell on the toppe of the mountaine: and sayed plainly, that a THRACIAN souldier comming towards him, he threwe his darre at him, and hitting him right in the brest, slue him starke dead: and hauing repulsed their enemies, *Milon* their capitaine shamefully running awaye in his coate without armour or weapon, he followed him without any danger, and so went downe to the valley, with the safety of all his companie. This conflict fortuning thus, *Perseus* raised his campe in great haste from the place where he was, and being disappointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wittes ende, and not knowing howe to determine. Yet was he constrained either to staye, and incampe before the cittie of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of battell: or els to deuide his armie into his citties & strong holds, and to receyue the warres within his owne cuntry, the which being once crept in, could neuer be driuen out againe, without great murder & bloudfshed. Hereupon his friends dyd counsell him, to choofe rather the fortune of battell: alledging vnto him, that he was the stronger in men a great waye, & that the MACEDONIANS would fight lustely with all the courage they could, considering that they fought for the safety of their wiues and children, & also in the presence of their King, who should both feare euery mans doing, and fight him selfe in person also for them. The King moued by these persuasions, determined to venter the chaice of battell. So he pitched his campe, and viewed the situation of the places all about, and deuided the companies amongst his captaines, purposing to geue a whorte charge vpon the enemies when they should drawe nere. The place and cuntry was luche, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to rounge a battell of footemen in, and litle pretty hilles also one depending vpon another, which were very comodious for archers, naked men, and such as were lightly armed, to retire them selues vnto being distressed, & also to enuirone their enemies behind. There were two small riuers also, *Æson* and *Lencus* that rane through the same, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the later ende of the sommer, yet they would annoy the ROMAINES notwithstanding. Now when *Æmylius* was ioyned with *Nasica*, he marched on straight in battell raye towards his enemies. But perceyuing a farte of their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same: he wondered to behold it, and sodainly stayed his armie, considering with him selfe what he had to doe. Then the young captaine hauing charge vnder him, desirous to fight it out presently, went vnto him to praye him to geue the onfet: but *Nasica* specially about the rest, hauing good hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. *Æmylius* smiling, answered him: so would I doe, if I were as young as thou. But the sundry victories I haue wonne heretofore, hauing taught me by experience the fautes the vanquished doe commit: doe forbid me to goe so whortely to worke (before my souldiers haue reited, which dyd returne but now) to assault an armie set in suche order of battell. VVhen he had answered him thus, he commaunded the first bands that were now in viewe of the enemies, should imbattell them selues, shewing a countenance to the enemy as though they would fight: and that those in the rereward should lodge in the meane time, and forsake the campe. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindmost, by chaunging front man to man before the enemies were ware of it: he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noyse, and the enemies neuer perceyuing it: But when night came, and euery man had supped, as they were going to sleepe and take their rest: the moone which was at the full, and of a great height, begonne to darken, & to chaunge into many forties of cullers, losing her light, vntill suche time as the vanished awaye, and was eclipsed altogether. Then the ROMAINES begonne to make a noyse with bassons and pannes, as their facion is to doe in suche a chaunce, thinking by this sound to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting up many torches lighted, and firebrands into the ayers. The MACEDONIANS on the other side dyd no suche matter within their campe, but were all together stricken with an horrible feare, and there rane straight a whispering rumour through the people, that this signe in the element signified the eclipse of the King. For *Æmylius* was not ignoraunt of the diuicities of the eclipses, and he had heard saye the cause is, by reason that the moone making her ordinarie course about the world (after certain reuolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round shadowe of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden: vntill suche time as hauing

past

A past the darke region of the shadow, she cometh afterwards to recouer her light which she taketh of the sunne. Neuertheles, he being a godly deuout man, so sone as he perceyued the moone had recouered her former brightnes againe, he sacrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning also by the breake of day, making sacrifice to *Hercules*, he could neuer haue any signes or tokens that promised him good lucke, in sacrificing twenty oxen one after another: but at the one & twentieth, he had signes that promised him victorie, so he defended him self. VVherfore, after he had vowed a solemne sacrifice of a hundred oxen to *Hercules*, and also games of prices at the weapons, he commaunded his captaines to put their men in readines to fight: & so fought to winne time, tarying till the sunne came about in the after noone towards the West, to the ende that the ROMAINES which were turned towards the East, should not haue it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he reposed him selfe in his tent, which was all open behind towards the side that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemies laye. When it grewe towards night, to make the enemies fet upon his men: some saye he vied this policie. He made a horse be driuen towards them without a bridell, & certain ROMAINES followed him, as they would haue taken him againe: and this was the cause of procuring the skirmish. Other saye, that the THRACIANS seruing vnder the charge of captaine *Alexander*, dyd set upon certain forragers of the ROMAINES, that brought forage into the campe: out of the which, seven hundred of the LIGURIANS ranne sodainly to the rescue, and relief comming still from both armies, at the last the mayne battell followed after. Wherefore *Æmylius* like a wise generall foreseeing by the daunger of this skirmish, and the stirring of both camps, what the furie of the battell would come to: came out of his tent, and passing by the bandes, dyd encourage them, and prayed them to stick to it like men. In the meane time, *Nasica* thrusting him selfe into the place where the skirmish was whotest, perceyued the army of the enemies marching in battell, ready to ioyne. The first that marched in the vaward, were the THRACIANS, who seemed terrible to looke upon, as he writeth him self: for they were mightie made men, and caried maruelous bright targets of Steele before them, their legges were armed with greaues, and their thighes with safes, their coates were blacke, & marched shaking heauy halberds vpon their shouldrs. Next vnto these THRACIANS, there followed them all the other strangers and souldiers whom the King had hired, diuersely armed and set forth: for they were people of sundrie nations gathered together, among whom the PÆONIANS were mingled. The third squadron was of MACEDONIANS, and all of them chofen men, as well for the flower of their youthe, as for the valliantnes of their perfonnes: and they were all in goodly gilt armours, and braue purple cassocks upon them, spicke, and spanne newe. And at their backes came after them, the olde bandes to shewe them selues out of the campe, with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to shine with the brightnes of their Steele and copper. And all the hilles and mountaines thereabouts dyd ringe againe like an Eccho, with the crie and noyse of so many fighting men, one encouraging another. In this order they marched so fiercelly, with so great hart burning, & such swiftnes: that the first which were slaine at the encounter, fell dead two furlonges from the campe of the ROMAINES. The charge being geuen, and the battell begonne, *Æmylius* galloping to the vaward of his battell, perceyued that the captaines of the MACEDONIANS which were in the first rankes, had already thrust their pikes into the ROMAINES targets, so as they could not come neere them with their swordes: and that the other MACEDONIANS carying their targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and dyd base their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the ROMAINES. Which when he had considered, and of what strength and force his walle and rancke of targets was, one ioyning so neere another, and what a terrour it was to see a fronte of a battell with so many armed pikes and Steele heades: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any sight he euer sawe before. Neuertheles he could wisely dissemble it at that time, and so passing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he shewed a noble cherefull countenance vnto them that fought. But on the contrarie side, *Perseus* the king of MACEDON, as *Polibius* writeth, so sone as the battell was begonne, withdrewe him self, and got into the cittie of PYDNE, vnder pretence to goe to doe sacrifice vnto *Hercules*: who doth not accept the

*Æmylius po-
licie to pro-
cure this
skirmish.*

*The army of
the Macedo-
nians, mar-
ching against
the Romaines
in battell.*

*The battell
between Per-
seus and Æ-
mylius.*

*Perseus gets
out of the bat-
tall vnto
Pydne.*

Victorie wine
by laboure, not
by flacke.

Salinus a cap-
taine of the
Pelignians
sooke the en-
signe, and
strucke it a-
mong the e-
nemies.

fainte sacrifice of cowards, neither doth receyue their prayers, because they be unreasonable. A For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not, should hyt the white: nor that he should winne the victorie, that bideth not the battell: neither that he should haue any good, that doeth nothing toward it: nor that a naughty man should be fortunate, and prosper. The goddes dyd fauour Æmylius prayers, because he prayed for victorie with his sworde in his hande, and fighting dyd call to them for ayde. Howbeit there is one *Posidonius* a writer, who sayeth he was in that time, and moreover, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an historie containing many bookes of the actes of king *Perseus*, where he sayeth that it was not for fainte harte, nor vnder culler to sacrifice vnto *Hercules*, that *Perseus* went from the battell: but because he had a stripe of a horse on the thighe the day before. Who though he could not very well helpe him self, and that all his friends fought to perswade him not to goe to the battell: yet he caused one of his horse to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly vsed to ryde vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of dartes were thrown at him from both sides. And among those, he had a blowe with a darte that hurte him somewhat, but it was ouerthwart, and not with the pointe, and dyd hit him on the left side glawning wise, with such a force, that it rent his coate, and rased his skynne vnderneath, so as it left a marke behinde a long time after. And this is all that *Posidonius* writeth to defend and excuse *Perseus*. The ROMAINES hauing their hands full, and being stayed by the battell of the MACEDONIANS that they could make no breache into them: there was a capitaine of the PELIGNIANS called *Salinus*, who tooke the ensigne of his band, and cast it among the preafe of his enemies. Then all the PELIGNIANS brake in upon them, with C a maruelous force & furie into that place: for all ITALIANS thinke it to great a shame & dishonour for souldiers, to lose, or forsake their ensigne. Thus was there maruelous force of both sides vsed in that place: for the PELIGNIANS proued to cut the MACEDONIANS pikes with their swordes, or els to make them geue backe with their great targets, or to make a breache into them, and to take the pikes with their hands. But the MACEDONIANS to the contrarie, holding their pikes fast with both hands, ranne them thorow that came neere vnto them: so that neither target nor corselet could hold out the force and violence of the pulste of their pikes, in so muche as they turned vp the heeles of the PELIGNIANS and TERRACINIANS, who like desperate beastes without reason, shutting in them selues among their enemies, ranne wilfully vpon their owne deatthes, and their first rancke were slaine euery man of them. D Thereupon those that were behind, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backes, and only retired geuing backe, towardes the mountaine *Olocrus*. Æmylius seeing that (as *Posidonius* writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, because that some of his men gaue backe: other durst not fronte the battell of the MACEDONIANS, which was so strongly im- battelled of euery side, and so mured in with a wall of pikes, presenting their armed heades on euerie side a man could come, that it was impossible to breake into them, no not so muche as to come neere them only. Yet notwithstanding, because the field was not altogether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the fronte, could not allwayes keepe that walle, continuing their targets close one to another, but they were driuen of necessite to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battells, according to the great E force of the souldiers: that in one place they thrust forward, and in another they geue backe, and leaue a hole. Wherefore Æmylius sodainly taken the vantage of this occasion, deuised his men into small companies, and commaunded them they should quickly thrust in betwene their enemies, and occupie the places they sawe voyde in the fronte of their enemies, and that they should set on them in that sorte, and not with one whole continuall charge, but occupying them here and there with diuers companies, in sundry places. Æmylius gaue this charge vnto the priuate captaines of euery band and their lieutenants, and the captaines also gaue the like charge vnto their souldiers that could skillfully execute their commaundement. For they went presently into those partes where they sawe the places open, and being once entered in among them, some gaue charge vpon the flankes of the MACEDONIANS, where F they were all naked and vnarmed: other set vpon them behind: so that the strength of all the corpes of the battell (which consisteth in keeping close together) being opened in this sorte,

WAS

A was straight ouerthrowen. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a few against a few: the MACEDONIANS with their litle shorte swordes, came to strike vpon the great sheldes of the ROMAINES, which were very strong, and couered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrarie, were driuen of necessite to receaue the blowes of the strong heauy swordes of the ROMAINES, vpon their litle weake targettes: so that what with their heauines, and the vehemement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was no target nor corselet, but they passed it through, and ranne them in. By reason whereof they could make no long resistance, whereupon they turned their backes, and ranne awaye. But when they came to the Squadron of the olde beate souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruelllest fight and most desperate seruice, where they saye that *Marcus Cato* (sonne of B great *Cato*, and sonne in lawe of Æmylius) shewing all the vallianties in his persone that a noble minde could possibly performe, lost his sword which fell out of his hande. But he like a young man of noble corage, that had bene valliantly brought vp in all discipline, & knew how to follow the steppes of his father (the noblest persone that euer man sawe) was to shewe then his value and worthines: and thought it more honour for him there to dye, then liuing to suffer his enemies to enioye any spoyle of his. So, by & dy he ranne into the ROMAINES army, to finde out some of his friendes, whom he tolde what had befallen him, and prayed them to helpe him to recouer his sworde: whereto they agreed. And being a good company of lusty valliant souldiers together, they rushed straight in among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and so dyd set apon them with such force and furie, that they made a lane C through the middelt of them, and with great slaughter and spilling of bloude, euen by plaine force, they cleared the waye still before them. Now when the place was voyded, they sought for the sworde, and in the ende founde it with great a doe, amongst a heape of other swordes and dead bodies, whereto they reioyced maruelously. Then singeing a songe of victorie, they went againe more fiercely then before to geue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not yet broken a sonder: vntill such time as at the length, the three thousand chosen MACEDONIANS fighting valliantly euen to the last man, and neuer forsaking their rankes, were all slaine in the place. After whose ouerthrowe, there was a great slaughter of other also that fled: so that all the valley and foote of the mountaines thereabouts was couered with dead bodies. The next daye after the battell, when the ROMAINES dyd passe ouer the riuer of *Leucus*, they D founde it running all a bloude. For it is sayed there were slaine at this field, of *Perseus* men, aboute five and twentie thousand: and of the ROMAINES side, as *Posidonius* sayeth, not aboute sixe score, or as *Nasica* writeth, but foure score only. And for so great an ouerthrowe, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done, and executed. For they beganne to fight about three of the clocke in the after noone, and had wonne the victorie before foure, and all the rest of the daye they followed their enemies in chase, an hundred & twenty furlonges from the place where the battell was fought: so that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So such as returned, were receyued with maruelous great ioye of their pages that went out with linckes and torches lighted, to bring their masters into their tentes, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them vp with crownes and E garlands of laurell, sauing the generalltes tent only: who was very heauy, for that of his two sonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be founde, which he loued best of the twaine, because he sawe he was of a better nature then the rest of his brethren. For euen then, being newe crept out of the shell as it were, he was maruelous valliant and hardie, and desired honour wonderfully. Now Æmylius thought he had bene cast awaye, fearing least forlacke of experience in the warres, and through the rashnes of his youthe, he had put him selfe to farre in fight amongst the preafe of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard straight what forowe Æmylius was in, and how grievously he tooke it. The ROMAINES being set at supper, rose from their meate, and with torches light (some ranne to Æmylius tent, other went out of the campe to seeke him among the dead bodies, if they might knowe him: so all the F campe was full of forowe and mourning, the vallies & hillies all about dyd ringe againe with the cries of those that called *Scipio* aloude. For euen from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him, of all the rare and singular partes required in a capitaine & wise gouernour of the

The vallian-
cies of Mar-
cus Cato.

Æmylius vi-
ctorie of Per-
seus.

The battell
fought and
wonne in one
houer.

The vallian-
cies of Scipio
the lesse.

*Perseus fled
from Pydna
to Pella.*

*Time, & de-
sire to be ob-
served to the
Prince.*

*Death, & in-
dignation of
the Prince.*

*The con-
sumption of the
Cretans.*

*Mistress whine
for she's
goddess.*

*The Macedo-
nians submit
them selves
to Æmylius.*

VVander.

common weale about all the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his coming againe, he happily returned from the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars only, all bloudied with new bloude (like a swift running greyhounde fished with the bloude of the hare) hauing pursued very farre for ioye of the victorie. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards destroyed both the cities of *CARTHAGE* and *NUMANTIVM*, who was the greatest man of warre, and valliantest capitaine of the *ROMAINES* in his time, and of the greatest authoritie and reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her spite, which she dyd beare to so noble an exploitte, suffered *Æmylius* for that time to take his full pleasure of that noble victorie. And as for *Perseus*, he fled first from the citie of *PYDNE*, vnto the citie of *PELLA*, with his horsemen, which were in manner all faued. Whereupon the footemen that faued them selues by flying, meeting them by the waye, called them traitours, cowards, and villaines: & worse then that, they turned them of their horse backs, and fought it out lustely with them. *Perseus* seeing that, and fearing lest this mutinie might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horse out of the highe waye, and pulled of his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing lest they should knowe him by these tokens: and bicause he might more easely speake with his friends by the waye, he lighted a foote, and led his horse in his hande. But fuche as were about him, one made as though he would inende the latchet of his shooe, another seemed to water his horse, another as though he would drinke: so that one dragging after another in this sorte, they all left him at the last, and ranne their waye, not fearing the enemies furie so muche, as their Kings crueltie: who being greued with his misfortune, sought to laye the faulte of the ouerthrowe vpon all other, but him selfe. Now he being come into the citie of *PELLA* by night, *Eucritus* and *Eudemus*, two of his treasurers came vnto him, and speaking boldly (but out of time) presumed to tell him the great faulte he had committed, and dyd counsell him also what he should doe. The King was so moued with their presumption, that with his owne handes he stabbed his dagger in them both, and flue them outright. But after this facte, all his seruantes and friendes refused him, and there only taried with him but *Euaner* *CARTANUS*, *Archadamus* *ETOLIAN*, and *Neo* *BOEOTIAN*. And as for the meane fouldiers, there were none that followed him but the *CRETANS*, & yet it was not for the good will they dyd beare him, but for the loue of his golde and siluer, as bees that keepe their hives for loue of the hony. For he caried with him a great treasure, and gaue them leaue to spoyle certain plate and vessell of golde and siluer, to the value of fiftie talents. But first of all, when he was come into the citie of *AMPHIPOLIS*, and afterwards into the citie of *ALEPSE*, and that the feare was well blowne ouer: he returned againe to his olde humour, which was borne and bred with him, and that was, avarice and miserie. For he made his complainte vnto those that were about him, that he had vnwares geuen to the fouldiers of *CRETA*, his plate and vessell of gold to be spoyled, being those which in olde time belonged vnto *Alexander* the great: & prayed them with reares in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to chaunge it for ready money. Now fuche as knewe his nature, founde streight this was but a fraude and a *CRETAN* lye, to deceaue the *CRETANS* with: but those that trusted him, and dyd restore againe the plate they had, dyd loose it euery iotte, for he neuer payed them pennie of it. So he got of his friendes, the value of thirtie talents which his enemies sone after dyd take from him. And with that summe he went into the Ile of *SAMOTHRACIA*, where he tooke the sanctuary and priuiledge, of the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. They saye, that the *MACEDONIANS* of long continuance dyd naturally loue their Kings: but then seeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hartes failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and submitted them selues vnto *Æmylius*, and made him lorde of the whole Realme of *MACEDON* in two dayes: and this doth seeme to confirme their wordes, who impute all *Æmylius* doings vnto his good fortune. And surely the maruelous fortune he happened on in the citie of *AMPHIPOLIS*, doth confirme it muche, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the godds. For one daye beginning to doe sacrifice, lightning fell from heauen, and set all the wodde a fire upon the altier, & sanctified the sacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure dayes after *Perseus* had lost the battell, & that

*News brought
to Rome out of
Macedon in
4 dayes, of
Æmylius's
honor there:
and no man
knewe howe
they came.*

*Æmylius
why so called.*

*On Ossauius,
Æmylius
likened
by sea.*

*The misfe-
ble state Per-
seus was
brought vnto,
by the craft
& subtiltie
of a Cretan.*

A the citie of *PELLA* was taken, as the people of *ROME* were at the listes or shoue place, seeing horses runne for games: sodainly there rose a rumour at the entring into the listes where the games were, how *Æmylius* had wonne a great battell of king *Perseus*, and had conquered all *MACEDON*. This newes was rise straight in euery mans mouth, and there followed vpon it a maruelous ioye and great cheere in euery corner, with shoutes and clapping of handes, that continued all the daye through the citie of *ROME*. Afterwards they made diligent enquierie, how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine author could be knowne, and euery man sayed they heard it spoken: so as in the ende it came to nothing, and passed awaye in that sorte for a time. But shortly after, there came letters, and certain newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it: which could be deuised by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We doe reade also of a battell that was fought in *ITALIE*, nere vnto the riuer of *SAGRA*, wherof newes was brought the very same daye vnto *PELOPONNESVS*. And of another all in like manner that was fought in *ASIA* against the *MEDES*, before the citie of *MYCALA*: the newes wherof came the same daye vnto the campe of the *GRECIANS*, lying before the citie of *PLATOBS*. And in that great iorney where the *ROMAINES* ouerthrowe the *Tarquines*, and the armie of the *LATINES*: immediately after the battell was wonne, they sawe two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victorie to *ROME*, and they iudged they were *Castor* and *Pollux*. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fontaine, where they watered their horse being all of a white fume, tolde them: that he wondred howe they could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him softly by the beard with both their handes, and euen in the market place his heare being blacke before, was presently turned yellowe. This miracle made them beleue the reporte the man made, who euer after was called *Æmylius*, as you would saye, bearded as yellowe as golde. Another like matter that happened in our time, maketh all fuche newes credible. For when *Antonius* rebelled against the emperor *Domitian*, the citie of *ROME* was in a maruelous perplexitie, bicause they looked for great warres towards *GERMANIE*. But in this feare, there grewe a sodaine rumour of his victorie, and it went curantly through *ROME*, that *Antonius* him selfe was slaine, and all his armie ouerthrowen, & not a man left a liue. This rumour was so rise, that many of the chieft men of *ROME* beleued it, and dyd sacrifice thereupon vnto the goddes, deuoting them thanks for the victorie. But when the matter came to sifting, who was the first author of the rumour: no man could tell. For one put it ouer still to another, and dyed so in the ende amongst the people, as in a bottomes matter, for they could neuer bould out any certain grounde of it: but euen as it came flying into *ROME*, so went it flying awaye againe, no man can tell howe. Notwithstanding, *Domitian* holding on his iorney to make this warre, met with postes that brought him letters for the certain victorie: and remembering the rumour of the victorie that ranne before in *ROME*, he founde it true, that it was on the very same daye the victorie was gotten, and the distance betweene *ROME* & the place where the field was wonne, was about twenty thousand furlonges of. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe to our historie. *Cn. Ossauius*, lieutenant of the armie of *Æmylius* by sea, came to ancker vnder the Ile of *SAMOTHRACIA*, where he would not take *Perseus* by force out of the sanctuary where he was, for the reuerence he dyd beare vnto the goddes *Castor* and *Pollux*: but he dyd besiege him in suche sorte, as he could not scape him, nor flye by sea out of the llande. Yet he had secretly practised with one *Oroandes* a *CRETAN*, that had a brigantine, and was at a prise with him for a summe of money to conuey him awaye by night: but the *CRETAN* serued him a right *CRETANS* tricke. For when he had taken a borde by night into his vessell, all the Kings treasure of golde and siluer, he sent him worde that he should not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of *Ceres*, with his wife, his children and seruantes, where in deede was no possibilitie to take shipping: but the next night following he hoied faile, and got him awaye. It was a pittiefull thing that *Perseus* was driven to doe and suffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a lide straight windowe vpon the walles, and not only him self, but his wife and little babes, who neuer knewe before what flying and hardnes ment. And yet he fetched a more grieuous

common weale about the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his coming againe, he happily returned from the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars only, all bloudied with new bloude (like a swift running greyhounde flethed with the bloude of the hare) hauing pursued very farre for ioye of the victorie. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards destroyed both the citties of *CARTHAGE* and *NUMANTIVM*, who was the greatest man of warre, and valliantest capitaine of the *ROMAINES* in his time, and of the greatest authoritie and reputation amongst them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her spite, which she dyd beare to so noble an employe, suffered *Æmylius* for that time, to take his full pleasure of that noble victorie. And as for *Perseus*, he fled first from the cittie of *PYDNE*, vnto the cittie of *PELLA*, with his horsemen, which were in manner all faued. Whereupon the footemen that faued them felues by flying, meeting them by the way, called them traitours, cowards, and villanes: & worse then that they turned them of their horie backs, and fought it out lustely with them. *Perseus* seeing that, and fearing lest this mutinie might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horie out of the highe way, and pulled of his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing lest they should knowe him by these tokens: and because he might more easely speake with his friends by the way, he lighted a foote, and led his horie in his hande. But suche as were about him, one made as though he would mende the latchet of his shooe, another seemed to water his horie, another as though he would drinke: so that one dragging after another in this sorte, they all left him at the last, and ranne their way, not fearing the enemies furie so muche, as their Kings crueltie: who being greued with his misfortune, fought to laye the faulte of the ouerthrowe vpon all other, but him selfe. Now he being come into the cittie of *PELLA* by night, *Eucius* and *Eudæus*, two of his treasurers came vnto him, and speaking boldly (but out of time) presumed to tell him the great faulte he had committed, and dyd counsell him also what he should doe. The King was so moued with their presumption, that with his owne handes he stabbed his dagger in them both, and slue them outright. But after this facte, all his seruantes and friends refused him, and there only taried with him but *Euaner* *CRETAN*, *Archædamus* *ÆTOLIAN*, and *Neo* *BOEOTIAN*. And as for the meane fouldiers, there were none that followed him but the *CRETANS*, & yet it was not for the good will they dyd beare him, but for the loue of his golde and siluer, as bees that keepe their huiues for loue of the honey. For he caried with him a great treasure, and gaue them leaue to spoyle certen plate and vessell of golde and siluer, to the value of fiftie talents. But first of all, when he was come into the cittie of *AMPHIPOLIS*, and afterwards into the cittie of *ALEPSE*, and that the seare was well blown ouer: he returned againe to his olde humour, which was borne and bred with him, and that was, avarice and miserie. For he made his complainte vnto those that were about him, that he had vnwares geuen to the fouldiers of *CRETA*, his plate and vessell of gold to be spoyled, being those which in olde time belonged vnto *Alexander* the great: & prayed them with reares in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to chaunge it for ready money. Now suche as knewe his nature, founde straight this was but a fraude and a *CRETAN* lye, to deceaue the *CRETANS* with: but those that trusted him, and dyd restore againe the plate they had, dyd loose it euery iorte, for he neuer paid them pennie of it. So he got of his friendes, the value of thirtie talents which his enemies (one after dyd take from him. And with that summe he went into the Ile of *SAMOTHRACIA*, where he tooke the sanctuary and priuledge, of the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. They saye, that the *MACEDONIANS* of long continuance dyd naturally loue their Kings: but then seeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hartes failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and submitted them felues vnto *Æmylius*, and made him lorde of the whole Realme of *MACEDON* in two dayes: and this doth seeme to confirme their wordes, who impute all *Æmylius* doings vnto his good fortune. And surely the maruelous fortune he happened on in the cittie of *AMPHIPOLIS*, doth confirme it muche, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the godds. For one daye beginning to doe sacrifice, lightning fell from heauen, and set all the wodde a fire apon the altare, & sanctified the sacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure dayes after *Perseus* had lost the battell, & that

Perseus fled from Pydne to Pella.

Time, & diuinity, as he submitted to the Prince.

Death, the indignation of the Prince.

The cunningnes of the Cretans.

Misery whine for their gooddes.

The Macedonians submit them felues to Æmylius.

VVindes.

A the cittie of *PELLA* was taken, as the people of *ROME* were at the listes or shoue place, seeing horses runne for games: sodainly there rose a rumour at the entring into the listes where the games were, how *Æmylius* had wonne a great battell of king *Perseus*, and had conquered all *MACEDON*. This newes was rife straight in euery mans mouth, and there followed vpon it a maruelous ioye and great cheere in euery corner, with shoutes and clapping of handes, that continued all the daye through the cittie of *ROME*. Afterwards they made diligent enquierie, how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine authour could be knowne, and euery man sayed they heard it spoken: so as in the ende it came to nothing, and passed awaye in that sorte for a time. But shortly after, there came letters, and certen newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it: which could be deuised by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We doe reade also of a battell that was fought in *ITALIE*, nere vnto the riuer of *SAGRA*, wherof newes was brought the very same daye vnto *PELOPONNESVS*. And of another also like manner that was fought in *ASIA* against the *MEDES*, before the cittie of *MYCALA*: the newes wherof came the same daye vnto the campe of the *GRECIANS*, lying before the cittie of *PLATOES*. And in that great iorney where the *ROMAINES* ouerthrowe the *Tarquines*, and the armie of the *LATINES*: immediately after the battell was wonne, they sawe two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victorie to *ROME*, and they iudged they were *Castor* and *Pollux*. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fontaine, where they watered their horie being all of a white foame, tolde them: that he wondred howe they could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him softly by the beard with both their handes, and euen in the market place his heare being blacke before, was presently turned yellowe. This miracle made them beleue the reporte the man made, who euer after was called *Ænobarbus*, as you would saye, bearded as yellowe as golde. Another like matter that happened in our time, maketh all suche newes credible. For when *Antonius* rebelled against the emperor *Domitian*, the cittie of *ROME* was in a maruelous perplexitie, because they looked for great warres towards *GERMANIE*. But in this seare, there grewe a sodaine rumour of victorie, and it went curantly through *ROME*, that *Antonius* him selfe was slaine, and all his armie ouerthrowen, & not a man left a liue. This rumour was so rife, that many of the chieft men of *ROME* beleueed it, and dyd sacrifice thereupon vnto the goddes, giuing them thanks for the victorie. But when the matter came to sifting, who was the first authour of the rumour: no man could tell. For one put it ouer still to another, and dyed to in the ende amongst the people, as in a bottomles matter, for they could neuer boul out any certen grounde of it: but euen as it came flying into *ROME*, so went it flying awaye againe, no man can tell howe. Notwithstanding, *Domitian* holding on his iorney to make this warre, met with postes that brought him letters for the certen victorie: and remembering the rumour of the victorie that ranne before in *ROME*, he founde it true, that it was on the very same daye the victorie was gotten, and the distance betwene *ROME* & the place where the field was wonne, was about twenty thousand furlonges of. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe to our historie. *Cn. Octavianus*, lieutenant of the armie of *Æmylius* by sea, came to anker vnder the Ile of *SAMOTHRACIA*, where he would not take *Perseus* by force out of the sanctuary where he was, for the reuerence he dyd beare vnto the goddes *Castor* and *Pollux*: but he dyd besiege him in suche sorte, as he could not scape him, nor flye by sea out of the Ilande. Yet he had secretly practised with one *Oroandes* a *CRETAN*, that had a brigantine, and was at a prise with him for a summe of money to conuey him awaye by night: but the *CRETAN* serued him a right *CRETANS* trick. For when he had taken a borde by night into his vessell, all the Kings treasure of golde and siluer, he sent him worde that he should not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of *Ceres*, with his wife, his children and seruantes, where in deede was no possibillitie to take shipping: but the next night following he hoysed saile, and got him awaye. It was a pittiefull thing that *Perseus* was driuen to doe and suffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a lide straight window vpon the walles, and not only him self, but his wife and little babes, who neuer knewe before what flying and hardnes ment. And yet he fetched a more grieuous

Newes brought to Rome out of Macedon in a daye, of Æmylius c. Flavia there: and no man knewe howe they came.

Ænobarbus why so called.

Cn. Octavianus, Æmylius lieutenant by sea.

The miserable fate Perseus was brought vnto, by the craft & subtiltie of a Cretan.

bitter fighe, when one tolde him on the peere, that he sawe *Oroandes* the *Creyan* vnder sale in the mayne seas. Then daye beginning to breake, and seeing him selfe voyde of all hope, he ranne with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the sanctuarie again, before the *ROMAINES* that sawe him could ouertake him. And as for his children, he had geuen them him selfe into the hands of one *Ion*, whom before he had maruelously loued, and who then dyd traiterously betraye him: for he deliuered his children vnto the *ROMAINES*. Which parte was one of the chiefest causes that draue him (as a beast that will followe her lide ones being taken from her) to yeld him selfe into their hands that had his children. Now he had a speciall confidence in *Scipio Nasica*, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeld him selfe: but it was answered him, that he was not there. Then he beganne to lament his hard and miserable fortune eury waye. And in the ende, considering howe necessitie enforced him, he yelded him selfe into the hands of *Cneus Octanius*, wherein he shewed plainly, that he had another vice in him more vnmanly and vile, then avarice: that was, a fainte harte, and feare to dye. But hereby he deprivied him selfe of others pittie & compassion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot denie and rake from the afflicted, and specially from them that haue a noble harte. For he made request they would bring him vnto the generall *Æmylius*, who rose from his chayer when he sawe him come, and went to mete him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to mete a great King, by fortune of warre, and by the will of the goddes, fallen into that most lamentable facte. But he to the contrarie, vnmanly, and shamefully behaued him selfe. For he fell downe at his feete, and embraced his knees, and vttered suche vncomely speache and vile requestes, as *Æmylius* selfe could not abide to heare them: but knitting his browes against him, being hartely offended, he spake thus vnto him. Alas poore mā, why dost thou discharge fortune of this faulte, where thou mightest iustly charge and accuse her to thy discharge, doing things, for the which eury one iudgeth thou hast deserued thy present miserye, & art vnworthie alio of thy former honour? why dost thou defame my victorie, & blemish the glory of my doings, shewing thy selfe to be a mā, as my honour is not great, to ouercome so vnworthie an enemye? The *ROMAINES* haue euer esteemed magnanimitie, euen in their greatest enemies: but dastardlines, though it be fortunate, yet is it hated of eury bodie. Notwithstanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hande, gaue him into the custodie of *Ælius Tubero*. Then *Æmylius* went into his tent, & caried his sonnes, & sonnes in law with him, & other men of qualitie, and specially the younger sorte. And being set downe, he continued a great space very pensue with him selfe, not speaking a word: in so much as all the standers by, wondered much at the matter. In the ende, he beganne to enter into discourse & talke of fortune, & the vnconstancy of these worldly things, & sayed vnto them. Is there any man liuing, my friends, who hauing fortune at will, should therefore boast and glorie in the prosperitie of his doings, for that he hath conquered a contrie, cittie, or Realme: & not rather to feare the vnconstancy of fortune: who laying before our eyes, & all those that professe armes at this present, so notable an example of the common frailtie of men, doth plainly teache vs to thinke, that there is nothing constant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men maye thinke them selues assured, considering that when they haue ouercome others, then are they driuen to mistrust fortune most, & to mingle feare & mistrust, with ioye of victorie: if they will wisely consider the common course of fatall destenie that altereth daylie, sometime fauouring one, other while throwing down another? you see, that in an howers space we haue trode vnder our feete, the house of *Alexander* the great: who hath bene the mightiest & most redouted prince of the world. You see a King, that not long tyme was followed & accompanied, with many thousand souldiers of horsemen & footemen: brought at this present into such miserable extremitie, that he is enforced to receiue his meate & drinke daylie at the hands of his enemies. Should we haue any better hope then, that fortune will allwayes fauour our doings, more then she doth his now, at this present? no out of doubt. Therefore digesting this matter well, you young men I say, be not to bragge nor foolish prowde, of this conquest & noble victorie: but thinke what maye happè hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuie of this our present prosperitie. Such were *Æmylius* words to these young men, as it is reported, briding by these & such like persuations, the lusty brauery of this youth, euen as with the bit & bridle of reason. Afterwards

King Perseus
yeldeth him
self in Samothracia, vnto
Cneus Octanius.

Perseus vn-
principally be-
haued vnto
Æmylius.
Æmylius
creation vnto
Perseus pri-
soner.

Æmylius
reason trou-
ching fortune
and her vn-
constancy.

Awardes he put his armie into garrisons to resrefe them: and went him selfe in persone in the meane time to visite *Grecians*, making it an honorable progresse, and also a commendable. For as he passed through their cities, he releued the people, reformed the gouernment of their state, and euer gaue them some gifte or present. Vnto some he gaue come, which king *Perseus* Grace. *Æmylius* honorable progresse in Grace.
had gathered for the warres: and vnto other he gaue oyles, meeting with so great store of prouision, that he rather lacked people to geue it vnto, to receiue it at his handes, then wanting to geue, there was so much. As he passed by the cittie of *Delfes*, he sawe there a great pillar, foure square, of white stone, which they had set vp, to put king *Perseus* image of gold vpon it. Whereupon he commaunded them to set vp his in that place, saying: it was reason the conquered should geue place vnto the conquerours. And being in the cittie of *Olympia*, visiting the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, he spake thus openly, which euer since hath bene remembered: that *Phidias* had rightly made *Iupiter*, as *Homer* had described him. Afterwards when the tenne ambassadours were arriued that were sent from *Rome* to establish with him the realme of *Macedon*, he redeliuered the *Macedonians* their countie. and townes againe, to liue at libertie, according to their lawes, paying yerely to the *ROMAINES* for tribute, a hundred talents: where before they were wont to paye vnto their Kings tenne times as much. And he made playes and games of all sortes, and dyd celebrate sumptuous sacrifices vnto the goddes. He kept open court to all comers, and made noble feastes, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treasure *Perseus* had gathered together, sparing for no coste. But through his care and foresight there was suche a speciall good order taken, eury man so courteously receiued and welcomed, and so orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and calling: that the *Grecians* wondered to see him so careful in matters of sporte and pleasure: and that he tooke as great paynes in his owne persone, to see that small matters should be ordered as they ought: as he tooke great regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a maruelous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous fighes prepared to shewe pleasure to the persones inuiued, no light nor statelie shewe dyd so delight them, as to enioye the sight and company of his persone. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence and care in these matters: that to order a feast well, required as great iudgement and discretion, as to set a battell: to make the one fearefull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friends. But men esteemed his bountie and magnanimitie for his best vertue and qualitie. For he dyd not only refuse to see the Kings wonderful treasure of golde and siluer, but caused it to be told, and deliuered to the custodie of the treasurers, to carie to the coffers of store in *Rome*: and only suffered his sonnes that were learned, to take the bookes of the Kings librarie. When he dyd rewarde the souldiers for their valliant seruice in this battell, he gaue his sonne in lawe *Æmylius Tubero* a cuppe, of five talents. It is the same *Tubero* we tolde you of before, who liued with sixteene of his kynne all in one house, and of the only reuenuie they had of a litle farme in the countie. Some saye, that cuppe was the first peece of plate that euer came into the house of the *Ælians*, and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither them selues, nor their wiues, would euer haue, or weare, any gold or siluer. After he had wery well ordered and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leaue of the *Grecians*, and counseled the *Macedonians* to remember the libertie the *ROMAINES* had geuen them, and that they should be careful to keepe it, by their good gouernment and concord together. Then he departed from them, and tooke his iorney towards the countie of *Epirus*, hauing receiued commission from the Senate of *Rome*, to suffer his souldiers who had done seruice in the battell, and ouerthrowe of king *Perseus*, to spoyle all the cities of that countie. Wherefore that he might surpise them on a sodaine, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the cities that they should send him by a certaine daye, tenne of the chiefest men, of eury cittie. Who when they were come, he commaunded them to goe and bring him by suche a daye, all the golde and siluer they had within their cities, aswell in their priuate houses, as in their temples and churches, and gaue vnto euerie one of them a captaine and garrison with them, as if it had bene only to haue reucaled and searched for the gold and siluer he demanded, But when the daye appointed was come, the souldiers in diuers places, (and all at one time)

Æmylius
honorable
progresse in
Grace.

Æmylius
setteth Ma-
cedon as a
stage.

Æmylius
wonderd about
the care and
good order at
feasts.

Æmylius
abstinence.

*Æmylius
crusheth
spoyle of
Æpirus.*

set vpon their enemies, and dyd rife and spoyle them of that they had, and made them also a paye ranfome euery man: So as by this policie, there were taken and made slaues in one daye, a hundred and fittie thousand perfoncs, and three fcore and tenne cities fpoyled and facked euery one. And yet when they came to deuide the spoyle of this generall destruction of a whole Realme by the polle, it came not to euery fouldiers parte, about eleuen filuer Drachmes a peece. Which made euery one to wonder greatly, and to feare also the terror of the warres, to fee the wealth and riches of fo great a Realme, to amownte to fo litle for euery mans share. When *Æmylius* had done this fafte againft his owne nature, which was very gende and courteous: he went vnto the fea fyde to the city of *ORICA*, and there embarked with his armie bounde for *ITALIE*. Where when he was arriued, he went vp the riuier of *Tyber* againft the ftream, in king *Perfius* chief galley, which had fixteene owens on B a fide, richly fet out with the armour of the prifoners, riche clothes of purple culler, and other fuche fpoyles of the enemies: fo that the *ROMAINES* ranning out of *ROME* in multitudes of people to fee this galley, and going fide by fide by her as they rowed fpeitly, *Æmylius* tooke as great pleafure in it, as in any open games or feaftes, or triumphe that had bene fhewed in deede. But when the fouldiers fawe, that the golde and filuer of king *Perfius* treasure was not deuided amongst them according vnto promife, and that they had a great deale leffe then they looked for, they were marueloufly offended, and inwardly grugged *Æmylius* in their hartes. Neuertheles they durft not fpeake it openly, but dyd accufe him, that he had bene to ftraight vnto them in this warre, and therefore they dyd fhewe no great defire, nor forwardnes, to procure him the honour of triumphe. Which *Seruius Galba* C vnderftanding, that had bene an olde enemy of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a thousand men vnder him in this warre: he like an enuious viper tolde the people, howe *Æmylius* had not deferved the honour of triumphe, and fowed feditious wordes againft him among the fouldiers, to aggrauate their ill will the more againft him. Moreover, he craued a daye of the Tribunes of the people, to haue refpit to bring forth fuche matter as they determined to obieft againft him: faying the time then was farr fpent, the fomme being but foure howers high, and that it would require longer time and leysure. The Tribunes made him anfwer, that he fhould fpeake then what he had to faye againft him, or otherwife they would not graunte him audience. Hereupon he beganne to make a long oration in his difpraise, full of railing wordes, and spent all the reft of the daye in that rayling oration. Afterwardes when night came on, the Tribunes brake vp the affembly, and the next morning the fouldiers being incouraged by *Galbas* oration, and hauing confedered together, dyd flocke about *Galba*, in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had geuen warning they would be their affembly. Now being broade daye, *Æmylius* triumphe was referred to the number of voyces of the people, and the firft tribe flatly dyd denie his triumphe. The Senate, and the residue of the people hearing that, were very forie to fee they dyd *Æmylius* fo open wrong and iniurie. The common-people fayed nothing to it, they feemed to be very forie, howbeit they fought no redrefle. The lordes of the Senate cried out upon them, & fayed it was to much fhame, and exhorted one another to bridell the infolencie and boldnes of thefe fouldiers, who would growe in the ende to fuch tumulte and diforder, that they E would commit all mifchief and wickednes, if betimes they were not looked to, and preuented, feeing they dyd fo openly ftand againft their generall, seeking to deprive him of the honour of his triumphe and victorie. So they affembled a good company of them together, and went vp to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would ftaye to take the voyces of the people, vntill they had acquainted them with fuch needfull matter, as they had to open vnto them. The Tribunes graunted to it, and fentence was made. Then *Marcus Seruilus*, who had bene Conful, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne perfon, and had allwayes flaine as many of his enemies as challenged him man for man: role vp, and fpake in fauour of *Æmylius* in this manner. I knowe now (fayed he) better then before, how noble and worthe a capitaine *Paulus Æmylius* is, who hath achieved fuch glorie F and honorable victorie, with fo difhonorable and difobedient fouldiers. And I can but wonder, that the people not long fince reioyced, and made great accompt, of the victories and triumphes

*The enemy of
Seruius Galba
vnto Æmylius.*

*Comptin-
gus Æmy-
lii triumphe.*

*Seruilus oration for the
furtherance
of Æmylius
triumphe.*

A triumphes wonne upon the *ILLYRIANS* and other nations of *AFRICA*: and that now they should for fpite enuie his glorie (doing whatlyeth in them to hinder) to bring a *MACEDONIAN* king aloue in a triumphe, and to fhewe the glorie and greatnes of king *Philip* and *Alexander* the great, fubdued by the *ROMAINES* force and power. What reafon haue ye, that not long fince, upon a flying rumour that *Æmylius* had wonne the battell againft *Perfius*, you straight made facrifices to the goddes with great ioye, praying them that you might be witnesses of the trothe thereof: and now that the perfon him felfe whom you made generall is returned home, and doth deliuer you moft affured victorie, you doe frustrate the goddes wonted glorie in fuch a cafe? as if you were afraid to fee the greatnes of your propfperitie, or B that you ment to pardone a King your flau and prifoner. And yet of the two, you haue more reafon to hinder the triumphe, as pityting the King: then enuying your captaine. But the malice of the wicked, through your pacience is grown to fuche an infolent audacitie and boldnes, that we fee men prefent here before vs, which neuer went fro the fmoke of the chimney, nor caried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at home like women & houfedowes: and yet they are fo impudent and fhameles, as they dare presume vnreuerently to your faces, to prate of the office and duety of a generall of an armie, and of the defert of triumphe, before you I faye, who by experience of many a fore cut and wounde upon your bodies in the warres, haue learned to knowe a good and valliant captaine, from a vile and cowardly perfon. And fpeaking thefe wordes, he caft open his gowne, and fhewed before them all, the infinite C fcarres and cuttes he had receyued vpon his brest: and then turning him behinde, fhewed all fuche places as were not fitte to be feene openly, and fo turned him againe to *Galba*, and fayed vnto him. Thou mockeft me for that I fhewe thee: but I reioyce before my countrie men and citizens: that for feruing my cōtrie night & daye a horfe backe, I haue thefe wounds upon me which thou feelt. Now get thee about thy bufinnes, & receiue their voyces: & I wil come after, noting them that are naughtie and vnthankfull citizens, who like to be fothed with flatterie, and not flowely commaunded, as behoueth a generall in the warre. Thefe wordes fo reined the harde headed fouldiers with the curbe of reafon, that all the other tribes agreed in one, and graunted *Æmylius* triumphe: the order and folemnitie whereof was performed in this D fote. Firft, the people hauing fet vp fundrie fcaffolde, afwel in the liftes & field (called *Circus* by the *LATINES*) where the games and common running of hories and charretts are made, as also about the market place, and in other ftreetes of the citie, through the which, the fhewe of the triumphe should paffe: they all prefented them felues in their beft gownes to fee the magnificence and ftate thereof. All the temples of the goddes also were fet wide open, hanged full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there were fet through all the quarters of the citie, numbers of fergeaunts and other officers holding tipftaues in their hands, to order the ftraging people, and to keepe them vp in corners and lanes endes, that they should not pester the ftreetes, & hinder the triumphe. Furthermore, the fight of this triumphe was to continue three dayes, whereof the firft was fcaut fufficient to fee the paffing by of the images, tables, & pictures, & ftatues of wonderfull bignes, all wonne and gotten of their enemies, and drawn in the fhowe, vpon two hundred & fiftie charretts. The fecond daye, there were caried E vpon a number of cartes, all the faireft and richeft armour of the *MACEDONIANS*, afwell of copper, as also of iron and Steele, all glittering bright, being newly furnifhed, and artificeilly layed in order (and yet in fuch fote, as if they had bene caft in heapes one vpon another, without taking any care otherwife for the ordering and laying of them) fayer burganers vpon targets: habergions, or brigantines and corflets, vpon greaues: rounde targets of the *CYRETANS*, and iaulings of the *THRACIANS*, and arrowes amongst the armed pykes: all this armour and carriage, being bound one to another fo trimly (neither being too loole, nor too ftraight) that one hitting againft another, as they drue them vpon the cartes through the citie, they made fuche a found and noyfe, as it was fearefull to heare it: fo that the only fight of thefe F fpoyles of the captiues being overcome, made the fight fo muche more terrible to behold it. After thefe cartes laden with armour, there followed three thousand men, which caried the ready money in feuen hundred & fiftie veflels, which wayed about three talens a peece, & euery

*A notable description of
Æmylius triumphe.*

one of them were caried by foure men: & there were other that caried great bowles of filuer, & cuppes & goblets facioned like hornes, & other pottes to drinke in, goodly to behold, as wel for their bignes, as for their great & singular inbowed workes about it. The third day early in the morning, the trumpets beganne to found & set forwardes, founding no marche nor swete notes, to bewaite triumphe withall: but they blew out the braue alarm they founde at an assault, to geue the souldiers corage for to fight. After them followed fixe score goodly fat oxen, hauing all their hornes gylte, & garlands of flowes & nosegayes about their heads, & there wex by them certayne yong men, with aprons of needle worke, girt about their midle, who led them to the sacrifice, & yong boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold & siluer, to cast & sprinkle the blood of the sacrifices about. And after these, followed those that caried all coynes of gold deuided by basons & vessels, & euery one of them waying three talents as they dyd before, that caried the great holy cuppe, which Æmylius had caused to be made of mass gold, set full of precious stones, waying the weight of tenne talents, to make an offering vnto the godds. And next vnto them went other that caried plate, made & wrought after antique facion, & notable cuppes of the auncient kings of MACEDON: as the cuppe called *Antigonus*, & another *Selenus*: & to be shorte, all the whole cubberd of plate of gold & siluer of king *Perseus*. And next them came the charret of his armour, in the which was all king *Perseus* harnesse, & his royall bande (they call a *Diademe*) vpon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, followed next the Kings children, whom they led prisoners, with the traine of their schoolemasters & other officers, & their seruants, weeping & lamenting: who held vp their hands vnto the people that looked upon them, & taught the Kings young children to doe the like, to aske C mercie & grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety litle children, two sonnes and a daughter amongst them, whose tender yeres and lacke of vnderstanding, made them (poore soules) they could not feele their present miserie, which made the people so much more to pittie them, when they saw the poore litle infants, that they knew not the chaunge of their hard fortune: so that for the cōpassion they had of the, they almost let the father passe without looking vpon him. Many peoples harts did melt for very pittie, that the teares ranne downe their cheekes, so as this sight brought both pleasure & sorow, together to the lookers on, vntill they were past & gone a good way out of sight. King *Perseus* the father, followed after his children & their traine, & he was clothed in a blacke gowne, wearing a payer of slippers on his feete after his contrie māner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled minde, oppressed with sorow D of his most miserable state & fortune. He was followed with his kinsfolks, his familiar friends, his officers & household seruants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamenting teares, & sorowfull eyes cast upon their vnfortunate master, how much they sorowed & bewailed his most hard & cursed fortune, litle accōpting of their own miserie. The voice goeth, that *Perseus* sent vnto Æmylius to intreate him, that he should not be led through the citie in the shoue & sight of the triūphe. But Æmylius mocking (as he deserved) his cowardly faint hart, answered: as for that, it was before, & is now in him, to doe if he wil. Meaning to let him vnderstand thereby, that he might rather chuse to dye, then liuing to receiue such open shame. Howbeit his hart would not serue him, he was so cowardly, & made so effeminate, by a certain vaine hope he knew not what, that he was cōtented to make one amōg his own spoiles. After all this, there followed 400. princely crownes of golde, which the cities and townes of GREECE had purposely sent by their ambassadours vnto Æmylius, to honour his victorie: & next vnto the, he came him selfe in his charret triūphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth & adorned. It was a noble sight to behold: & yet the person of him self only was worth the looking on, without all that great pōpe & magnificēce. For he was apparelled in a purple gowne branched with gold, & caried in his right hand a lawrell bough, as all his armie did besides: the which being deuided by bands & cōpanies, followed the triūphing charret of their capitaine, some of the souldiers singing songes of victorie, which the ROMANES vse to singe in like triūmphes, mingling the with mery pleasant toyes, reioycing at their captaine. Other of the also dyd sing songes of triūphe, in the honour & praise of Æmylius noble cōquest & victorie. He was openly praised, blessed, & honored of euery body, & neither hated nor enuied of honest men. Sawing the ordinary vse of some god, whose proprietie is allwayes to lessen or cut of some part of

Perseus children.

King Perseus.

Æmylius scorneth Perseus cowardline.

Four hundred crownes of gold sent vnto Æmylius by the cities of Greece.

A of mans exceeding prosperitie & felicitie, mingling with mans life the sence & feeling of good & euill together: because that no liuing persone should passe all his time of life, without some aduersitie or misfortune, but that such (as *Homer* sayeth) should only thinke the felices happie, to whom fortune hath equally sorted the good with the euill. And this I speake, because Æmylius had 4. sonnes, two of the which he gaue in adoptiō vnto the families of *Scipio* & of *Fabius*, as we haue sayed before: & two other which he had by his secōd wife, be brought vp with him in his owne house, & were both yet very young. Of the which one dyed, being 14. yeres of age five dayes before his fathers triūphe: & the other dyed also, 3. dayes after the pompe of triūphe, at 12. yeres of age. When this sorowfull chaunce had befallen him, euery one in ROMAN did pittie him in their hartes: but fortunes spite & crueltie did more greue & feare them, to see B her litle regard towards him, to put into a house of triūphe (full of honour & glorie, & of sacrifices & ioye) such a pittiefull mourning, & mingling of sorowes & lamentations of death, amongst such songes of triūphe & victorie. Notwithstanding this, Æmylius taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to vse constancie & magnanimitie, against the sword & pike of the enemy: but a like also against all aduersitie and enmitie of spitefull fortune. So he wisely wayed & considered his present misfortune, with his former prosperitie: & finding his misfortune cōterpealed with felicitie, & his priuate grieues cut of with cōmon ioye, he gaue no place to his sorowes & mischāces, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triūphe & victorie. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sonnes, he left not to make his triūphant entrie, as you haue heard before. And his secōd sonne also being deceased after his triūphe, he C caused the people to assemble, & in face of the whole citie he made an oration, nor like a discomfōrted man, but like one rather that dyd cōfōrt his sorowfull contrymen for his mischāce. He told them, that concerning mens matters, neuer any thing dyd feare him: but for things above, he euer feared fortune, mistrusting her chaunge & inconstācie, & specially in the last warre, doubting for so great prosperitie as could be wished, to be passed home with an after intollerable aduersitie, & sinister chaunce. For as I went (sayed he) I passed ouer the gulfe of the Adriaticke sea, from B RINDIS vnto CORFV in one daye. And from thence in fīue dayes after, I arrived in the citie of DELPHES, where I dyd sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And within fīue other dayes, I arrived in my cāpe, where I found mine armie in MACEDON. And after I had done the sacrifice, & due ceremonies for purifying of the same, I presently begāne to followe the purpose & D cause of my cōming: so as in 15. dayes after, I made an honorable ende of all those warres. But yet, mistrusting fortune allwayes, seing the prosperous course of my affaires, & considering that there were no other enemies, nor daungers I neded to feare: I feared sorely she would chaunge at my returne, when I should be vpon the sea, bringing home so goodly & victorious an armie, with so many spoiles & so many Princes and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arrived in the hauen, & seing all the citie at my returne full of ioye, & of feastes & sacrifices: I still suspected fortune, knowing her manner well enough, that the vñeth not to gratifie men so frankly, nor to graunt them so great things clearly, without some certen sparke of enuie waiting on them. Neither dyd my minde being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the cōmon wealth, shake of this feare behind me: but that I sawe, this home mishappe & miserie lighted vpon me, enforcing me with mine owne hands in these holy dayes of my triūphe, to burie my two young sonnes one after another, which I only brought vp with me, for the succession of my name & house. Wherefore, me thinks now I may saye, I am out of all daunger, at the least touching my chiefeest & greatest misfortune: & doe beginne to stablish my selfe with this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with vs euermore, without feare of other vñucky or sinister chaunce. For the hath sufficiently conuerted the favorable victorie she gaue you, with the enuious mishappe wherewith the hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the cōquerour & triūpher, as noble an exāple of mans miserie & weaknes, as the party cōquered, that had bene led in triūphe. Sawing that *Perseus* yet, cōquered as he is, hath this cōfōrt left him: to see his childre liuing, & that the cōquerour Æmylius hath lost his. And F this was the summe of Æmylius notable oration he made vnto the people of ROMAN, proceeding of a noble & honorable disposed minde. And though it pittied him in his harte to see the strange chaunge of king *Perseus* fortune, and that he hartely desired to helpe him, and to doe

Æmylius aduersitie.

Æmylius fortitude in his trouble, for the death of his children.

Æmylius oration in his trouble, for the death of his children.

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The death of
king Perſus.

A ſtrange
kind of death.

The ſtate of
Perſus
ſonnes.

By Æmylius
viſited, the
people payd
no more ſubſi-
die.

Æmylius
choſen Cenſor.

The office &
authoritie of
the Cenſor.

Æmylius
ſicke.

him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but only to remoue him from the common priſone (which the ROMAINES call *Carcer*) into a more clemly and ſweter houſe where being ſtraitly garded and looked vnto, he killed him ſelfe by abſtinenſe from meate, as the moſt parte of hitoriographers doe write. Yet ſome writers tell a maruelous ſtrange tale, and manner of his death. For they ſaye the ſouldiers that garded him, kept him from ſleepe, watching him ſtraightly when ſleepe tooke him, and would not ſuffer him to ſhut his eye liddes (only apon malice they dyd beare him, becauſe they could not otherwiſe hurte him) keeping him awake by force, not ſuffering him to take reſt: vntill ſuche time as nature being forced to geue ouer, he gaue vp the ghoſt. Two of his ſonnes dyed alſo: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent turner and ioyner, and was learned, and could ſpeake the ROMAINES tongue very well, and dyd write it ſo trimly, that afterwards he was chancelour to the magiſtrates of ROME, and dyd wiſely and diſcretly behaue him ſelfe in his office. Furthermore, they doe adde to this goodly conqueſt of the realme of MACEDON, that Æmylius conquered another ſpeciall good thing, that made him maruelouſly well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought fo much gold and ſiluer vnto the treaſurie ſtore of ROME, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yere that *Hircius* and *Panſa* were Conſuls, which was about the beginning of the firſt warres of *Auguſtus* and *Antonius*. And yet Æmylius had one ſingular good gift in him: that though the people dyd greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke parte with the Senate and nobilitie, and dyd neuer by worde nor dede any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or pleaſe them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he dyd euer leane to the nobilitie and good men. And this dyd *Appius* afterwards caſt in his ſonnes teethe, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefeſt men of their time, and contending together for the office of Cenſor: *Appius* had about him to fauour his ſure, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the *Appians* had euer held on their parte. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of him ſelfe, yet he was in all times laoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when *Appius* ſawe him come into the market place, followed with men of ſmall qualitie and baſe condition, that had bene ſlaues before, but otherwiſe could ſkilfully handle ſuche praſtiſes, bring the people together, and by oportunitie of cries and lowde voyces (if neede were) obtaine what they would in the aſſembles of the cittie: he ſpake out alowde, and ſayed, O *Paulus Æmylius*, now haſt thou good cauſe to ſighe, and mourne in thy graue where thou lyeſt (if the dead doe know what we doe here on earth) to ſee Æmylius a common ſergeant, and *Licinius* a prating fellowe, howe they bring thy ſonne vnto the dignitie of a Cenſor. And as for *Scipio*, he was alwayes beloued of the common people, becauſe he dyd fauour them in all things. But Æmylius alſo, although he tooke euer the noble mens parte, he was not therefore leſſe beloued of the common people, then thoſe that allwayes flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to pleaſe them: which the common people did witneſſe, aſwell by other honours & offices they offered him, as in the dignitie of the Cenſor which they gaue him. For it was the holieſt office of all other at that time, and of greateſt power and authoritie, ſpecially for inquierie and reformation of euery mans life and manners. For he that was Cenſor, had authoritie to put any Senatour of the counſell, and to diſgrade him, if he dyd not worthily behaue him ſelfe according to his place and calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be moſt honeſt, and fitteſt for the place againe. Moreover, they might by their authoritie, take from licentious young men, their horſe which was kept at the charge of the common weale. Furthermore, they be the ſeſſours of the people, and the muſter maſters, keeping bookes of the number of perſones at euery muſtering. So there appeared numbred in the regiſter booke Æmylius made then of them, three hundred, ſeuē and thirtie thouſand, foure hundred, and two and ſiftie men, and *Marcus Æmylius Lepidus* named preſident of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and dyd put of the counſell three Senatours, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he & his companion, *Marcus Philippus* kept, vpon viewe and muſter taken of the ROMAINES horſemen. And after he had ordered and diſpoſed the greateſt matters of his charge and office, he fell ſicke of a diſeaſe

A ſeaſe that at the beginning ſeemed very dangerous, but in the ende there was no other danger, ſauing that it was a lingering diſeaſe, and hard to cure. So, following the counſell of phiſicians, who willed him to goe to a cittie in ITALY called *Velia*, he tooke ſea, and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleaſant houſes vpon the ſea ſide, quietly and out of all noyſe. But during this time of his abſence, the ROMAINES wiſhed for him many a time and ofte. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to ſee the playes and ſportes, they cried out diuers times for him: whereby they ſhewed that they had a great deſire to ſee him againe. Time being come about when they vſed to make a ſolemne yerely ſacrifice, and Æmylius finding him ſelfe alſo in good perfect health: he returned againe to ROME, where he made the ſacrifice with the other prieſtes, all the people of ROME gathering about him, reioycing muche to ſee him. The next daye after, he made another particular ſacrifice, to geue thanks vnto the goddeſs for recouerie of his healthe. After the ſacrifice was ended, he went home to his houſe, & ate him downe to dinner: he ſodainly fell into a rauing (without any perſeuerance of ſickneſs ſpied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wittes went from him in ſuche ſorte, that he dyed within three dayes after, lacking no neceſſarie thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy in this world. For he was euen honoured at his funeralles, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with gold, ſiluer, nor iuorie, nor with other ſuche ſumptuouſnes or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and good will of the people, all of them confeſſing his vertue and well doing: and this dyd not only his naturall country men performe in memorie of him, but his very enemies alſo. For all thoſe that met in ROME by chaunce at that time, that were either come out of SPAYNE, from GENVA, or out of MACEDON, all thoſe that were young and ſtrong, dyd willingly put them ſelues vnder the coffin where his bodie laye, to helpe to carie him to the church: and the olde men followed his bodie to accompany the ſame, calling Æmylius the benefactour, ſauour, and father of their countrie. For he dyd not only intreate them gently, and graciouſly, whom he had ſubdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleaſure them, and to ſet forwardes their cauſes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinſemen. The inventory of all his goodes after his death, dyd ſcant amownte vnto the ſumme of three hundred, three ſcore, and tenne thouſand ſiluer Drachmes, which his two ſonnes dyd inherite. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother *Fabius*, becauſe he was adopted into a very riche houſe, which was the houſe of the great *Scipio Africanus*. Suche they ſaye was *Paulus Æmylius* conditions and life.

The ende of *Paulus Æmylius* life.

Æmylius re-
moued from
Rome, and
dwelt in the
city of Velia.

The death of
Æmylius in
Rome.

Æmylius
funeralles.

Æmylius
goodes what
they came to.

him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but only to remoue him from the common prifone (which the ROMAINES call *Carcer*) into a more cleanly and fweeter houle, where being ftraightly garded and looked vnto, he killed him felfe by abftinence from meate, in the moft parte of hiftoriographers doe write. Yet fome writers tell a maruelous ftraunge tale, and manner of his death. For they faye the fouldiers that garded him, kept him from fleep, watching him ftraightly when fleepe tooke him, and would not fuffer him to fhut his eye liddes (only upon malice they dyd beare him, bicaufe they could not otherwife hurte him) keeping him awake by force, not fuffering him to take reft: vntill fuche time as nature being forced to geue ouer, he gaue vp the ghoft. Two of his fonnes dyed alfo: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent turner and ioyner, and was learned, and could fpeake the ROMAINE tongue very well, and dyd write it fo trimly, that afterwards he was chauncelour to the magiftrates of ROME, and dyd wifely and difcretly behaue him felfe in his office. Furthermore, they doe adde to this goodly conqueft of the realme of MACEDON, that *Æmylius* conquered another fpeciall good thing, that made him marueloufly well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought fo much gold and filuer vnto the treafurie ftore of ROME, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yere that *Hircius* and *Panfa* were Confuls, which was about the beginning of the firft warres of *Auguftus* and *Antonius*. And yet *Æmylius* had one fingular good gift in him: that though the people dyd greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke parte with the Senate and nobilitie, and dyd neuer by worde nor dede any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or pleafe them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he dyd euer leane to the nobilitie and good men. And this dyd *Appius* afterwards caft in his fonnes teethe, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Cenfor: *Appius* had about him to fauour his fure, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the *Appians* had euer held on their parte. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of him felfe, yet he was in all times fauoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when *Appius* fawe him come into the market place, followed with men of fmall qualitie and bafe condition, that had bene flaues before, but otherwife could fkillfully handle fuche praftifes, bring the people together, and by oportunitie of cries and lowde voyces (if neede were) obtaine what they would in the afsemblies of the cittie: he fpake out alowde, and fayed. O *Paulus Æmylius*, now haft thou good caufe to fighe, and mourne in thy graue where thou lyeft (if the dead doe know what we doe here on earth) to fee *Æmylius* a common fergeant, and *Licinius* a prating fellowe, howe they bring thy fonne vnto the dignitie of a Cenfor. And as for *Scipio*, he was alwayes beloued of the common people, bicaufe he dyd fauour them in all things. But *Æmylius* alfo, although he tooke euer the noble mens parte, he was not therefore leffe beloued of the common people, then thofe that alwayes flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to pleafe them: which the common people did witneffe, as well by other honours & offices they offered him, as in the dignitie of the Cenfor which they gaue him. For it was the holieft office of all other at that time, and of greateft power and authoritie, fpecially for inquierie and reformation of euery mans life and manners. For he that was Cenfor, had authoritie to put any Senatour of the counfell, and to difgrade him, if he dyd not worthily behaue him felfe according to his place and calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be moft honeft, and fitteft for the place againe. Moreover, they might by their authoritie, take from licentious young men, their horfe which was kept at the charge of the common weale. Furthermore, they be the fellores of the people, and the mufter mafters, keeping bookes of the number of perones at euery muftering. So there appeared numbered in the regiftre booke *Æmylius* made then of them, three hundred, feuen and thirtie thoufand, foure hundred, and two and fiftie men, and *Marcus Æmylius Lepidus* named prefident of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and dyd put of the counfell three Senatours, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he & his companion, *Marcus Philippus* kept, vpon viewe and mufter taken of the ROMAINE horfemen. And after he had ordered and difpofed the greateft matters of his charge and office, he fell ficke of a difeafe

The death of
king Perfeus.

A ftraunge
kind of death.

The ftate of
Perfeus
fonnes.

By Æmylius
victorie, the
people payed
no more tribu-
tie.

Æmylius
chofen Cenfor.

The office &
authoritie of
the Cenfor.

Æmylius
ficke.

A feafe that at the beginning feemed very daungerous, but in the ende there was no other daunger, faying that it was a lingring difeafe, and hard to cure. So, following the counfell of phifitians, who willed him to goe to a cittie in ITALY called *VELIA*, he tooke fea, and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleaſant houſes vpon the ſea ſide, quietly and out of all noyſe. But during this time of his abſence, the ROMAINES wiſhed for him many a time and ofte. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to ſee the playes and ſportes, they cried out diuers times for him: whereby they ſhewed that they had a great deſire to ſee him againe. Time being come about when they vſed to make a ſolemne yerely ſacrifice, and *Æmylius* finding him ſelfe alſo in good perfect health: he returned againe to ROME, where he made the ſacrifice with the other prieſtes, all the people of ROME gathering about him, reioycing muche to ſee him. The next daye after, he made another particular ſacrifice, to geue thanks vnto the goddes for recouerie of his healtie. After the ſacrifice was ended, he went home to his houſe, & fate him downe to dinner: he ſodainly fell into a rauing (without any perfeuerance of ſicknes ſpied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wittes went from him in fuche forte, that he dyed within three dayes after, lacking no neceſſarie thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy in this world. For he was euen honoured at his funerall, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither with gold, ſiluer, nor iuorie, nor with other fuche ſumptuouſnes or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and good will of the people, all of them confeſſing his vertue and well doing: and this dyd not only his naturall country men performe in memorie of him, but his very enemies alſo. For all thoſe that met in ROME by chaunce at that time, that were either come out of SPAYNE, from GENVA, or out of MACEDON, all thoſe that were young and ſtrong, dyd willingly put them ſelues vnder the coffin where his bodie laye, to helpe to carie him to the church: and the olde men followed his bodie to accompany the ſame, calling *Æmylius* the benefaكتور, ſauour, and father of their countrie. For he dyd not only intreate them gently, and graciouſly, whom he had ſubdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleaſure them, and to ſet forwardes their cauſes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinſemen. The inuentorie of all his goodes after his death, dyd ſcant amownte vnto the ſumme of three hundred, three ſcore, and tenne thouſand ſiluer Drachmes, which his two ſonnes dyd inherite. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother *Fabius*, bicaufe he was adopted into a very riche houſe, which was the houſe of the great *Scipio Africanus*.

Suche they ſaye was *Paulus Æmylius* conditions and life.

The ende of *Paulus Æmylius* life.

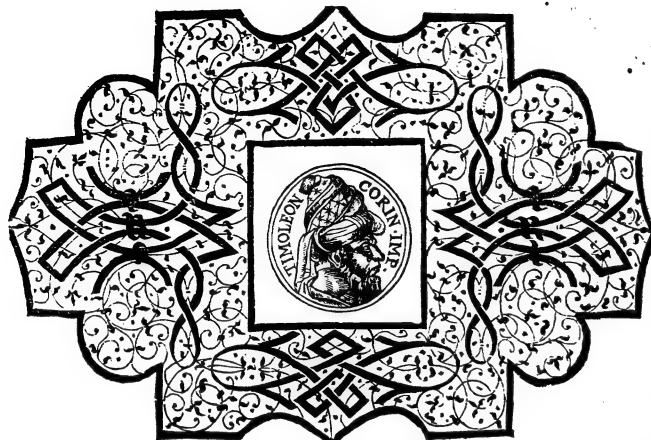
Æmylius re-
moued from
Rome, and
dwelt in the
citty of Velia.

The death of
Æmylius in
Rome.

Æmylius
funerall.

Æmylius
goodes what
they came to.

THE LIFE OF *Timoleon.*



The state of
the Syracusans
before Timo-
leons coming.

BEFORE *Timoleon* was sent into *SICILE*, thus stood the state of the *SYRACUSANS*. After that *Dion* had driven out the tyrant *Dionysius*, he him selfe after was slaine immediatly by treason: and those that ayded him to restore the *SYRACUSANS* to their libertie, fell out, and were at dissention among them selves. By reason whereof, the citie of *SYRACUSA* chaunging continually newe tyrannies, was so troubled and turmoiled with all sorte of euills, that it was left in manner desolate, and without inhabitants. The rest of *SICILE* in like case was vtterly destroyed, and no citie in manner left standing, by reason of the long warres: and those fewe that remained, were most inhabited of forreine souldiers & straungers (a company of lose men gathered together that tooke paye of no prince nor citie) all the dominions of the same being easely vsurped, and as easie to chaunge their lorde. In so much, *Dionysius* the tyrant, tenne yeres after *Dion* had driven him out of *SICILE*, hauing gathered a certain number of souldiers together againe, and through their helpe driven out *Nisemus*, that reigned at that time in *SYRACUSA*: he recovered the Realme againe, and made him selfe King. So, if he was straungely expelled by a small power out of the greatest Kingdome that euer was in the worlde: likewise he more straungely recovered it againe, being banished and very poore, making him selfe King ouer them, who before had driven him out. Thus were the inhabitants of the citie compelled, to serue this tyrant: who besides that of his owne nature he was neuer curteous nor ciuill, he was now growen to be farre more dogged and cruell, by reason of the extreme miserie and misfortune he had endured. But the noblest citizens repaired vnto *Iscetes*, who at that time as lorde ruled the citie of the *LEONTINES*, and they chose him for their generall in these warres: not for that he was any thing better then the open tyrannes, but because they had no other to repaire vnto at that time, & they trusted him best, for that he was borne (as them selves) within the citie of *SYRACUSA*, & because also he had men of warre about him, to make head against this tyrant. But in the meane time, the *CARTHAGINIANS* came downe into *SICILE* with a great armie, and invaded the countie. The *SYRACUSANS* being affrayed of them, determined to send ambassa-

Iscetes, tyrant
of the Leontines.

A dours into *GRÆCE* vnto the *CORINTHIANS*, to praye ayde of them against the barbarous people, hauing better hope of them, then of any other of the *GRÆCIANS*. And that not altogether because they were lineally descended from them, and that they had receyued in times past many pleasures at their handes: but also for that they knewe that *CORINTH* was a citie, that in all ages and times, dyd euer loue libertie, and hate tyrannes, and that had alwayes made their greatest warres, not for ambition of Kingdomes, nor of couetous desire to conquer and rule, but only to defend and maintaine the libertie of the *GRÆCIANS*. But *Iscetes* in another contrarie sorte, he tooke upon him to be generall, with a minde to make him selfe king of *SYRACUSA*. For he had secretly practised with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and openly notwithstanding, in words he commended the counsell and determination of the *SYRACUSANS*, and sent p ambassadours from him selfe also with theirs, vnto *PELOPONNESVS*: not that he was desirous any ayde should come from them to *SYRACUSA*, but because he hoped if the *CORINTHIANS* refused to send them ayde (as it was very likely they would, for the warres and troubles that were in *GRÆCE*) that he might more easely turne all ouer to the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and vse them as his friends, to ayde him against the *SYRACUSANS*, or the tyrant *Dionysius*. And that this was his full purpose, and intent, it appeared plainly sone after. Now when their ambassadours arriued at *CORINTH*, & had deliuered their message, the *CORINTHIANS*, who had euer bene careful to defend such citie as had fought vnto them, & specially *SYRACUSA*: very willingly determined in counsaill to send them ayde, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, hauing warres with none of the *GRÆCIANS*. So their only staye rested, vpon choosing of a generall to leade their armie. Now as the magistrates and gouernours of the citie were naming suche citizens, as willingly offered their seruice, desirous to aduance them selves: there stept vp a meane commoner, who named *Timoleon*, *Timodemus* sonne, a man that vntill that time was neuer called on for seruice, neither looked for any suche preferment. And truly it is to be thought it was the secret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane commoner to name *Timoleon*: whose election fortune fauored very much, and ioyned to his valliantnes and vertue, maruelous good successe in all his doings afterwards. This *Timoleon* was borne of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called *Timodemus*, and his mother *Demareta*. He was naturally inclined to loue his countie and common weale: and was alwayes gentle and curteous to all men, sauing that he mortally hated D tyrantes and wicked men. Furthermore nature had framed his bodie apt for warres and for paynes: he was wise in his grenest youth in all things he tooke in hande, and in his age he shewed him selfe very valliant. He had an elder brother called *Timophanes*, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a rashe harebraynd man, & had a greedy desire to reigne, being put into his head by a companie of meane men, that bare him in hande they were his friends, and by certain souldiers gathered together, which he had alwayes about him. And because he was very hotte and forward in warres, his citizens tooke him for a noble captain, & a man of good seruice, and therefore oftentimes they gaue him charge of men. And therein *Timoleon* dyd helpe him muche to hide his faulte he committed, or at the least made them seeme lesse, & lighter then they were, still increasing that small good gifte that nature brought E forth in him. As in a battell the *CORINTHIANS* had against the *ARGIENS* and the *CLEONIANS*, *Timoleon* serued as a priuate souldier amongst the footemen: and *Timophanes* his brother, hauing charge of horsemen, was in great daunger of being cast away, if present helpe had not bene. For his horse being hurte, threw him on the grounde in the midst of his enemies. Whereupon parte of those that were about him, were affrayed, and dispersed them selves here and there: and those that remained with him, being fewe in number, and hauing many enemies to fight withall, dyd hardly withstand their force and charge. But his brother *Timoleon* seeing him in suche instant daunger a farre off, ranne with all speede possible to helpe him, and clapping his target before his brother *Timophanes*, that laye on the grounde, receyving many woundes on his bodie with sword and arrowes, with great difficultie he repulled F the enemies, and saved his owne and his brothers life. Now the *CORINTHIANS*, fearing their like matter to come that before had happened vnto them, which was to lose their citie through default of their friends helpe: they resolved in counsell, to entertaine in paye conti-

By what voice
Timoleon
came to be
generall.

Timoleons
parentage &
manner.

Timophanes,
Timoleons
brother, what
he was.

Timoleon
saw
his
brother
there
life.

The Corin-
thians enter-
tained 400.
strangers, &
made Timo-
phanes cap-
taine of them
to keepe their
cittie.
Timophanes
crueltie, & su-
spicion of
the kingdom.

Timophanes
flaunt by his
brothers pro-
curement.

Our selfe must
be honest, and
confident.

Phocius
saying.
Aristides
grate saying.

nually foure hundred souldiers that were strangers, whom they assigned ouer to *Timophanes* charge. VVho, abandoning all honestie and regarde of the trust reposed in him, dyd presently practise all the wayes he could to make him selfe lorde of the citie: and hauing put diuers of the chiefe citizens to death without order of lawe, in the ende, he openly proclaimed him selfe King. *Timoleon* being very forie for this, and taking his brothers wickednes would be the very high waye to his fall and destruction: sought first to winne him with all the good words and persuation he could to moue him to leaue his ambitious desire to reigne, and to false (as neere as might be) his harde dealing with the citizens. *Timophanes* set light by his brothers persuations, and would geue no care vnto them. Thereupon *Timoleon* then went vnto one *Aeschylus* his friend, and brother vnto *Timophanes* wife, and to one *Satyrus* a soothesayer (as *Theopompus* the historiographer calleth him, and *Ephorus* calleth him *Orthagoras*) with whom he came againe another time vnto his brother: and they three coming to him, instantly be- fought him to beleue good counsell, and to leaue the Kingdome. *Timophanes* at the first dyd but laughe them to scorne, and sported at their persuations: but afterwards he waxed warme, and grew into great chollier with them. *Timoleon* seeing that, went a litle to aside, and couering his face fell a weeping: and in the meane season, the other two drawing out their iwordes, slue *Timophanes* in the place. This murder was straight blown abroad through the citie, and the better sorte did greatly commend the noble minde and hate *Timoleon* bare against the tyrante considering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kinne, dyd notwithstanding re- gard the benefit of his cuntrye, before the naturall affection to his brother, and preferred duety and iustice, before nature and kinned. For, before he had saued his brothers life, fighting for defence of his cuntrye: and now in seeking to make him selfe King, and to rule the same, he made him to be slaine. Suche then as misliked popular government and libertie, and al- wayes followed the Nobilitie: they set a good face of the matter, as though they had bene glad of the tyrantes death. Yet still reprobuing *Timoleon* for the horrible murder he had committed against his brother, declaring howe detestable it was both to the gods and men: they fo hand- led him, that it grieved him to the harte he had done it. But when it was told him that his mo- ther tooke it maruelous euill, and that she pronounced horrible curses against him, and gave out terrible wordes of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit she could ne- uer abide to see him, but allwayes shut her doore against him. Then he being wounded to the harte with sorowe, tooke a conceit sodainly to kill him selfe by absteyning from meate: but his friends would neuer forsake him in this despaire, and vrged him so farre by intreaty and per- suasion, that they compelled him to eate. Thereupon he resolved thenceforth to giue him selfe ouer to a solitary life in the cuntrye, secluding him selfe from all companie and dealings so as at the beginning, he dyd not only refuse to repaire vnto the citie, and all accesse of com- panie, but wandring vp and downe in most solitarie places, consumed him selfe and his time with melancholie. And thus we see, that counsell and iudgements are lightly caried away (by prayre or disprayre) if they be not shored vp with rule of reason, and philosophie, and not confounded in them selues. And therefore it is very requisite and necessarie, that not only the acte be good and honest of it selfe, but that the resolution thereof be also constant, and not subiect vnto chaunge: to the ende we maye doe all things considerately. Left we be like vnto li- kerous mowthd men, who as they desire meates with a greedy appetite, and after are sore weary, disliking the same: euen so we do suddenly repent our actions, grounded vpon a weak imagination, of the honestie that moued vs thereunto. For repentance maketh the acte, which before was good, naught. But determination, grounded vpon certaine knowledge and truthe of reason, doth neuer chaunge, although the matter enterprised, haue not allwayes happy successe. And therefore *Phocion* the *ATHENIAN* hauing resisted (as muche as in him laye) certain things which the generall *Leoitheues* dyd, and which contrarie to his minde tooke good effect: and perceiving the *ATHENIANS* dyd open sacrifice vnto the goddess, to geue them thanks for the same, and muche reioyce at the victorie they had obtained, I would haue reioyced to (sayd he) if I had done this: but so would I not for any thing, but I had geuen the counsell. And after that sorte, but more sharply dyd *Aristides* *LOCRIAN* (a very friend and companion of *Platoes*) answer *Diomyssus* the elder, tyrante of *SYRACUSA*: who asked his

good

A goodwill to marie one of his daughters. I had rather see my daughter deade (sayd he) then married vnto a tyranne. And within a certayne tyme after, the tyranne put all his sonnes to death: and then he asked him in derision, to greue him the more, if he were still of his former opinion for the marrying of his daughter. I am very forye, (sayd he) with all my harte, for that thou hast done: but yet I doe not repent me of that I haue sayd. That peraduenture proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne againe to *Timoleon*. Whether that in- ward sorowe strooke him to the harte for the death of his brother, or that shame did so- bash him, as he durst not abide his mother: twenty yeares after, he neuer did any notable or famous acte. And therefore, when he was named to be generall of the ayde that should be sent into *SICILE*, the people hauing willingly chosen and accepted of him: *Tyrsidides*, who was chiefe gouernour at that time in the citie of *CORINTHE*, standing vpon his feete before the people, spake vnto *Timoleon*, and did exhort him to behaue him selfe like an honest man, and valiant Capitaine in his charge. For, sayd he, if you handle your selfe well, we will thinke you haue killed a tyranne: but if you doe order your selfe otherwise then well, we will iudge you haue killed your brother. Nowe *Timoleon* being blisse in leauing of men, and prepa- ring him selfe: letters came to the *CORINTHIANS* from *Ietes*, whereby plainly appeared, that *Ietes* had caried two faces in one hooide, and that he was become a traitor. For he had no sooner dispatched his Ambassadors vnto them, but he straight tooke the *CARTHAGI- NIANS* parte, and dealt openly for them, intending to driue out *Diomyssus*, and to make him selfe King of *SYRACUSA*. But fearing least the *CORINTHIANS* would send ayde before he C had wrought his feate: he wrote againe vnto the *CORINTHIANS*, sending them worde, that they shoulde not neede nowe to put them selues to any charge or danger for coming into *SICILE*, and specially, because the *CARTHAGINIANS* were very angrie, and did also lye in waye in the way as they shoulde come, with a great flecte of shippes to meete with their armie: and that for him selfe, because he sawe they taried long, he had made league and amitie with them, against the tyranne *Diomyssus*. When they had red his letters, if any of the *CORINTHIANS* were before but coldely affected to this iorney, chollier did then so warme them a- gainst *Ietes*, that they frankly graunted *Timoleon* what he would aske, and did helpe to fur- nish him to set him out. When the shippes were ready rigged, and that the souldiers were furnished of all things necessary for their departure, the Nunnes of the goddesse *Proserpina* D sayd, they sawe a vision in their dreame, and that the goddesse *Ceres* and *Proserpina* did ap- peare vnto them, apparelled like trauellers to take a iorney: and tolde them, that they would goe with *Timoleon* into *SICILE*. Apon this speache onely, the *CORINTHIANS* rigged a galley, they called, the galley of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*: and *Timoleon* him selfe before he would take the seas, went into the citie of *DELPHES*, where he made sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And as he entered within the Sanctuarie where the aunswers of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull signe vnto him. For amongst the vowes and offerings that are hangd vppe vpon the walles of the Sanctuarie, there fell a bande directly vpon *Timoleon*'s heade, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: so that it seemed *Apollo* sent him already crowned, before he had let out one foote towards the iorney. He tooke E shippe, and sayled with seuen gallyes of *CORINTHE*, two of *CORPHE*, and tenne the *LEVCIANS* did set out. When he was launched out in the mayne sea, hauing a francke gale of winde and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the same there came a maruelous great bright light ouer his shippe, and it was much like to a torch burning, when they shewe the ceremonies of the holy mysteries. This torch did accompanie and guide them all their voyage, and in the ende it vanished away, and seemed to fall downe vpon the coast of *ITALY*, where the Shippemasters had deter- mined to arrive. The wise mens opinions being asked what this might signifie, they an- swered. That this wonderfull sight did betoken the dreame, the Nunnes of the goddesse *Ceres* dreamed, and that the goddesse fauoring this iorney, had shewed them the waye, F by sending of this light from heauen: because that the Ile of *SICILE* is consecrated vnto the goddesse *Proserpina*, and specially for that they reporte her rauishment was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was assigned vnto her for her ioynter, at the day of her mariage.

BB

Timoleo cho-
sen generall to
go into Sicile.

Ietes tyrant
of the Leoni-
tines, a traitor

A signe hap-
pened to Ti-
moleon.

Timoleon
sent shippes
towards Sicile

A burning
torche appea-
red in the ele-
ment vnto
Timoleon.

Thus did this celestiall signe of the goddess bothe encourage those that went this iorney, and deliuer them also assured hope, who sayled with all possible speede they coule: vntill such time, as hauing crossed the seas, they arriued vpon the coast of ITALIE. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderstoode from SICILE put *Timoleon* in great perplexitie, and did maruelously discourage the souldiers he brought with him. For *Iscetes* hauing ouerthrowe the battell of the tyranne *DIONYSIVS*, and possessed the greatest parte of the citie of SYRACUSA: he did beleage him within the castell, and within that parte of the citie which is called the Ile, where he had pent him vp, and inclosed him in with walles rounde about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGINIANS, that they would be carefull to keepe *Timoleon* from landing in SICILE, to the ende that by preventing that ayde, they might easily deuide SICILE betwene them, and no man to let them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his request, sent twenty of their gallyes vnto RHEGIO, amonge which *Iscetes* Ambassadors were sent to *Timoleon*, with testimonie of his doings: for they were sayer flattering wordes, to cloke his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed *Timoleon* he shoulde goe him selfe alone (if he thought good) vnto *Iscetes*, to counsell him, and to accompanie him in all his doings, which were nowe so farre onwarde in good towardsness, as he had almost ended them all. Furthermore, they did also perswade him, he shoulde send backe his shippes and souldiers to CORINTHE agayne, considering that the warre was nowe brought to good passe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS woulde in no case that his men should passe into SICILE, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the CORINTHIANS at their arriuall into the citie of RHEGIO, finding there C these Ambassadors, and seeing the flecte of the CARTHAGINIANS shippes, which did ryde at ancker not farre of from them: it spyted them on the one side to see they were thus mocked and abused by *Iscetes*. For euery one of them were maruelous angrye with him, and were greatly afeard also for the poore SYCILIANS, whome to playnely they sawe left a praye vnto *Iscetes* for rewarde of his treason, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompence of the tyrannie, which they suffered him to establish. So on the other side they thought it impossible to conquer the shippes of the CARTHAGINIANS, which laye in wayte for them, and so neare vnto them: considering they were twyfe as many in number as they, and hard for them to subdue the armie also that was in the handes of *Iscetes* in SICILE, considering that they were not come to him, but onely for the mayntenance of the warres. Notwithstanding, *Timoleon* spake very curteously vnto those Ambassadors, and captaynes of the CARTHAGINIANS shippes, letting them vnderstande that he would doe as much as they would haue him: and to say truly, if he woulde haue done otherwise, he could haue wonne nothing by it. Neuertheles he desired for his discharge, they woulde say that openly, in the presence of the people of RHEGIO, (being a citie of GRECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had spoken to him in secrete: and that done, he woulde departe incontinently, alledging that it stode him very much vpon for the safetie of his discharge, and that they them selues also shoulde more faithfully keepe that they promised vnto him touching the SYRACVSANS, when they had agreed vpon it, and promised it, before all the people of RHEGIO, who should be witnes of it. Now all this was but a fetche and policie deliuered by him, E to shadowe his departure, which the Captaynes and gouerners of RHEGIO did fauor, and seeme to helpe him in: bicause they wished SICILE should fall into the handes of the CORINTHIANS, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cause they commaunded a generall assembly of all the people, during which tyme, they caused the gates of the citie to be shut: geuing it out, that it was bicause the Citizens should not goe about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the people were assembled, they beganne to make long orations without concluding any matter: the one leauing alwayes to the other a like matter to talke of, to the ende they might winne time, vntill the gallyes of the CORINTHIANS were departed. And staying the CARTHAGINIANS also in this assembly, they mistrusted nothing, bicause they sawe *Timoleon* present: who made a countenance, F as though he woulde ryse to say something. But in the meane tyme, some one did secretly aduertise *Timoleon*, that the other gallyes were vnder sayle, and gone their waye, and that there

*Iscetes before
gates Dionysy.*

*Iscetes sends
Ambassadors
vnto Timoleon*

*Timoleon's craft
then the
Carthaginians*

*Rhégio a citie
of Greece.*

A there was but one galley left, which taried for him in the haue. Thereupon he sodainly stole away through the prease, with the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the chayer where the orations were made: and trudging quickly to the haue, he embarked incontinently, and hoped faste also. And when he had ouertaken his flecte, they went all safe together to lande at the citie of TAVROMENTION, which is in SICILE: there they were very well receiued by *Andromachus*, who long before had sent for them, for he gouerned this citie, as if he had bene Lorde thereof. He was the father of *Timon* the Historiographer, the honestest man of all those that did beare rule at that time in all SICILE. For he did rule his Citizens, in all iustice and equitie, and did alwayes shew him selfe an open enemy of tyrans. And following his affection therein, he lent his citie at that time vnto *Timoleon*, to gather people together, and perswaded his Citizens to enter into league with the CORINTHIANS, and to ayde them, to deliuer SICILE from bondage, and to restore it againe to libertie. But the captaynes of the CARTHAGINIANS that were at RHEGIO, when they knewe that *Timoleon* was vnder sayle and gone, after the assembling of the counsell was broken vpe: they were ready to cate their fingers for spyte, to see them selues thus finely mocked and deceived. The RHEGIANS on the other side, were mery at the matter, to see howe the PHENICIANS storied at it, that they had such a fine parte played them. Howbeit in the ende, they determined to send an Ambassador vnto TAVROMENTION, in one of their gallyes. This Ambassador spake very boldly, and barbarously vnto *Andromachus*, and in a choller: and last of all, he shewed him first the palme of his hande, then the backe of his hande, and did threaten him that his citie shoulde be so turned C ouer hand, if he did not quickly send away the CORINTHIANS. *Andromachus* fell laughing at him, and did turne his hande vpe and downe as the Ambassador had done, and bad him that he shoulde get him going, and that with speede out of his citie, if he woulde not see the keele of his galley turned vpwart. *Iscetes* nowe vnderstanding of *Timoleon*'s coming, and being affrayed, sent for a great number of gallyes vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the SYRACVSANS beganne to despayre vterly, when they sawe their haue full of the CARTHAGINIANS gallyes, the best parte of their citie kept by *Iscetes*, and the castell by the tyrannus *Dionysius*. And on thother side, that *Timoleon* was not yet come but to a litle corner of SICILE, hauing no more but the litle citie of TAVROMENTION, with a small power, and lesse hope: bicause there was not about a thousand footemen in all, to furnishe these warres, D neither prouision of vittells, nor so much money as woulde serue to entertayne and pay them. Besides also, that the other cities of SICILE did nothing trust him. But by reason of the violent extorcions they had alate suffered, they hated all Captaynes and leaders of men of warre to the deathe, and specially for the trecherie of *Calippus* and *Pharax*, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACEDÆMONIAN. Both of them layed they came to set SICILE at libertie, and to driue out the tyrans: and yet neuertheles they had done so much hurte vnto the poore SYCILIANS, that the miserie and calamitie which they had suffered vnder the tyrans, seemed all to be golde vnto them, in respect of that which the Captaynes had made them to abyde. And they did not thinke them more happy, that had willingly submitted them selues vnto the yoke of seruitude: then those which they sawe restored, and set at libertie. Therefore perswading them selues, that this CORINTHIAN woulde be no better vnto them, then the other had bene before, but supposing they were the selfe same former craftes, and alluring baytes of good hope and fayer wordes, which they had tasted of before, to drawe them to accept newe tyrans: they did fore suspect it, and reiected all the CORINTHIANS perswasions. Sauer the ADRANIANS onely, whose litle citie being consecrated to the god *Adranus*, (and greatly honored and reuerenced through all SICILE) was then in dissention one against another: in so muche as one parte of them tooke parte with *Iscetes*, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and an other side of them sent vnto *Timoleon*. So it fortun'd, that bothe the one and the other, making all the possible speede they coule, who shoulde come first: arriued bothe in manner at one selfe tyme. F *Iscetes* had about fise thousand souldiers, *Timoleon* had not in all, about twelue hundred men, with the which he departed to goe towards the citie of ADRANVS, distant from TAVROMENTION, about three hundred and fortie furlonges. For the first dayes iorney, he went

*Timoleon is
deliuered as
Tavromention in
Sicile.
Andromachus
the father of
Timon the
Historiographer,
gouernor of the
citie of Tavo-
mention.*

*The Cartha-
ginians Am-
bassador did
threaten to
deliuer the ci-
tie of Tavo-
mention by
turning An-
dromachus the
palme and
backe of his
hand.*

*The god Ad-
dranus.*

no great way, but lodged betimes: but the next morning he marched very hastily, & had mar-
uelous ill way. When night was come, and day light shut in, he had newes that *Ietes* did but
newly arrive before ADRANVS, where he encamped. When the priuate captaines vnderstood
this, they caused the vaward to stay, to eate & repose a litle, that they might be the lustier, & the
stronger to fight. But *Timoleon* did not still forwards, & prayed them not to stay, but to go on
with all the speede they could possible, that they might take their enemies out of order (as it
was likely they should) being but newly arriued, & troubled with making their cabbons, & pre-
paring for supper. Therewithall as he spake these wordes, he tooke his target on his arme, and
marched him selfe the foremost man, as brauely and coragiously as if he had gon to a most as-
sured victorie. The souldiers seeing him marche with that life; they followed at his heeles with
like corage. So they had not passing thirty furlonges to goe, when they had ouercomen,
they straight fey upon their enemies, whom they found all out of order, and began to flye, so
loone as they saw they were vpon their backs before they were aware. By this meanes there
were not about three hundred men slayne, and twice as many moe taken prisoners, and so their
whole campe was possessed. Then the ADRANITANS opening their gates, yielded vnto *Time-
leon*, declaring vnto him with great feare, and no lesse wonder, how at the very time when he
gaue charge among the enemies, the dore of the temple of their god opened of them selues, &
that the laueling which the Image of their god did hold in his hand, did shake at the very end
where the iron head was, and how all his face was seene to sweate. This (in my opinion) did not
only signifie the victorie he had gotten at that time, but all the notable employes he did af-
terwardes, vnto the which, this first encounter gaue a happy beginning. For immediately
after, many cities sent vnto *Timoleon*, to ioine in league with him. And *Mamercus*, the ty-
ran of CATANA, and very full of money, did also seeke his friendship. Further-
more, *Dionysius* the tyrann of SYRACUSA, being weary to follow hope any longer, and find-
ing him selfe in manner forced vnto it by long continuance of seige: made no more reckon-
ing of *Ietes*, when he knewe that he was so shamefully ouerthrowen. And contrariwise,
much esteeming *Timoleons* valiantnes, he sent to aduertise him, that he was contented to
yelde him selfe and the castell into the handes of the CORINTHIANS. *Timoleon* being glad
of this good happe vnlooked for, sent *Eucledes* and *Telemachus*, two Captaines of the CO-
RINTHIANS, to take possession of the castell, with fowre hundred men, not all at a tyme,
nor openly (for it was vnpossible, the enemies lying in wayte in the hauen) but by small com-
panies, and by stelte, he conueyed them all into the castell. So the souldiers possessed the
castell, and the tyrans pallace, with all the moueables and munition of warres within the
same. There were a great number of horse of seruice, great store of staues and weapons of
feruice of all sortes, and engynes of batterie to thoothe farre of, and sundry other weapons of
defence, that had bene gathered together of long tyme, to arme three score and tenne thou-
sand men. Moreouer, besides all this, there were two thousand souldiers, whome with all
the other things rehearsed, *Dionysius* deliuered vp into the handes of *Timoleon*: and he him
selfe, with his money and a few of his friends, went his way by sea, *Ietes* not knowing it, and
so came to *Timoleons* campe. This was the first tyme that euer they sawe *Dionysius* a priuate
man, in base and meane estate. And yet within fewe dayes after, *Timoleon* lent him from
thence vnto CORINTHE in a shippe, with litle store of money. Who was borne and brought
up in the greatest and most famous tyrannie, and kingdom, conquered by force, that euer
was in the world: and which him selfe had kept by the space of tenne yeares after the death of
his father. Since *Dion* draue him out, he had bene maruelously turmoyled in warres, by the
space of twelue yeares: in which time, although he had done much mischief, yet he had
suffered also a great deale more. For he sawe the death of his sonnes when they were men
growen, and able to serue and cary armor. He saw his daughters rauished by force, & deflow-
red of their virginite. He saw his owne sister (who was also his wife) first of all shamed, & cru-
elly handled in her person, with the greatest villanies & most vile partes done vnto her, that his
enemies could deuise: & afterwardes horribly murdered with his childre, & their bodies in the
end throwen into the sea, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Dion*. Now when *Dio-
nysius* was arriued in the citie of CORINTHE, euery GRACIAN was wonderfull desirous

*Timoleon o-
uerthrowe Ie-
tes: arme, &
made him flye
from Adranus*

*The ADRANI-
tans yeld vnto
Timoleon.*

*Mamercus ty-
ran of Cata-
na.*

*Dionysius the
tyrann, yel-
deth him selfe
and the castell
of Syracusa
vnto Time-
leon.*

*Dionysius the
tyrann of Sy-
racusa sent to
Corintus.*

*The miserie
& calamities
of Dionysius
the tyrann.*

A to go see him, and to talke with him. And some went thither very glad of his ouerthrow, as if
they had troden him downe with their feete, whom fortune had ouerthrowen, so bitterly did
they hate him. Other pittying him in their heartes, to see so great a change, did behold him
as it were with a certaine compassion, considering what great power, secret and diuine causes
haue ouer mens weakenes and frailtie, and those things that daily passeth ouer our heades.
For the world then, did neuer bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand so wonderfull,
as was this fortune. Who made the world see a man, that before was in manner Lorde
and King of all SICILE, sit then commonly in the citie of CORINTHE, talking with a vaitaler,
or sitting a whole day in a perfumers shopp, or commonly drinking in some celler or tauerne,
or to brawle and scold in the midst of the streetes, with common whores in face of the
world, or els to teach common minstrels in euery lane & alley, and to dispute with them with
the belt reason he had, about the harmony & musike, of the songs they sang in the THEATERS.
Now some say he did this, because he knew not els how he should driue the time away, for that
in dede he was of a base mynde, and an effeminate person, giuen ouer to all dishonest lusts and
desires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the lesse regarded, for feare left the CORINTHIANS
should haue him in gealouzy and suspicion, Imagining that he did take the change and state
of his lyfe in grieuous part, and that he should yet looke backe, hoping for a tyme to recouer
his state againe: and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose fained many things against
his nature, seeming to be a starke nideotte, to see him do those things he did. Some notwith-
standing haue gathered together certaine of his answers, which doe testifie that he did not all
these things of a base brutish mynde, but to fite himselfe only to his present misery and mis-
fortune. For when he came to LEUCADES, an ancient citie built by the CORINTHIANS, as
was also the city of SYRACUSA: he told the inhabitants of the same, that he was like to yong
boyes that had done a fault. For as they flye from their fathers being ashamed to come in their
sight, & are gladder to be with their brethren: euo so it is with me, said he: for it would please me
better to dwell here with you, then to go to CORINTHE our head city. Another tyme, being
at CORINTHE, a stranger was very bulie with him, (knowing how familiar *Dionysius* was with
learned men and Philosphers, while he reigned in SYRACUSA) and asked him in the ende in
derision: what benefite he got by *Platoes* wilddome and knowledge? he answered him againe:
how thinkest thou, hath it done me no good, whe thou seest me beare so patiently this change
of fortune? *Aristoxenus* a musitian, and other, asking him what offence *Plato* had done vnto
him: he answered. That tyransfate is euer vnfortunate, and subiect to many euills: but yet no
euill in their state was comparable to this. That none of all those they take to be their most fa-
miliars, dare once tell them truly any thing: and that through their fault, he left *Platoes* com-
pany. Another tyme there cometh a pleasaunt fellow to him, and thinking to mocke him
finely, as he entred into his chamber, he shooke his gowne, as the manner is when they come
to tyrans, to shewe that they haue no weapons vnder their gownes. But *Dionysius* encountered
him as pleasauntly, saying to him: do that whe thou goest hence, to see if thou hast stollē nothing.
And again, *Philip* King of MACEDON, at his table one day disciddē into talke of songs, verlic
and tragedies, which *Dionysius* his father had made, making as though he wondered at the, how
E possibly he could haue leisure to do them: he answered him very trimly, and to good purpose.
He did them euen at such tymes (quod he) as you and I, and all other great Lodes whom they
reken happy, are disposed to be drunke, & play the foolles. Now for *Plato*, he neuer saw *Dionysius*
at CORINTHE. But *Diogenes* *Sinopian*, the first tyme that euer he met with *Dionysius*, sayd
vnto him. O, how vnworthy art thou of this state. *Dionysius* stayed sodainely, and replied: Truly
I thanke thee (*Diogenes*) that thou hast compassion of my milery. Why sayd *Diogenes* a-
gain: Doeest thou thinke I pity thee? Nay it pitieth me rather to see such a flauie as thou
(worthy to dye in the wicked state of a tyrant like thy father) to lyue in such securitie, and idle
lyfe, as thou ledest amongst vs. VVhen I came to compare these wordes of *Diogenes*, with
Philistus wordes the Historiographer, bewailing the harde fortune of the daughters of the
F LAPTINES, saying that they were brought from the toppe of all worldly felicity, honor, and
goodes, (whereof tyrannicall state aboundeth) vnto a base, priuate, and humble life: me
thinks they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that forsooth for the losse of her

*Dionysius
brought to
Corintus.*

*The Incon-
uenience of for-
tune.*

*Notable say-
ings of Dio-
nysius Sy-
racusan.*

*The benefite
of Philoso-
phy.*

*A tyrans
state vnfor-
tunate. This agreeeth
with AEsops
wordes to So-
lon, who wi-
shed him to
come to prin-
ces, to please
them, or not to
come nere
them.*

*See Solons
life, and his
answer to
AEsop. Diogenes
saynges
Dionysius the
tyrann.*

boxes of painting cullers, or for her purple gownes, or for other such pretty fine trimmes of golde, as women vse to weare. So, me thinkes these things I haue intermingled concerning *Diomyus*, are not impartinent to the description of our liues, neither are they troublefome nor vnprofitable to the hearers, onely they haue other hasty busines to let or trouble them. But now if the tyrant *Diomyus* wretched state seeme strange, *Timoleon*'s prosperitie then was no lesse wonderfull. For within fiftie dayes after he had set foote in *SICILE*, he had the castell of *SYRACUSA* in his possession, and sent *Diomyus* as an exile to *CORINTE*. This did let the *CORINTHIANS* in such a iollitie, that they sent him a supply of two thousand footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were appointed to land in *ITALIE*, in the countrie of the *THYRIANS*. And perceyuing that they could not possiblie goe from thence into *SICILE*, because the *CARTHAGINIANS* kept the seas with a great naue of shippes, and that thereby they were compelled to staye for better opportunitie: in the meane time they bestowed their leysure in doing a notable good acte. For the *THYRIANS*, being in warres at that time with the *BRITIANS*, they dyd put their citie into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had bene their owne native countrie. *Ietes* all this while dyd besiege the castell of *SYRACUSA*, preuenting all he could possiblie, that there should come no come by sea vnto the *CORINTHIANS* that kept within the castell: and he had hiered two straunge souldiers, which he sent vnto the citie of *ADRANTIS*, to kill *Timoleon* by treason, who kept no garde about his persone, and continued amongst the *ADRANTIS*, mistrusting nothing in the world, for the trust and confidence he had in the safeguard of the god of the *ADRANTIS*. These souldiers being sent to do this murder, were by chance enformed that *Timoleon* should one day do sacrifice vnto this god. So upon this, they came into the temple, hauing daggers vnder their gownes, & by litle and litle thrust in through the prease, that they got at the length hard to the altar. But at the present time as one encouraged another to dispatche the matter, a third person they thought not of, gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his sword, that he fell to the ground. The man that had hurte him thus, fled straight vpon it, with his sword drawn in his hande, and recovered the topp of a highe rocke. The other souldier that came with him, and that was not hurte, got holde of a corner of the altar, and besought pardon of *Timoleon*, and told him he would discouer the treason practised against him. *Timoleon* thereupon pardoned him. Then he tolde him howe his companion that was slaine, and him selfe, were both hiered, and sent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him also that had taken the rocke, who cried out alowde, he had done no more then he should doe: for he had killed him that had slaine his owne father before, in the citie of the *LEONTINES*. And to iustifie this to be true, certaine that stood by dyd affirme, it was so in deede. Whereat they wondered greatly to consider the maruelous working of fortune, howe she doth bring one thing to passe by meanes of another, & gathereth all things together, howe farre a sonder locuer they be, & linketh them together, though they seeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no manner of likenes or coniunction betwene them, making the ende of the one, to be the beginning of another. The *CORINTHIANS* examining this matter thoroughly, gaue him that slue the souldier with his sword, a crowne of the value of tenne minas, because that by meanes of his iuste anger, he had done good seruice to the God that had preserued *Timoleon*. And furthermore, this good hadde dyd not only serue the present turne, but was to good purpose euer after. For those that sawe it, were putte in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard vnto *Timoleons* persone, because he was a holy man, one that loued the goddes, and that was purposely sent to deliuer *SICILE* from captiuitie. But *Ietes* hauing missed his first purpose, and seeing numbers daylie drawn to *Timoleons* deuotion: he was mad with him self, that hauing so great an armie of the *CARTHAGINIANS* at hand at his commaundement, he tooke but a fewe of them to serue his turne, as if he had bene ashamed of his acte, and had fed their friendship by stelh. So he sent hereupon for *Mago* their generall, with all his fleet. *Mago* at his request brought an huge armie to see to, of a hundred and fiftie saile, which occupied and couered all the haue: and afterwards landed three score thousand men, whom he lodged euery man within the citie of *SYRACUSA*. Then euery man imagined the time was now come, which olde men had threatned *SICILE* with many yeres before, and that continually

Timoleon prosperitie.

Ietes hiereth two souldiers to kill Timoleon as Adrantis.

The treason discovered to Timoleon by one of the souldiers.

The wonderfull worke of fortune.

Ietes bringeth Mago a Carthaginian with a great army to Syracuse.

usually: that one day it should be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the warres the *CARTHAGINIANS* euer had before in the countrie of *SICILE*, they could neuer come to take the citie of *SYRACUSA*: and then through *Ietes* treason, who had receyued them, they were scene encamped there. On the other side, the *CORINTHIANS* that were within the castell, founde them selues in great distresse, because their vittells waxed scant, and the haue was so straightly kept. Moreover, they were driuen to be armed continually to defend the walles, which the enemies battered, and assailed in sundry places, with all kyndes of engines of batterrie, and sundry sortes of deuised instruments and inuentions to take cities: by reason whereof, they were compelled also to deuide them selues into many companies. Nevertheless, *Timoleon* without gaue them all the ayde he could possiblie: sending them come from *CATANA*, in litle fisher botes and small crayers, which got into the castell many times, but specially in storme and fowle weather, passing by the gallyes of the barbarous people, that laye scatteringly one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billowes of the sea. But *Mago* and *Ietes* finding this, determined to goe take the citie of *CATANA*, from whence those of the castell of *SYRACUSA* were vittelled: and taking with them the best souldiers of all their armie, they departed from *SYRACUSA*, and sayled towards *CATANA*. Nowe in the meane space, *Leon* *CORINTHIAN*, captaine of all those that were within the castell, perceyuing the enemies within the citie kept but slender warde: made a sodaine sallie out upon them, and taking them vnwares, slue a great number at the first charge, and draue awaye the other. So by this occasion he wanne a quarter of the citie, which they call *ACRADINA*, and was the best parte of the citie, that had receyued least hurte. For the citie of *SYRACUSA* seemeth to be built of many townes ioyned together. So hauing found there great plenty of come, golde, and siluer, he would not forsake that quarter no more, nor returne againe into the castell: but fortifying with all diligence the compasse and precinct of the same, and ioyning vnto the castell with certain fortifications he built vp in haste, he determined to keepe both the one and the other. Now were *Mago* and *Ietes* very neere vnto *CATANA*, when a post ouertooke them, purposely sent from *SYRACUSA* vnto them: who brought them newes, that the *ACRADINA* was taken. Whereat they both wondered, and returned backe againe with all speede possiblie (hauing failed of their purpose they pretended) to keepe that they had yet left in their handes. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute it vnto *D* wisdomed and valliance, or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be ascribed vnto fortune. And this it is. The two thousand footemen and two hundred horsemen of the *CORINTHIANS*, that remained in the citie of the *THYRIANS*, partly for feare of the gallyes of the *CARTHAGINIANS* that laye in wayte for them as they should passe, *Hanno* being their admiral: and partly also for that the sea was very rough and highe many dayes together, and was allwayes in storme and tempest: in the ende, they ventured to goe through the countrie of the *BRITIANS*. And partly with their good will (but rather by force) they got through, and recovered the citie of *REGGIO*, the sea being yet maruelous highe and rough. *Hanno* the admiral of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, looking no more then for their passage, thought with him selfe that he had deuised a maruelous fine policie, to deceyue the enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumphe vpon their heades, and therewithall also made them dresse vp, and fer forth his gallyes, with targets, corselets, and brigantines after the *GRECIANS* facion. So in this brauery he returned backe againe, sailing towards *SYRACUSA*, & came in with force of owers, rowing vnder the castells side of *SYRACUSA*, with great laughing, and clapping of hands: crying out alowde to them that were in the castell, that he had ouerthrowen their ayde which came from *CORINTE*, as they thought to passe by the coast of *ITALIE* into *SICILE*, flattering them selues, that this dyd muche discourage those that were besieged. But whilst he sported thus with his sonde deuise, the two thousand *CORINTHIANS* being arriued through the countrie of the *BRITIANS* in the citie of *REGGIO*, perceyuing the coaste cleare, and that the passage by sea was not kept, & that the raging seas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpose calme for them: they tooke seas forthwith in such fisher boates & passengers as they found readie, in the which they went into *SICILE*, in such good safety, as they drue their horse (holding them by the raynes) alone-

Leon captaine of the Corinthians within the castell. Leon wanne Acradina.

Contention of fortune and valliance.

The stratageme of Hanno the admiral of the Carthaginians.

*Timoleon marches
thence to Syracu-
sa.*

get their boates with them. When they were all passed ouer, *Timoleon* hauing receiued them, A went immediatly to take *Messina*, and marching thence in battell raye, tooke his way to- wards *Syracusa*, trusting better to his good fortune, then to his force he had: for his whole number in all, were not aboue foure thousand fighting men. Notwithstanding, *Mago* hearing of his comming, quaked for feare, & doted the more vpon this occasion. About *Syracusa* are certeyne marishes, that receiue great quantitie of sweete fresh water, aswell of fountaynes and springes, as also of litle running brookes, lakes, & riuers, which runne that wayes towards the sea: and therefore there are great store of eeles in that place, and the fishing is great there at all tymes, but specially for such as delite to take eeles. Whereuppon the *Grecians* that tooke paye on both sides, when they had leysure, and that all was quiet betwene them, they intended fishing. Now, they being all contrey men, and of one language, had no priuate quarrell one with another: but when tyme was to fight, they did their duties, and in tyme of peace also frequented familiarly together, and one spake with an other, and specially when they were busie fishing for eeles: saying, that they marvelled at the scituation of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they flooked to pleasantly and commodious apon the sea side. So one of the souldiers that serued vnder the *Corinthians*, chaunced to lay vnto them. Is it possible that you that be *Grecians* borne, and haue so goodly a citie of your owne, & full of so many goodly commodities: that ye will giue it vpp vnto these barbarous people, the vile *Carthaginians*, and most cruell murderers of the worlde? where you should rather wille that there were many *Sicilies* betwixt them and *Greece*. Haue ye so litle consideration or iudgement to thinke, that they haue assembled an armie out of all *Africke*, vnto *Hercules* C pillars, and to the sea *Atlantick*, to come hether to fight to stablish *Ietes* tyrannie? who, if he had bene a wise and skillfull Captaine, would not haue cast out his auncestors & founders, to bringe into his contrie the auncient enemies of the same: but might haue receiued such honor and authoritie of the *Corinthians* and *Timoleon*, as he could reasonably haue desired, and that with all their fauor and good wil. The souldiers that heard this tale, reported it agayne in their campe: In somuch they made *Mago* suspect there was treason in hand, and so sought some culler to be gon. But hereuppon, notwithstanding that *Ietes* prayed him all he could to tary, declaring vnto him how much they were stronger then their enemies, and that *Timoleon* did rather preuayle by his hardines and good fortune, then excede him in number of men: yet he hoied sayle, and returned with shame enough into *Africke*, letting slyppe the conquest of all *Sicile* out of his hands, without any fight of reason or cause at all. The next day after he was gone, *Timoleon* presented battell before the citie, when the *Grecians* and he vnderstoode that the *Carthaginians* were fled, and that they saw the hauey ryd of all the shippes: and then beganne to least at *Magos* cowardlines, and in derision proclaimed in the citie, that they would giue him a good reward that could bringe them newes, whether the armie of the *Carthaginians* were fled. But for all this, *Ietes* was bent to fight, & would not leaue the spoyle he had gotten, but defende the quarters of the citie he had possessed, at the swordes poynt, trusting to the strength and scituation of the places, which were hardly to be approached. *Timoleon* perceyuing that, deuised his armie, and he with one parte thereof did sett vpon that side which was the hardest to approche, and did stand vpon the riuier of *Anapus* E: then he appointed an other part of his armie to assault all at one time, the side of *Acadina*, whereof *Istus* *Corinthian* had the leading. The third part of his armie that came last from *Corinthe*, which *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus* led: he appointed to assault the quarter called *Epipoles*. Thus, assault being giuen on all sides at one time, *Ietes* bandes of men were broken, and ranne their way. Now that the citie was thus wonne by assault, and come so sodainly to the handes of *Timoleon*, and the enemies being fled: it is good reason we ascribe it to the valiantnes of the souldiers, and the capitaines great wisdom. But where there was not one *Corinthian* slayne, nor hurt in this assault: sure me thinkes herein, it was onely the worke and deede of fortune, that did fauor and protect *Timoleon*, to contende against his valiantnes. To the ende that those which should hereafter heare of his doings, should haue more occasion to wonder at his good happe: then to prayse and commend his valiantnes. For the fame of this great exploitte, did in fewe dayes not onely runne through all *Italye*, but also through

*Mago first
knew Sicile
was subject of
region.*

Anapus fl.

*Timoleon with
meth the citie
of Syracusa.*

A through all *Greece*. In somuch as the *Corinthians*, (who could scant belecue their men were passed with safetie into *Sicile*) vnderstoode withall that they were safely arriued there, and had gotten the victorie of their enemies: so prosperous was their iorney, & fortune so speedily did fauor his noble actes. *Timoleon* hauing now the castell of *Syracusa* in his hands, did not followe *Dion*. For he spared not the castell for the beawtie and stately building thereof, but auoyding the suspicion that caused *Dion* first to be accused, and lastly to be slayne: he caused it to be proclaimed by trompett, that any *Syracusan* whatsoeuer, should come with crowes of iron, and mattocks, to helpe to digge downe and ouerthrow the forte of the tyrans. There was not a man in all the citie of *Syracusa*, but went thither straight, and thought that proclamation and day to be a most happy beginning, of the recouerie of their libertie. So they did not onely ouerthrowe the castell, but the pallace also, and the tombes: and generally all that serued in any respect for the memorie of any of the tyrans. And hauing cleared the place in fewe dayes, and made all playne: *Timoleon* at the sute of the Citizens, made counsell halls, and places of iustice to be built there: and did by this meanes establish a free state and popular gouernment, and did suppress all tyrannicall power. Nowe, when he sawe he had wonne a citie that had no inhabitants, which warres before had consumed, and feare of tyrannie had emptied, so as grassie grew to highe and rancke in the great markett place of *Syracusa*, as they grafed their horses there, and the horsekeepers laye downe by them on the grasse as they fed: and that all the cities, a fewe excepted, were full of redde deare and wilde bores, so that men geuen to delite in hunting, hauing leysure, might finde game many tymes within the suburbs C and towne dytches, hard by the walles: and that such as dwelt in castells and stronge holdes in the contrie, would not leaue them, to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all grown so stowte, and did so hate and detest assemblies of counsell, orations, and order of gouernment, where so many tyrans had reigned. *Timoleon* thereuppon seeing this desolacion, and also so fewe *Syracusan* borne that had escaped, thought good, and all his Capitaines, to write to the *Corinthians*, to send people out of *Greece* to inhabit the citie of *Syracusa* agayne. For otherwise the contrie would growe barren and vnprofitable, if the grounde were not plowed. Besides, that they looked also for great warres out of *Africke*: being aduertised that the *Carthaginians* had hongevp the body of *Mago* their general vpon a crosse (who had slayne him selfe for that he could not aunswere the dishonor layd to his charge) and that D they did leaue another great nightie armie, to returne againe the next yere following, to make warres in *Sicile*. These letters of *Timoleon* being brought vnto *Corinthe*, and the Embassadors of *Syracusa* being arriued with them also, who besought the people to take care and protection ouer their poore citie, and that they would once againe be fownders of the same: the *Corinthians* did not greedily desire to be Lordes of so goodly and great a citie, but first proclaimed by the trompett in all the assemblies, solemne feastes, and common playes of *Greece*, that the *Corinthians* hauing destroyed the tyrannie that was in the citie of *Syracusa*, and driuen out the tyrannes, did call the *Syracusans* that were fugitiues out of their contrie, home againe, and all other *Sicilians* that liked to come and dwell there, to enioy all freedom and libertie, with promise to make iust and equall diuision of the landes among them, the one to haue as much as the other. Moreover they sent out postes and messengers into *Asia*, and into all the llands where they vnderstoode the banished *Syracusans* remayned: to perswade and intreat them to come to *Corinthe*, and that the *Corinthians* would giue them shippes, Capitaines, and meanes to conduct them safely vnto *Syracusa*, at their owne proper costes and charges. In recompence whereof, the citie of *Corinthe* receaued euery mans most noble praise and blessing, aswell for deliuering *Sicile* in that sorte from the bondage of tyrannes: as also for keeping it out of the handes of the barbarous people, and restored the naturall *Syracusans*, and *Sicilians*, to their home and contrie againe. Neuertheles, such *Sicilians* as repayed to *Corinthe* apon this proclamation (them selues being but a small number to inhabit the contrie) besought the *Corinthians* to F ioyne to them some other inhabitantes, aswell of *Corinthe* it selfe, as out of the rest of *Greece*: the which was performed. For they gathered together about tenne thousand persons, whom they shipped, and sent to *Syracusa*. Where there were already a great number

*Timoleon over-
throweth the
castell of
Syracusa.*

*Timoleon
made Syracu-
sa a popular
gouernment.
The misera-
ble state of
Sicile.*

*Mago (saw
him selfe, be-
ing called to
conferre his
deuotione and
of Sicile.*

The Corinthians replenished the cities of Syracusa, with three score thousand inhabitants.

Leptines, tyrant of Apollonia, yielded to Timoleon.

The armie of ships of the Carthaginians, against Timoleon, Asdrubal & Amilcar, came being general.

Timoleon with 6000 men against the Carthaginians, Crimesus.

of other comen vnto *Timoleon*, as well out of *Syracusa* itself, as out of all *Italy* besides, so that the whole number (as *Athenius* writeth) came to three score thousand persons. Amongst them he deuised the whole contrie, and sold them houses of the citie, vnto the value of a thousand talents. And because he would leaue the olde *Syracusans* able to recouer their owne, and make the poore people by this meane to haue money in common, to defraye the common charges of the citie, as also their expences in time of warres: the statues or images were sold, and the people by most voyces did condemne them. For they were solemnly indicted, accused & arraigned, as if they had bene men alie to be condemned. And it is reported that the *Syracusans* did reuerse the statue of *Gelon*, an auncient tyrant of their citie, honoring his memorie, because of a great victorie he had wonne of the *Carthaginians*, neare the citie of *Himera*: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of euery corner of the citie, and to be sold. Thus beganne the citie of *Syracusa* to replenish againe, and by litle and litle to recouer it selfe, many people comming thither from all partes to dwell there. Thereupon *Timoleon* thought to set all other cities at libertie also, and vterly to roote out all the tyrans of *Syracusa* and to obeyte his purpose, he went to make warres with them at their owne dores. The first he went against, was *Ietas*: whome he compelled to forsake the league of the *Carthaginians*, and to promise alowd that he would rafe all the fortresses he kept, and to liue like a priuate man within the citie of the *Leontines*. *Leptines* in like manner, that was tyrant of the citie of *Apollonia*, and of many other litle villages thereabouts: when he saw him selfe in daunger to be taken by force, did yield him selfe. Whereupon *Timoleon* saued his life, and sent him vnto *Corinthe*: thinking it honorable for his contrie, that the other *Grecians* should see the tyrans of *Syracusa* in their chiefe citie of fame, liuing meanelly and poorely like banished people. When he had brought this to passe, he returned forthwith to *Syracusa* about the establishment of the common weale, assisting *Cephalus* and *Dionysius*, two notable men sent from *Corinthe* to reforme the lawes, and to helpe them to stablish the goodliest ordinances for their common weale. And now in the meane time, because the fouldiers had a minde to get some thing of their enemies, and to auoyd idleness: he sent them out abroad to a contrie subiect to the *Carthaginians*, vnder the charge of *Dimarchus*, and *Demaratus*. Where they made many litle townes rebell against the barbarous people, and did not only liue in all abundance of wealth, but they gathered money together also to mainteine the warres. The *Carthaginians* on the other side, while they were busy about the matters, came downe into *Lilybea*, with an armie of three score and tenne thousand men, two hundred galleys, and a thousand other shippes and vessells that caried engines of batterie, cartes, vitells, munition, and other necessary prouision for a campe, intending to make sporting warres no more, but at once to driue all the *Grecians* againe quite out of *Syracusa*. For in deede it was an able armie to ouercome all the *Sicilians*, if they had bene whole of them selues, and not diuided. Now they being aduertised that the *Sicilians* had invaded their contrie, they went towards them in great furie, led by *Asdrubal* & *Amilcar*, generalls of the armie. This newes was straight brought to *Syracusa*, and the inhabitants were so stricken with feare of the report of their armie: that being a maruelous great number of them within the citie, scant three thousand of them had the hartes to arme them selues, and to goe to the fild with *Timoleon*. Now the strangers that tooke pay, were not aboue foure thousand in all: & of them, a thousand of their hartes fayled, and left him in midd way, and returned home againe. Saying, that *Timoleon* was out of his wittes, and more rashe then his yeares required, to undertake with five thousand footemen, & a thousand horse, to goe against threescore and tenne thousand men and besides, to cary that small force he had to defend him selfe withal, eight great dayes iorney from *Syracusa*. So, that if it chaunced they were compelled to flye, they had no place whither they might retyre them selues vnto with safetie, nor man that would take care to burye them, when they were slayne. Neuertheles, *Timoleon* was glad he had that prooffe of them, before he came to battell. Moreouer, hauing incouraged those that remayned with him, he made them marche with speede towards the riuer of *Crimesus*, where he vnderstoode he should meete with the *Carthaginians*. So getting vp vpo a litle hill, from whence he might see the campe of the enemies on the other side: by chaunce, certen moyles fell vpon his armie, laden with

with smallage. The fouldiers tooke a conceyt at the first apon sight of it, and thought it was a token of ill lucke: because it is a maner we vse, to hange garlands of this erbe, about the tombes of the dead. Hereof came the common prouerbe they vse to speake, when one lyeth a passing in his bed: he lacketh but smallage. Asmuch to say, he is but a dead man. But *Timoleon* to draw them from this foolish superstition, & discourage they tooke, stayed the armie. And when he had vsed certen perswasions vnto them, according to the time, his leysure, and occasion: he told them that the garland of it selfe came to offer them victorie before hand. For, sayd he, the *Corinthians* doe crowne them that winne the *Istymian* games (which are celebrated in their contrie) with garlands of smallage. And at that time also even in the solemne *Istymian* games, they vse the garland of smallage for reward and token of victorie: and at this present it is also vsed in the games of *Nemea*. And it is but lately taken vp, that they haue vsed braches of pyne apple trees in the *Istymian* games. Now *Timoleon* had thus incouraged his men, as you haue heard before: he first of all tooke of this smallage, and made him selfe a garland, & put it on his head. When they saw that, the Captaines and all the fouldiers also tooke of the same, and made them selues the like. The soothsayers in like maner at the very same time, perceyued two eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a snake in her talents, which she peared through and through, and the other as she stewe, gaue a terrible cry. So they shewed them both vnto the fouldiers, who did then all together with one voyce call vpon the gods for helpe. Now this fortun'd about the beginning of the sommer, and towards the later ende of Maye, the sunne drawing towards the solstyce of the sommer: when there rose a great myst out of the riuer, that couered all the feilds ouer, so as they could not see the enemies campe, but only heard a maruelous confused noyse of mens voyces, as it had come from a great armie, and rising vp to the toppe of the hill, they layed their targets downe on the ground to take a litle breathe: and the sunne hauing drawn and sucked vp all the moyst vapours of the myste vnto the toppe of the hills, the ayer began to be so thicke, that the toppes of the mountaynes were all couered ouer with clowdes, and contrarily, the valley vnderneath was all cleare and fayer, that they might easily see the riuer of *Crimesus*, and the enemies also, how they passed iouer in this fort. First, they had put their cartes of warre foremost, which were very hotly armed and well appointed. Next vnto them there followed tenne thousand footemen, armed with white targets vpon their armes: whom they seeing a farr of so well appointed, they considered by their stately marche and good order, that they were the *Carthaginians* them selues. After them, diuers other nations followed confusedly one with an other, and so they thronged ouer with great disorder. There *Timoleon* considering the riuer gaue him opportunity to take them before they were halfe past ouer, and to set vpon what number he would: after he had shewed his men with his finger, how the battell of their enemies was deuised in two partes by meanes of the riuer, some of them being already passed ouer, & the other to passe: He commanded *Demaratus* with his horsemen, to geue a charge on the vaward, to keepe them from putting them selues in order of battell. And him selfe comming downe the hill also with all his footemen into the valley, he gaue to the *Sicilians* the two wings of his battell, mingling with them some strangers that serued vnder him: and placed with him selfe in the middle, betwixt the *Syracusans*, with all the choyce & best litle strangers. So he taried not long to ioyne, when he saw the small good his horsemen did. For he perceyued they could not come to geue a lusty charge apon the battell of the *Carthaginians*, because they were paled in with these armed cartes, that ranne here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled to wheele about continually, (onles they would haue put them selues in daunger to haue bene vterly ouerthrowen) and in their returns to geue venture of charge, by turnes on their enemies. Wherefore *Timoleon* taking his target on his arme, cried out alowde to his footemen, to follow him coragiously, & to feare nothing. Those that heard his voyce, thought it more then the voyce of a man, whether the furie of his desire to fight did so strayne it beyonde ordinary course, or that some god (as many thought it then) did stretch his voyce to cry out so lowde & sensibly. His fouldiers answered him againe with the like voyce: & prayed him to leadethem without longer delay. Then he made his horsemen vnderstand, that they should draw on the tonneside from the cartes, and that they should charge the *Carthaginians* on the flankes:

Smallage an ill figure.

Proverbe.

Garlands of smallage.

The order of the Carthaginians armie.

Timoleon geueth charge apon the Carthaginians as they came ouer the riuer of Crimesus.

The silence of the armed earies.

Timoleons maruelous bigge voyce.

Timoleons order and fight.

and after he did set the formost ranke of his battell target to target against the enemies, com-
maunding the trumpets withall to fownd. Thus with great furie he went to geue a charge
pon them, who valiantly receyued the first charge, their bodies being armed with good
corselets, and their heads with sayet murrions of copper, besides the great targets they had
also, which did easily receyue the force of their darts, and the thrust of the pyke. But when
they came to handle their swordes, where agilitie was more requisite then force: a fearful
tempest of thunder, & flashing lightning withall, came from the mountaynes. After that came
darke thicke cloudes also (gathered together from the toppe of the hilles) and fell vpon the
valley, where the battell was fought, with a maruelous extreame shower of rayne, fierce
violent windes, and hayle withall. All this tempest was vpon the GRECIANS backes, and full be-
fore the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindfold their eyes, and continual-
ly tormented them with the rayne that came full upon them with the winde, & the lightnings
so ofte flashing amongst them, that one vnderstood not another of them. Which did mar-
uelously trouble them, and specially those that were but freshe water fouldiers, by reason of
the terrible thunderclapps, and the noyse, the boytous winde and hayle made vpon their
bannes: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captaines. Moreover, the dur-
did as much annoyne the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were not nimble in their armor, but
haeuely armed as we haue told you: and besides that also, when the playtes of their coats
were through wet with water, they did lode and hinder them so much the more, that they
could not fight with any ease. This flood the GRECIANS to great purpose, to throwe them
downe the easier. Thus when they were tomling in the durte with their heauy armor, vpon they
could rise no more. Furthermore, the river of CATHYS being risen high through the great
rage of waters, and also for the multitude of people that passed ouer it, did ouerflowe the
valley all about: which being full of ditches, many caues, and hollow places, it was straight
all drowned ouer, and filled with many running streames, that ranne ouerthwart the feild, without
any certen channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compassed all about with these waters,
they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being overcome with the storme
that full did beate upon them, and the GRECIANS hauing slayne of their men at the first on-
set, to the number of foure hundred of their choycest men, who made the first fronte of their
battell: all the rest of their armie turned their backs immediatly, and fled for life. In somuch
some of them being followed very neare, were put to the sword in the midst of the valley:
other, holding one another hard by the armes together, in the midst of the river as they pas-
sed ouer, were caried downe the streame and drowned, with the swiftnesse and violence of the
river. But the greatest number did thinke by footemanship to recouer the hilles thereabouts,
who were ouertaken by them that were light armed, and put to the sword euery man. They
saye, that of tenne thousande which were slayne in this battell, three thousande of them were
meere naturall citizens of CARTHAGE, which was a very forowfull and greuous losse to the
city. For they were of the noblest, the richest, the lustiest, & valiantest men of all CARTHAGE.
For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former warres at any time before, where there
died so many of CARTHAGE at one feild and battell, as were slayne at that present time.
For before that time, they did alwayes entertaine the FIBYANS, the SPANYARDS, and the NO-
MADES, in all their warres: so as when they lost any battell, the losse lighted not on them, but
the strangers payed for it. The men of accompt also that were slayne, were easily knowen by
their spoyle. For they that spoyled them, stood not trifling about getting of copper and iron
together, because they found gold and siluer enoughe. For the battell being wonne, the GRE-
CIANS passed ouer the river, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their ca-
riages and bagage. And as for the prisoners, the souldiers stole many of them away, and sent
them going: but of them that came to short to make common diuision of the spoyle among
them, they were about fiftethousand men, and two hundred cartes of warre that were taken
besides. On it was a noble sight to behold the tent of Timoleon their generall, how they enuoy-
ned it all about with heapes of spoyle of euery forte: amongst which there were a thousand
braue corselets guylt, and grauen, with maruelous curious workes, and brought thither with
them also tenne thousand targets. So the conquerours being but a small number, to take the

spoyle

A spoile of a multitude that were slaine they filled their purses euen to the toppe. Yet were they
three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battell, they set vp a marke or token of
their victorie. The Timoleon sent vnto CORINTH, with the newes of this ouerthrow, the fairest
armors that were gotten in the spoyle: because he would make his countrie & native cite spo-
ken of & commended through the world, aboue all the other cities of GRECE. For that at CO-
RINTH only, their chief temples were set forth & adorned, not with spoiles of the GRECIANS;
nor offerings gotten by spilling the blood of their owne nation & contrie: (which to say truly,
are vnpleasant memories) but with the spoiles taken from the barbarous people their enemies,
with inscriptions witnessing the valliance & iustice of those also, who by victorie had obtained
the. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS & their capitaine Timoleon, (hauing deliuered the
GRECIANS dwelling in SICILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had geuen
those offerings vnto the gods, to geue thanks for their victorie. That done, Timoleon leauing the
strangers he had in pay, in the contrie subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, to spoile & destroy
it: he returned with the rest of his army vnto SYRACUSA. Where at his first coming home, he
banished the thousand souldiers that had forsaken him in his iorney, with expresse charge that
they should departe the citie before sunne sette. So these thousand cowardly and munitous
souldiers passed ouer into ITALIE, where, vnder promise of the countrie, they were all vnfortu-
nately slayne by the BRYTAINS: such was the iustice of the goddess to paie their iuste reward
of their trealon. Afterwards, Mamercus the tyranne of CATANA, Iestes (whether it was for the
enue they did beare to Timoleons famous dedes, or for that they were affrayde of him) percei-
uing tyrannes could looke for no peace at his handes: they made league with the CARTHAGI-
NIANS, and wrote vnto them that they should fend another armie and capitaine sodainely,
if they would not vterly be driue out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS sent Giso thither
with threeore & tenne saile, who at his first coming tooke a certen number of GRECIAN
souldiers into pay, which were the first the CARTHAGINIANS euer retained in their seruice:
for they neuer gaue the pay vntil that present time, when they thought them to be men inuina-
cible, and the best souldiers of the world. Moreover, the inhabitants of the territorie of MES-
SINA, hauing made a secret conspiracie amongst them selues, did slay foure hundred men
that Timoleon had sent vnto them: & in the territories subiect vnto the CARTHAGINIANS,
nere vnto a place they call HERRIS, there was another ambush layd for Euthimus LEUCADI-
AN, so as him self & all his souldiers were cut in peeces. Howbeit the losse of the made Timoleons
doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were euen those that had forcibly entred the
temple of Apollo in the citie of DELPHES, with Philodemus PHOCIAN, & with Onomarchus, who
were partakers of their sacriledge. Moreover, they were lofe people & abiectes, that were ab-
horred of euery body, who vacabondlike wandred vp & downe the contry of PELOPONNE-
SVS, when Timoleon for lacke of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into SI-
CILE, they alwayes ouercame in all battells they fought, whilest they were in his company. But
in the end, when the furie of warres was pacified, Timoleon lending them about some speciall
seruice to the ayde of some of his; they were cast away euery man of them: and not all together,
but at diuers times. So as it seemed that Goddess iustice, in fauor of Timoleon, did separate them
from the rest; when he was determined to plague them for their wicked desertes, fearing least
good men should suffer hurt by punishing of the euill. And so was the grace & goodwill of the
goddess wonderful towards Timoleon, not onely in matters against him, but in those things that
prospered well with him. Notwithstanding, the common people of SYRACUSA tooke the reas-
ting wordes and writings of the tyrans against them, in maruelous euill part. For Mamercus
amongst other, thinking well of him selfe, because he could make verses & tragedies, hauing in
certain battels gotten the better hand of the strangers, which the SYRACUSANS gaue pay vnto,
he gloried very much. And when he offered vp the targets he had gotten of them, in the
temples of the gods, the set vp also these cutting verses, in derision of them that were vanquished:
E With bucklers pot I'd like, which of no value were;
we haue these goodly targets of bone, so richly trimm'd heres;
All gorgeously with golde, and the with iuorie,
with purple cutlers finely varnished, and deckt with Ehome.
These things done, Timoleon led his armie before the citie of CALAVRIA, & Iestes there-
CC

A maruelous
tempest of
thunder, light-
ning, rayne,
winde, and
hayle, full in
the CARTHAGI-
NIANS faces as
they fought.

Timoleon
victorie of
the CARTHAGI-
NIANS.

Timoleon be-
nighth the
thousand reg-
terous sould-
iers out of Si-
cile.

Giso sent firs
Cathage with
70 saile into
Sicile.

Messina vis-
it against
Timoleon.

Mamercus
verses, syne
of cause.

Calavria
sie of Sicile.

while entred the confines of the SYRACUSANS with a maine army, & caried away a maruelous great spoile. And after he had done great hurt, & spoiled the contrie, he returned backe againe, & came by CALAVRIA, to despise *Timoleon*, knowing well enough he had at that time but few men about him. *Timoleon* suffered him to passe by, but folowed him afterwards with his horsemen & lightest armed footemē. *Icetes* vnderstanding that, passed ouer the riuier called *Damyras*, & so staid on the other side as though he would fight, trusting to the swift rōning of the riuier, and the height of the banks on either side of the same. Now the capitaines of *Timoleon* bands fell out maruelously amongst them selues, struing for honor of this seruice, which was cause of delaying the battel. For none would willingly come behind, but euery man desired to lead the vaward, for honor to begin the charge: so as they could not agree for their going ouer, one thrusting another to get before his companion. Wherefore *Timoleon* fell to drawing of lots, which of them should passe ouer first, & tooke a ring of euery one of them, and cast them all within the lappe of his cloke: so rolling them together, by chaunce he pluckt one at the first, wheron was grauen the markes & tokens of a triumph. The young Capitaines seeing that, gaue a shoute of ioy, & without tarying drawing of other lottes, they began euery man to passe the riuier as quickly as they could, & to let apō the enemies as fodainely. But they being not able to abide their force, ranne their wayes, and were faine to cast their armor away to make more haist: howbeit there were a thousand of them lay dead in the feilde. And within few daies after, *Timoleon* leading his armie to the citie of the LEONTINES, tooke *Icetes* aliuie there, with his sonne *Eupolemus*, and the general of his horsemen, who were deliuered into his hands by his owne fouldiers. So *Icetes* & his sonne were put to death, like the traitors & tyrannesses: and so was *Euthydemus* also, who though he was a valliant souldier, had no better mercie shewed him, then the father & the sonne, because they did burden him with certain iniurious words he spake gainst the CORINTHIANS. For they say, that when the CORINTHIANS came first out of their contrie into SICILE to make war against the tyrannesses: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, said amongst other things: that they should not neede to be afraide, if

The women of Corinthe were come out of their contrie.

Thus we see, that men do rather suffer hurt, then put vp iniurious words: & do pardon the enemies, though they reuenge by dedes, because they can do no lesse. But as for iniurious words, they seme to proceed of a deadly hate, & of a cancred malice. Furthermore, whē *Timoleon* was returned againe to SYRACUSA, the SYRACUSANS arraigned the wiues of *Icetes*, and his sonne, and their daughters: who being arraigned, were also condemned to die by the iudgement of the people. Of al the actes *Timoleon* did, this of al other (in my opinion) was the fowlest dede: for if he had listid, he might haue saued the poore womē from death. But he passed not for them, & so left them to the wrath of the citizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the iniuries that were done to *Dion*, after he had driuen out the tyranne *Diomysius*. For it was *Icetes* that caused *Arete*, the wife of *Dion*, to be cast into the sea, his sister *Aristomache*, and his sonne that was yet a sucking child, as we haue written in another place in the life of *Dion*. That done, he wēt to CATANA against *Mamercus*, who taried him by the riuier of A SOLVS, where *Mamercus* was ouerthrown in battel, & about two thousand men slaine, the greatest part wherof were the CARTHAGINIANS, whō *Gisco* had sent for his reliefe. Afterwards he graited peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, vpon earnest sute made vnto him, with conditō, that they should kepe on thother side of the riuier of L YCVS, & that it should be lawfull for any of th inhabitants there that would, to come & dwell in the territory of the SYRACUSANS, & to bring away with thē their goodes, their wiues & their children: and furthermore, that from thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS should renounce all league, cōfederacy, & alliance with the tyrannesses. Whereupon *Mamercus* hauing no hope of good successe in his doings, he would goe into ITALY to stir vp the LYCINIANS against *Timoleon*, and the SYRACUSANS. But they that were in his company, returned backe againe with their gallies in the myd way: and when they were returned into SICILE, they deliuered vp the citie of CATANA into the handes of *Timoleon*, so as *Mamercus* was constrained to faue him selfe, and to flye vnto MESSINA, to *Hippion* the tyranne thereof. But *Timoleon* followed him, and befeged the citie both by sea and by lande. Whereat *Hippion* quaked for feare, and thought to flye by taking shippe, but he was taken startyng.

And

And the MESSINIANS hauing him in their hands, made all the childre come from the schole to the THEATRE, to see one of the goodliet fights that they could deuise: to wit, to see the tyrann punished, who was openly whipped, & afterwards put to death. Now for *Mamercus*, he did yeld him self vnto *Timoleon*, to be iudged by the SYRACUSANS, so that *Timoleon* might not be his accuser. So he was brought vnto SYRACUSA, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But seeing that the people cryed out, and made a great noyse, because they would not heare him, and that there was no likelyhoode they would pardon him: he ranne ouerthwart the THEATRE, and knocked his head as hard as he could driue, vpon one of the degrees wherupon they sate. there to see the sportes, thinking to haue dashed out his braynes, & haue rid him selfe sodainely out of his paine. But he was not happy to die so, for he was taken straight being yet aliuie, & put to death as theues & murderers are. Thus did *Timoleon* roote all tyrans out of SICILE, & make an end of all warres there. And whereas he found the whole ile, wilde, savage, & hated of the natural contrymen & inhabitants of the same, for the extreme calamities & miseries they suffred: he brought it to be so ciuill, and so much desired of strangers, that they came farr & neare to dwell there, where the natural inhabitants of the contrie selfe before, were glad to flye and forsake it. For AGRIGENTVM, and GELA, two great cities, did witnesse this, which after the warres of the ATHENIANS, had bene vnterly forsaken and destroyed by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe. The one, by *Megetius* and *Pheristus*, two Capitaines that came from ELEA: and the other by *Gorgas*, who came from the ile of CERO. And as nere as they could, they gathered againe together the firstauncient Citizens and inhabitants of the same: whom *Timoleon* did not onely assure of peace and safetie to liue there, to settle them quietly together: but willingly did helpe them besides, with all other things necessary, to his vttermost meane and abilitie, for which they loued and honored him as their father and founder. And this his good loue & fauor, was common also to all other people of SICILE whatsoeuer. So that in all SICILE there was no truce taken in warres, nor lawes establihed, nor landes deuicid, nor institution of any policie or government thought good or auayleable, if *Timoleons* deuise had not bene in it, as chiefe director of such matters: which gaue him a singular grace to be acceptable to the goddes, and generally to be beloued of al mē. For in those dayes, there were other famous men in GREECE, that did maruelous great things: amongst whom were these, *Timotheus*, *Agessilaus*, *Pelopides*, *Dionysius*, and *Epaminondas*, which *Epaminondas* *Timoleon* fought to follow in all thinges, as neare as he could, about any of them all. But in all the actions of these other great Capitaines, their glorie was alway mingled with violence, payne, & labor: so as some of them haue bene touched with reprocche, and other with repentance. Whereas contrariwise, in all *Timoleons* doings (that onely excepted, which he was forced to doe to his brother) there was nothing but they might with trothe (as *Timaeus* sayd) proclayme the faying of *Sophocles*:

*Oh mightie goddess of heauen, what Venus stately dame,
or Cupid, (god) haue thus ynt, their handes vnto this fame?*

And like as *Antimachus* verses, and *Diomysius* paynting, both COLOPHONIANS, are full of synewes & strength, & yet at this present we fe they are things greatly labored, & trauelled with much payne: & that contrariwise in *Nicomachus* tables, and *Homers* verses, besides the passing workmanship & singular grace in thē, a man findeth at the first sight, that they were easily made, & without great payne. Euen so in like manner, whoeuer will compare the paynefull bloody warres & battels of *Epaminondas*, & *Agessilaus*, with the warres of *Timoleon*, in the which, besides equitie & iustice, there is also great ease & quietnes: he shall finde, waying things indifferently, that they haue not bene fortunes doings simply, but that they came of a most noble & fortunate courage. Yet he him selfe doth wisely impute it vnto his good happe, & fauorable fortune. For in his letters he wrote vnto his familiar frendes at CORINTH, & in some other oratiōs he made to the people of SYRACUSA: he spake it many times, that he thanked the almighty gods, that it had pleased thē to saue & deliuer SICILE from bondage, by his meanes & seruice, & to geue him the honor & dignitie of the name. And hauing builded a temple in his house, he did dedicate it vnto fortune, & furthermore did consecrate his whole houle vnto her. For he dwelt in a houle the SYRACUSANS kept for him & gaue him in recompence of the good seruice he had

CC ij

Damyras fl.

*Sniffe among
Timoleons
captaines for
passing ouer
the riuier.*

*Timoleons
desire to
draw lottes to
perceive the
firste.*

*Timoleon taketh
Icetes, &
Eupolemus
his sonne
liue, and did
put them to
death.*

*Icetes wintes
and children
put to death.*

*The crueltie
of Icetes in-
wards: Dion
and his
Mamercus
succumb in
battel.
Abolus fl.*

*Timoleon maketh
peace with the
Carthaginians.
Lycom fl.*

*Catana yeld
ed up vnto
Timoleon.*

*Hippion the
tyrann of
Messina.*

*Hippion put to
death.*

*Mamercus
the tyranne
put to death.*

*Timoleons
quintessence
all Sicile.*

*Timoleon
compared with
the famous est
mit of Greece.*

*Timoleon
attributeth his
good successe
vnto fortune.*

*Timoleon
dwelleth still
with the Syrac
ians.*

*Simonides
saying.*

*Timoleon ac-
cused.*

*Timoleon
great griefe.*

*Timoleon in
his age leſt his
ſight.*

*The great-
neſſe the Syra-
cuſans did
Timoleon be-
ing blind.*

*Alcervade
to honor Ti-
moleon.*

done them in the warres, with a marvelous faire pleaſant houſe in the contrie alſo, where he kept moſt while he was at leiſure. For he neuer after returned vnto CORINTH againe, but ſent for his wife and children to come thither, and neuer delt afterwards with thoſe troubles that fell out amongſt the GREECIANS, nether did make him ſelfe to be enuied of the citizens: for miſchiefe that moſt gouernors and captains do fall into, through their vnſatiabie deſire of honor & authoritie: but liued al the reſt of his life after in SICILE, reioicing for the great good he had done, and ſpecially to ſee ſo many cities and thouſands of people happy by his meanes. But becauſe it is an ordinary matter, and of neceſſitie, (as *Simonides* ſaith) that not only all ſtates haue a tuſt vpon their heads, but alſo that in all cities there be accuſers, where the people rule: there were two of thoſe at SYRACUSA, that continually made oration to the people, who did accuſe *Timoleon*, the one called *Laphyſius*, and the other *Demenetus*. So this *Laphyſius* appointing *Timoleon* a certain day to come & aunſwere to his accuſation before the people, thinking to conuince him: the citizens began to mutine, & wold not in any caſe ſuffer the day of adiournement to take place. But *Timoleon* did pacifie them, declaring vnto them, that he had taken all the extreme paines & labor he had done, and had paſſed ſo many daungers, becauſe euery citizen & inhabitant of SYRACUSA, might frankly vſe the libertie of their lawes. And another time *Demenetus*, in open aſſembly of the people, reproving many things *Timoleon* did when he was generall: *Timoleon* aunſwered neuer a word, but onely ſaid vnto the people, that he thanked the goddes they had granted him the thing he had ſo oft requested of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once ſee the SYRACVSANS haue full power and libertie to ſay what they would. Now *Timoleon* in all mens opinion, had done the nobleſt actes that euer GREECIAN captaine did in his time, and had aboute deſerued the fame and glory of al the noble employtes, whiche the rethoricians with all their eloquent orations perſwaded the GREECIANS vnto, in the open aſſembles, and common feaſtes and plaies of GAMES, out of the which fortune deliuered him ſafe and ſound before the trouble of the ciuill warres that folowed ſome after: and moreover he made a great prooſe of his valliance and knowledge in warres, againſt the barbarous people and tyrannes, and had ſhewed him ſelfe alſo a iuſt and merciful man vnto al his frendes, and generally to al the GREECIANS. And furthermore, ſeeing he wonne the moſt part of all his victories & triumphes, with out the ſhedding of any one teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and alſo ryd al SICILE of all the miſeries and calamities raigning at that time, in leſſe then eight yeeres ſpace: he beyng nowe grown olde, his ſight firſt beginning a litle to faile him, ſhortly after he loſt it altogether. This happened, not through any cauſe or occaſion of ſickeſſe that came vnto him, nor that fortune had caſually done him that iniurie: but it was in my opinion, a diſeaſe inheritable to him by his parētes, which by time came to laie hold on him alſo. For the voyce wēt, that many of his kin in like caſe had alſo loſt their ſight, which by litle & litle with age, was cleane takē from thē. Howbeit *Athenis* the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that during the warres he had againſt *Mamercus* & *Hippas*, as he was in his campe at MYLES, there came a white ſpott in his eyes, that dimmed his ſight ſomwhat ſo that euery man perceiued that he ſhould loſe his ſight altogether. Notwithſtanding that, he did not raiſe his ſeiſe, but continued his enterpriſe, vntill he tooke both the tyrans at laſt: & ſo ſoone as he returned to SYRACUSA againe, he did put him ſelfe out of his office of generall, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, rather becauſe things were brought to ſo good paſſe, as they them ſelues could deſire. Now, that he patiently tooke this miſfortune to be blind altogether, peraduenture men may ſomewhat marvel at it: but this much more is to be wondered at, that the SYRACVSANS after he was blind, did ſo much honor him, & acknowledge the good he had done thē, that they went them ſelues to viſite him oft, and brought ſtraungers (that were trauellers) to his houſe in the city, & alſo in the contrie, to make them ſee their benefactor, reioicing and thinking thē ſelues happy, that he had choſe to end his life with thē, & that for this cauſe he had deſpised the glorious retorne that was prepared for him in GREECE, for the great & happy victories he had wonne in SICILE. But amongſt many other things the SYRACVSANS did, & ordeyned to honor him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chief: that they made a perpetuall lawe, ſo oft as they ſhould haue warres againſt forreyne people, & not agaynſt their owne contry men,

that

A that they ſhould euer chooſe a CORINTHIAN for their generall. It was a goodly thing alſo to ſee how they did honor him in the aſſembles of their counsell. For if any trifling matter fell in queſtion among them, they diſpatched it of them ſelues: but if it were a thing that required great counſail and aduiſe, they cauſed *Timoleon* to be ſent for. So he was brought through the market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the aſſembly of the people was, and caryed in euen ſo in his litter as he ſate: and then the people dyd al ſalute him with one voyce, and he them in lyke caſe. And after he had pawſed a while to heare the praifes and bleſſinges the whole aſſembly gaue him, they dyd propound the matter doubtfull to him, and he deliuered his opinion vpon the ſame: which being paſſed by the voyces of the people, his ſeruantes caryed him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens dyd wayte on him a litle way with cries of ioye, and clapping of handes, and that done, they dyd repayre to diſpatche common cauſes by them ſelues, as they dyd before. So his olde age being thus entertaigned with ſuche honour, and with the loue and good wyll of euery man, as of a common father to them al: in the ende a ſickeſſe tooke him by the backe, whereof he dyed. So the SYRACVSANS had a certain tyme appointed them to prepare for his funeralles, & their neighbours alſo therabouts to come vnto it. By reaſon wherof his funeral was ſo much more honorably performed in al things, & ſpecially for that the people apoynted the nobleſt younge gentelmen of the citie to carrie his coſſyn vpon their ſhoulders, richely furniſhed and ſet forth, whereon his body laye, and ſo dyd conuey him through the place, where the Palace and Caſtell of the tyranne *Dionyſius* had been, which then was rased to the C grounde. There accompanied his body alſo, many thouſandes of people, all crowned with garlandes of flowers, and apparreled in their beſt apparell: ſo as it ſeemed it had been the proceſſion of ſome ſolemne feaſt, and all their wordes were praifes and bleſſinges of the dead, with teares ronnyng downe their cheekes, which was a good teſtimonie they dyd not this as men that were glad to be diſcharged of the honor they dyd him, neither for that it was ſo ordaind: but for the iuſt ſorowe and griefe they tooke for his death, and for very hartie good loue they dyd beare him. And laſtly, the coſſyn being put vpon the ſtacke of wode where it ſhould be burnt, *Demetrius* one of the heralds that had the lowdeſt voyce, proclaimed the decree that was ordeined by the people, the effect whereof was this. The people of SYRACUSA hath ordeined, that this preſent body of *Timoleon* CORINTHIAN, the ſonne of *Timodemus*, ſhould be buried at the charges of the common weale, vnto the ſumme of two hundred MINAS, & hath honored his memorie with playes and games of muſicke, with ronnyng of horſes, and with other exerciſes of the bodie, whiche ſhalbe celebrated yeerely on the day of his death for euermore: and this, becauſe he dyd driue the tyrannes out of SICILE, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and becauſe he replenished many great cities with inhabitants againe, which the warres had left deſolate and vnhabited: & laſtly, for that he had reſtored the SICILIANS againe to their libertie, & to liue after their owne lawes. And afterwards, his tombe was built in the market place, about the which a certain time after, they builded certain cloyſters and galleries to exerciſe the youth in, with exerciſe of their bodies, and the places ſo walled in, was called *Timoleontium*: and ſo long as they dyd obſerue the lawes, and ciuill policie he ſtabliſhed amongſt them, they liued long tyme in great continuall

proſperitie.

*The death of
Timoleon.*

*Timoleons
funeralles.*

*An honorable
decree of the
Syracuſans for
the memorie
of Timoleon.*

*Timoleons
tombe built in
the market
place.*

THE COMPARISON OF *Paulus Aemilius with Timoleon.*



The comparison
of Timoleon
and Paulus
Aemilius for
the warres.

SY the these two men were suche as the Historiographers haue described A them to be: it is certayne, that comparing the one with the other, we shall fynde no great oddes nor difference betwene them. For fyrst of all, the warres they made, haue been agaynst great and famous enemies: the one agaynst the MACEDONIANS, and the other agaynst the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the realme of MACEDON, whiche he tooke from the seuenth kyng that raigned by succession from the father to the sonne, since the tyme of the great *Antigonus*: and the other drave al the tyrannes out of SICILE, and restored the whole Ile & Cities therein, vnto their former libertie. Vnto some will alledge perhappes that there was this difference betwene them, that *Aemilius* fought agaynst kyng *Perseus*, when he had al his power whole and entier, and had fought with the ROMANS many tymes before, and had the better of them in all conflicts: where *Timoleon* set vpon *Dionysius*, when he was in greatest dyspayre, and in maner vnterly cast away. On the contrarie syde, it may be objected for *Timoleon*, that he ouercame manie tyrannes, and a myghtie great armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a verie small number of men, and yet men of all sortes: not as *Aemilius* with a great armie of well trayned and expert souldiers in warres, but with men gathered together at aduenture of all sortes, being mercenarie hierlings, and fighting men for paie, lose people, and men vnruely in warres, that woulde doo but what they lysted. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we must confesse that the praise is due vnto the generall. Bothe the one and the other kept their handes cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke vpon them. But it seemeth that *Aemilius* came so facioned and prepared, by the good ciuill lawe, and moral discipline of his countrie: and that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards facioned him selfe to be that he was. And this is to be proued: for that al the ROMAINS in that time were so ciuilly brought vp, and exceeded al other in straight keeping the lawes of their countrie. Where to the contrarie, there was not one of the captaines of the GREECIANS that came then, or were sent into SICILE, but fell straight to corruption, when he had put his foote in SICILE, *Dion* onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine suspicion of him, that he aspired to the kingdome, and imagined in his head to stablishe a certaine Empire at SIRACVSA, like vnto that of LACEDAEMON. T. I. M. A. E. V. S. the Historiographer writeth, that the SIRACVSANS sent *Gilippus* with shame backe againe into his countrie, for his vnfacible greedy couetousnes, and for his great thestes, and bribes taken in his charge. Diuers other haue also writte the great treasons & falschoddes *Pharax* SPARTAN, & *Calippus* A THENIAN did comit, both of them seeking to make them selues lordes of SIRACVSA: and yet what men were they, and what meanes had they to haue suche a foolishe vaine hope & fancie in their heades? Considering

A sidering that the one dyd folowe and serue *Dionysius*, after that he was driuen out of SIRACVSA: and the other also was but a priuate captaine of a bande of foote men, of those that came in with *Dion*. *Timoleon* in contrary maner was sent, to be generall of the SIRACVSANS, vpon their great instance and sure. And he hauing no neede to seeke or hunte after it, but onely to keepe the power and authoritie they dyd willingly put into his handes: so soone as he had destroyed and overthrowen all suche as woulde vniustly vsurpe the gouernment, he dyd immediately of his owne good wyll, frankly resigne vp his office and charge. And sure, so is this a notable thing to be commended, and esteemed in *Paulus Aemilius*: who hauing conquered dyd great and riche a realme, he neuer increased his gooddes the value of one farthing, nether dyd he nor handle any money at all, although he was very liberall, and gaue largely vnto others. I meane not in speaking this to vpbrayde or detest *Timoleon*, for that he accepted a fayre house the SIRACVSANS gaue him in the citie, and a goodly manor also in the countrie: for in such cases there is no dishonesty in receiuing, but so is it greater honesty to refuse, then to take. But that vertue is most rare and singuler, where we see they will receiue nor take nothing, though they haue iustly deserued it. And if it be so, that the body is stronger & better coposited, which best abideth change of parching heate, and nipping cold: and that the mynde is much more stronger and stable, that swelleth not vp with pride of prosperitie, nor drowpeth for sorowe in aduersitie. Then it appeareth, that *Aemilius* vertue was so much more perfect, in that he shewed him selfe of no lesse graue and constant a mynde, in the patience he endured for his losse and sorowe happened vnto him: (losing at one tyme in manner, both his children) then he had done before, in al his triumphe and greatest felicitie. VVhere *Timoleon* to the contrarye, hauing done a worthie act agaynst his brother, could with no reason suppress the griefe and sorowe he felt: but ouercome with bitter griefe and repentaunce, continued the space of twentie yeeres together, and neuer durst once only shewe his face againe in the market place, nor deale any more in matters of the common weale. Truly, for a man to beware to doo euil, and to shonne from euil, it is a verie good and comely thyng: so also to be sorie, and a fearde of euerye reproche, and ill opinion of the worlde, it sheweth a simpleness of nature, and a good and well disposed minde, but no manly corage.

The ende of Timoleons life.

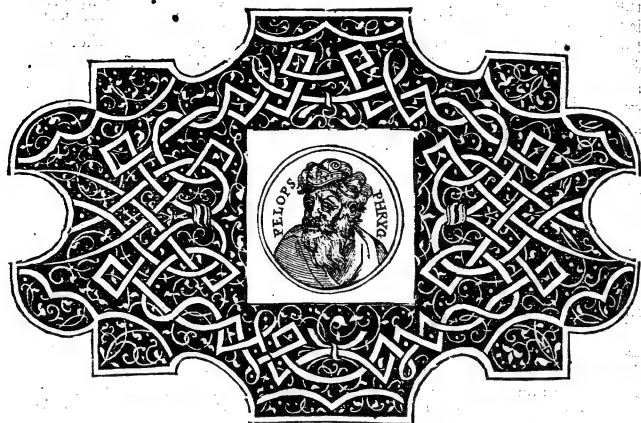
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The wonderful
continencie of
Aemilius
from bribes.

Not to take
giftes, com-
mended
for a singuler
vertue.

Aemilius
Conscience for
Timoleon.

THE LIFE OF *Pelopidas.*



To be bold
of a soldier
to king Antigonus.



The answer
of a soldier
to king Antigonus.

Discreet
opinion
of life &
death.

At the elder, answered certaine on a time, that maruelously commended a bolde, a venturous, and desperate man for the warres that there was great oddes, to esteeme manhodde so much, and lyfe so litle. And surely it was wisely spoken of him. The report goeth, that king *Antigonus* gaue paye to a souldier among other, that was very hardie and venturous, but he had a noughtie sickly bodye. The king asked him one day, what he ayled to be so pale, and euill culled? The souldier told him, he had a secret disease vpon him, that he might not tell him with reuerence. The king hearing him say so, commaunded his Physicians and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they should heale him with all possible speede: and so they dyd. After the souldier had his health againe, he would venter no more so desperately in the warres, as he dyd before. In somuch, king *Antigonus* selfe perceiuing his slacknes, and drawing backe, rebuked him, and said vnto him: that he wondred to see so great a chaunge and alteration in him. The souldier neuer shrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainly. Your selfe, and it please your maiestie, is cause of my cowardlynes now, by healing my disease, that made my life lothsome to me. Much like were a *SEBASTIAN* words, towching the life and manner of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, That it was no maruail they had such a desire to die in the warres, seeing they did it to ridde them selues of their troubles, and most miserable and straight life. But we must not wonder though the *SYBARITANS*, being womanish men, and altogether geuen to pleasure, did so thinke: that those men hated their liues, who feared not death, for the desire they had to doo good, and goodwill they had to doo their ducie. Which was contrarie in the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. For they were of opinion, that to liue and die willingly, was a vertue: as these funeral verses doo witness.

*The dead which here doe rest, did not in life esteeme,
that life or death were (of them selues) or good or bad to deme.
But euen as life did end, or death was brought to passe,
so life or death, was good or bad, this their opinion was.*

And

A And in deede to flye death, is no shame, so it proceede not of a cowardly hart: neither to desire death is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reason why *Homer* saith, the valliantest men are euer best armed, when they come to battaile. The lawe makers among the *GREECIANS*, doo euer punish him that castes away his target, but neuer him that casteth away his sword or lawnce. For euery man must first thinke to defende him selfe, before he seeke to hurt his enimie, and specially such as haue the whole state of a realme in their handes, and be generalles of the feeld. For if the comparison be true, that *Iphicrates* the *ATHENIAN* captaine made, that in an armie of men, the light horsemen resemble the handes, the men of armes the feete, the battaill of footemen the stomacke & brest, the captaine, the head of a mans body: it seemeth then, that the venturous captaine putting him selfe in daunger with our cause, is not onely careless of his owne life, but also of all theirs whose liues depend vpon his fatie. As contrarily, he being careful of his owne person, cannot but be careful of his souldiers that serue vnder him. Therefore *Callicratidas* a *LACEDÆMONIAN* captaine, and a woorthie man otherwise, did vnwisely aunswere a foolishhaire that bad him take hede to him selfe: for the signes and tokens of the sacrifices did threaten his death. *Sparta*, said he, standeth not vpon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by sea or by land man for man, *Callicratidas* was but one man of him selfe: but as captaine or lieutenant generall, he had the whole power and force of the armie in his person. For he was not a man alone, when so manie mens liues were lost with his. Now olde *Antigonus* was of a contrary minde. For he being redie to geue battell by sea, about the Ile of *ANDROS*, made a better aunswer to one that said vnto him: his enemies had more shippes then him selfe. For how many shippes doest thou reckon then my selfe, said he? Therein he did wisely to make great accompt of the worthines of a generall, specially when it is ioynd with hardines, and experience. For the chiefeest poynte of seruice, is to saue him, that saueth all other. For when *Chares* on a time shewed the *ATHENIANS* openly, the sundrie woundes and cuttes he had receiued apō his body, & his target also thrust through with many pikes: *Timotheus* straight said vnto him, *Chares*, I am not of thy minde. For when I did besedge the citie of *SAMOS*, I was ashamed to see a darte throwne from the walles, light hard by me, for that I shewed my selfe a rashe young man, and more venturous then became a generall of so great an armie. For when I standeth much apō the whole armie, and that it is necessarie the generall thereof doo put him selfe in daunger: then he should put him selfe forward, and occupie both handes and body without respect, not regarding their wordes that say, a good wise captaine shoulde die for age, or at the least old. But where there is smal honor to be woone by very good successe, and contrariwise much losse and distruction by great misfortune: no man of wisdome or iudgement would with a generall, to fight as a priuate souldier, to hazard the losse of a generall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the liues of *Pelopidas*, and of *Marcellus*, both which were woorthie men, and died otherwise then they shoulde. For they both were valliant souldiers in the felde, and did both of them honor their contrie with famous victories, and specially against great and dreadful enemies. For the one was the first (as they saie) that ouerthrew *Hannibal*, who was neuer overcome by any before. And the other was also ouercame the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in battell, that ruled at *GREECE* at that time both by sea and by land. Yet they both carelessly lost their liues, by venturing to boldly: when their contrie stood in greatest neede of suche men and captaines, as they were. This is the cause, why we folowing the resemblance that was betweene them, haue compared their liues together. *Pelopidas*, the sonne of *Hippocles*, came of one of the noblest houes of the citie of *THEBES*, as *Epaminondas* did. He being brought vp in great wealth, his father left him heire of all his landes and goodes, being but a young man. So he straight shewed him selfe willing to doo good with his monie, to those that needed helpe, and were worthe: to let the world see, that his monie was not his maister. For as *Aristotle* saith, of these rich men, the most part of them do not vse their goods, for extreame couetousnes: other againe doo abuse them, as being geuen to ouermuch pleasures. So riche men became laues all their life time, some to pleasure, other to profit. Now, al *Pelopidas* other frendes would be beholding to him, and take very thanckfully his curtesie and liberalitie towards them. But *Epaminondas* could neuer

why the *Greeks* do punish him that casteth away his target.

Iphicrates comparison of an armie of men.

A lieutenant of an armie must be careful to save him selfe.

Timotheus saying.

Pelopidas & *Marcellus* lost both their liues, by so much venturing.

Pelopidas stuck & liberalitie.

Aristotle saying of rich men.

be brought to any thing at his handes. Howbeit *Pelopidas* selfe folowed *Epaminondas* maner: for he tooke a pride and pleasure to goe simply appareled, to fare meanelly, to labor willingly, and to make warres openly as he did. He was euen such another, as *Euripides* the Poet described *Capaneus* to be: when he said of him:

*He rich and vvelthie was, yet was he there vwithall,
no vright that purchast vworldly hate, nor insolent at all.*

For he would haue beene ashamed, that the poorest man of the citie of *THEBES*, should haue worne meaner apparell upon his backe, then himselfe. As for *Epaminondas*, his pouertie was not daintie to him, bicause his parentes were euer poore: and yet for all that he passed it ouer more easely, by studie of Philofophie, which he gaue him selfe vnto, and for that from his youth he liked to leade a spare life without exceffe. Where *Pelopidas* matched in a noble house, and married highly, and had two children by his wife: neuertheless he had no minde to keepe or increafe his goodes the more for that, but gaue him selfe altogether to serue the common weale as long as he liued. By reason whereof his wealth decayed, and his best frendes grewe angrie with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was so necessarie, as to haue goodes. And he answered them: In dede they are necessarie, I doo confesse it, but yet for such a one, as this poore, lame, and blind man that standeth by. They both were a like borne to all vertue, sauing that *Pelopidas* tooke most pleasure in exercise of his body and strength, and *Epaminondas* in the exercise of his wit and learning. So as the palyment ech of them tooke when they were at leasure, was, that the one delighted to wrastle, and to hunt, and liked any kinde of exercise of his body: and the other to heare, to studie, and alwaies to learne some thing of Philofophie. But among all the excellent giftes and good partes in either of them, and that most wanne them honor and estimation in the world, they were onely commended, and singularly noted of wise men, for the perfect loue and frendshippe that was euer inuolably kept betwene them, vntill their deaths: hauing been ioynd together in so many battels, warres, charges of armies, and otherwise in matters of state and government. For if a man will consider, and looke into the doings of *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, and *Cimon*, of *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, how full of dissensions, enuies, & suspitions they were one against another in gouerning the common weale: and againe will consider the loue, honour, and kindnesse, that continued alwaies betwixt *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*: no doubt they will saie these two are more worthe to be called brethren in warre, (as they saie) and companions in government, then any of them we haue named before, whose care and studie was alwaies rather to ouercome one another, then to ouercome their enemies, and the onely cause thereof was their vertue. For their aches shewed they did not seeke glorie, nor riches for them selues (the couetousnes whereof doth allwaies breede quarrelles and enuy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in loue with an other, with a great kindenes and estimation of them selues, to see their contrie flourish, and growe to great honor through their seruice, and in their time: and so they reckoned all the good employes both of the one and the other, that tended to that ende, as their owne. The most part of writers thinke, this great and earnest loue thone did beare to another, did growe first betwene them, in a iorney they made together vnto *MANTINIA*, to aide the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, that were at that time confederates of the *THEBANS*. For they being both set in battell raye, one hard by another among the footmen, against the *ARCADIANS* that stoode before them: it fortune that the point of the battell of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the which they were, gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. But they determining to die rather then to flye, stoode close together, and fought with the enemies that came upon them: vntill such time as *Pelopidas* being hurt in seuen places before, fell downe at the last vpon a heape of dead bodies, afwell of their owne souldiers, as of their enemies, euen one vpon another. Then *Epaminondas* thinking he had ben slaine, stepped notwithstanding before him to defend his body & armor, & he alone fought against many, being willing to die, rather then to forsake *Pelopidas* lying amongst the dead bodies: vntill him selfe being thrust into the breast with a pyke, and fore cut on his arme with a sword, was euen ready to geue ouer, when *Agessipolis* (king of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*) came with the other

*Pelopidas
saying for the
necessitie of
warre.*

*The perfect
friendshippe
betwixt Pe-
lopidas & Ep-
aminondas.*

*The true
cause of friend-
shippe.*

*Agessipolis,
king of the
Lacedæmoni-
ans.*

A point of the battell in happie howre, who saued both their liues past all hope. Now after this battell, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* both in wordes and deedes did courteously intreate the *THEBANS*, as their frendes, and confederates. Notwithstanding, in troth they beganne to feare the power and great corage of that citie, and specially the faction and associates of *Imenias* & *Androclidas* had set vp, whereof *Pelopidas* also was a copanon: bicause they thought it was populer, and inclined muche to desire libertie. VVhereupon *Archias*, *Leontidas*, and *Philip*, all three great welthie men of the citie of *THEBES*, and milking to be equal with other citi-zens: did perswade *Phabidas*, a captaine of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, that going and coming through the contrie of *BOEOTIA* with an armie, he would one day assaile to take the castell of *THEBES* called *CADMEA*, and driuing those out of the citie that would resist him, he would put the government of the state into the hands of a fewe of the noblest persones, who would be at the deuotion of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, & obey them in all thinges. *Phabidas* brought it to passe, and did worcke his feate before the *THEBANS* mistrusted any thing, upon a holy day called *THESMOPHORIA*. After he had wonne the castell, he apprehended *Imenias*, and sent him to *LACEDÆMON*, where shortly after they put him to death. *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, and *Androclidas*, with many other, saued them selues by flying, and were banished *THEBES* by sounde of Trompet. *Epaminondas* taried stil in *THEBES*, and no man tutched him, for they made small account of him, bicause he was altogether geuen to his booke: and though his goodwill had serued him to haue done some feate, his pouertie made him vnable to doo any thing. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* vnderstanding of the raking of the castell, did straight put *Phabidas* out of his charge, and set a fine of a hundred thowland *DRACHMES* upon his head: but yet they kept still the castell of *CADMEA* in their handes with a great garrison. All the other citie and people of *GREECE* did wonder much at it, that they should allowe the fact, and punish the notwithstanding the doer. So the *THEBANS* hauing lost their auncient libertie, and being made subiect by both these, *Archias*, and *Leontidas*, so as all hope was taken from them euer to winde out of this tyrannie, or at any time to ouerthrowe it, seeing it was maintained and defended by the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and that they could not possibly take from them all the seigniorie and dominion they had throughout *GREECE*, aswell by sea as by lande: *Leontidas* and his followers notwithstanding, when they vnderstoode that they who were banished fro *THEBES*, were very wel received & entertained of the people at *ATHENS*, and much made of also of the nobilitie, they sought secretly by treason to haue them killed. To do this feate, they sent certaine men vnknown vnto *ATHENS*, who by reason slue *Androclidas*, howbeit they missed the kylling of the other. Furthermore, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* wrote to the *ATHENIANS*, that they should not receiue such as were banished from *THEBES*, nor that they should fauor them, but driue them out of their citie, as those which by their allies were lustily proclaimed common enemies. The *ATHENIANS* notwithstanding, being men alwaies ciuilly geuen, and inclined in nature to humanitie, as being borne and bred vp withall, and very desirous besides to requite the *THEBANS* curtely, who had bene the chiefeft meanes and doers in restoring againe the populer state and government at *ATHENS*: they would by no meanes offer the *THEBANS* any such iniurie, seeing they had established a lawe and decree, that if any *ATHENIAN* passing to and fro through the contrie of *BOEOTIA*, did beare armor against the thirtiety tyrannes, that were gouernors and oppressors of the libertie of *ATHENS*, there should no *BOEOTIAN* seeme to see, or knowe any thing thereof. In the meane time *Pelopidas*, though he were of the younger sort, did procure still euery one that was banished, to seeke the libertie of his contrie, and openly made an oration: to them all, declaring, that it were not onely a cowardly part, but also a wicked offence to the goddes, if they would suffer their contrie to remaine so in continual bondage, & strangers to inhabite it with a garrison, to make them subiect to the yoke: and they in the meane time to be contented to saue the selues, to liue delicately and idly at *ATHENS*, to studie to doe what shal please the *ATHENIANS* to commaund the, & to be affraide of the orators, & those which through eloquence can perswade the common people to doo what they lust. Therefore he perswaded them that they should hazard all, being a matter of so great weight, and take example of *Thersibulus* noble corage and hardynes: who departing from *THEBES*, did driue out the ty-

*Calmeas the
captaine of The-
bes, taken by
Phabidas
captaine of the
Lacedæmoni-
ans. Imenias
died.*

*Pelopidas,
Pherenicus
and Andro-
clidas, banish-
ed from The-
bes.*

*Archias and
Leontidas, go-
uernors of
Thebes, vnder
the Lacedæ-
monians.*

*Androclidas
slaine.*

*The thank-
fulness of the
Athenians
vnto the
Thebans.*

*Pelopidas
consul for
the libertie of
the Thebans.*

rannes that did oppresse A T H E N S : and euen so, we departing from A T H E N S , should seekem A deliuer *Thebes* also from bondage. When he had by these persuasions drawn them to his opinion, they secretly sent vnto their frendes that remayned still in T H E B E S , to let them vnderstand their minde and determination : who all lyked very well of their purpose . Insomuch, C H A R O N that was the chiefeſt man among them, promised to lende them his house to assemble in . *Philidas* also founde means to be ſecretarie to *Philip* and *Archias*, who were gouerners & captaynes of the city at that time for the L A C E D E M O N I A N S . *Epaminondas* on the other ſide making no ſhewe of any thing, had of long time practiſed to ſtyre vp the courage of the younge men of T H E B E S . For when they were at any games or exerciſes of bodye, he woulde euer procure them to wraſtle with the L A C E D E M O N I A N S . And after he ſawe them reioyce when they had caſt them, and that they were the ſtronger, he woulde chide them, & tell them they might be aſhamed, for lacke of courage, to ſuffer the L A C E D E M O N I A N S to hold their noſes to the gryndſtone, that were nothing like to them in ſtrength . Now, the confederates appointed a day certain, to breake the iſe of their pretended enterpriſe, & agreed that *Pherenicus*, with other that were baniſhed, ſhoulde tariſe at the village of T H R A S I Y M , and that they ſhoulde ſende the valiaunteſt and luſteſt younge men before, to geue the venter to enter the citie: adding this therewithall, that if the enemies fortune to iurpriſe them, all the other of the conſpiracie ioyntly together, ſhoulde be ready to geue order, that their fathers, mothers, and children, ſhoulde lacke nothing neceſſarie for them. *Pelopidas* was the firſt man offered him ſelfe to vndertake the enterpriſe: & after him *Melon*, *Damoclidus*, & *Theopompus*, all three, men of the greateſt houſes of T H E B E S , who loued maruelouſly together, and for no reſpect woulde euer offend one another, although from the beginning there was euer emulation among them for honor & glory, by ſtriuing who ſhoulde exceede other in vertue & valiantnes . Now they were twelue of them, who taking leaue of the reſt, ſent a ſoote poſt before to *Charon*, to aduertise him of their coming: and they them ſelues went on their iorney caſting liſle ſhort clokes apone them, and taking houndes with them, and hunters ſtaues in their handes, becauſe their enterpriſe ſhoulde not be miſtruſted by thoſe that met them on the way, and that they ſhoulde thinke them hunters vp and downe the ſeildes for their pleaſure. So, whē their meſſenger they ſent came to the citie, and had tolde *Charon* that they were coming, he neuer ſhooke from his worde, though the daunger towards was great, but like a ſtove and honeſt man did abide by his promiſe he made, and tolde him they ſhoulde be moſt hartely welcom to his houſe. But another man called *Hippothemidas*, very honeſt otherwiſe, & one that loved his contry and the preferuation thereof, and a good friend of thoſe alſo that were baniſhed, fainting ſtraight apone the ſodaine report of theſe newes, and his minde was troubled, and his hart ſayled him ſo, as his noſe fell a bleeding, to thinke apone the greatnes of the inſtant daunger he was like to fall into, hauing neuer caſt before with him ſelfe, how by this enterpriſe they ſhoulde put all the empire of the L A C E D E M O N I A N S in hazard of vtter deſtruction, and laye a plat beſides to ouerthrowe all their owne common weale and ſtare, by laying al their hope apone a fewe baniſhed men, hardly able to wade through with their enterpriſe. Whereupon, ſo ſone as he was come home, he ſecretly diſpatched a meſſenger, one of his familiar friends, vnto *Melon* & *Pelopidas*, to will them they ſhoulde deſerre their enterpriſe for better oportunitie, & ſo to returne backe again to A T H E N S . *Chlidon* was the man he ſent of this meſſage, who preſently went home to his houſe: and taking his horſe out of the ſtable, had his wife ſette him the brydell quickly. The brydell not being readily to be founde, ſhe tolde him he had lent it out to one of their neighbours . Then they ſell a chiding together about it, and at length brake out to ſowle wordes, and laſtly his wife fell a curſing of him, and prayed the goddeſſe he might haue ill lucke in his iorney, and thoſe that ſent him . *Chlidon* hauing ſpent the good part of the day, chiding and brawling with his wife about the brydell, and furthermore miſliking the tokens of his wiues curſing and banning of him: he determined not to geue a ſoote oute to the dores of that arrant, and ſo went about ſome other buſines . Thus had this noble enterpriſe in manner bene altogether daſhed, before it was fully begonne . Now thoſe that were in *Pelopidas* companie, chaunged apparell with the contrie men, becauſe they woulde not be knowne, and did deuide them ſelues, for that they would not come into the citie till together

Conſpiracie againſt the Lacedæmonians, for the liberie of Thebes.

Charon kept promiſe, with daunger of liſe.

Pelopidas cometh into Thebes diſgiſed in cloyne apparel.

A together, but at diuers gates, beinge day light. At that time it was a meruelous winde and great ſnowe, and the weather was ſo boyſterous, that euery man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the conſpirators, that they were not known when they came into the citie. So their frendes and confederates within the citie receaued them as they came, and brought them to *Charon* houſe: where were aſſembled together, with thoſe that were baniſhed, eight and forty perſones only. Now for the tyrans, thus ſtoode the matter with them. *Philidas* their ſecretary was of the conſpiracy, as we haue told you before, and he knewe all the praſtice. Wherefore he had longe before ſolemly bidden *Archias* and his companie, to ſupper to his houſe that verie night, to be merry together, & had promiſed to entertaine them with women to welcome them with all: of purpoſe, that when they had in their full cuppes, and were in the middeſt of all their pleaſure, the conſpirators might then vſe them as they woulde. So they beinge ſette at table, before they were ſped of their cuppes, one came to them, and told them truly of the treaſon (not the particularities, neither as a thinge certaine, but of a rumor onely that ranne abroad in the towne) howe the baniſhed men were hidden in *Charon* houſe. *Philidas* woulde haue paſſed the matter ouer. Howbeit *Archias* would nedes ſende one of his garde ſtraight for *Charon*, to commaunde him to come to him preſently. It was within night, and *Pelopidas* and his companie prepared themſelues to worke their feare, being armed euery man, and their ſwords in their handes, when apone a ſodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the houſe runninge ſtraight to the gate, came backe againe aſearde to tell them that it was one of *Archias* garde that came for *Charon*, to come immediatly to the gouernours. Then were they in doubt that their praſtice C was diſcouered, & that they were all caſt away, before they coulde make any prooſe of their valiantnes: notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that *Charon* ſhoulde obey the meſſage, & that he ſhoulde preſent himſelfe before the gouernours, to take away all ſuſpition from them. *Charon* of him ſelfe was a ſtout man, very conſtant, & reſolute in daunger for his owne perſone: yet it grieved him much at that time, for feare the confederates ſhoulde ſuſpect him he hadde bewrayed the ſe, if ſo many honeſt citizeins whom he had lent his houſe vnto, ſhoulde vnfortunatly miſcarie. Therefore before he went out of his houſe, he went into his wiues chamber to fetch his ſonne, that was a goodly boy, but ſtrong as any boy of his age could beſo he brought him to *Pelopidas*, and prayed him, if he vnderſtoode that he had betrayed them any way, or otherwiſe had ſought their hurt, they ſhoulde then vſe his ſonne as an enemy, without any compaſſion towards him. D When the confederates ſaw the good zeale & true noble mind of *Charon*, they all fell a weeping, and were angrie with him, that he ſhoulde thinke any of them ſo faint harted, or timorous, for any daunger coulde come to them, that they ſhoulde ſuſpect or accuſe him for any thinge: and therewith all they prayed him, not to leaue the boye with them, but rather to conuey him into ſome place out of the tyrans daunger, where he might be brought vp, that one day he might be reuenged of the wrong & iniurie they had done to them, and to their contrie. *Charon* answered them, he woulde not take him away, & that he ſaw no life nor health more happy for him, then to dye with his father without infamy, and with ſo many honeſt men his friends. So after he had beſought the goddeſſe to proſper them, and hadde encouraged and embraced euerie one of the confederators one after another: He went to the gouernours, and ſtudied by the way ſo to frame E his wordes and countenance, as though he ſhoulde ſeeme to thinke of any thinge elſe, then of that he purpoſed to do. When he came to *Philidas* dore that made the feaſt, *Archias* and *Philidas* him ſelfe came vnto him, and asked him: *Charon*, what are they (ſayd they) that are come into the city, and hidden in ſome houſe, with certaine citizeins that do accompany them? *Charon* was ſomewhat aſhamed at the firſt, and asked them againe: what men be they? who are they that hides them in the citie? But when he perceiued that *Archias* coulde tell nothinge of certainie, then he thought ſtraight that ſome man hadde informed them that was not priue to the praſtice, but hadde hearde ſome thinge of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heede: it was ſo falle alarme, to make them aſtrayed: neuertheleſſe (ſayd he) I will enquire further of it: for at all aduenture it is good to be circumſpect in ſuch a caſe to be ſure. *Philidas* answered him, F he ſaid truly and ſo he brought *Archias* backe againe into the hall, where he made him drinke deeper then before, till entertaining the companie with hope of the womens coming. *Charon* returninge home againe, found all the confederates ready to attempt their enterpriſe, not as men that

Philidas ſecretary to the tyrans.

Pelopidas danger.

Archias Bi-
shop of Subis,
beareth the
treason to Ar-
chias in a let-
ter.

Why might
matters to
morrow. Prom.
Pelopidas kil-
leth the ty-
rants.

The liberty of
the Thebans
restored.

reckened of their liues, nor that had any hope to preuaile: but as those that were determined to dye valiantly, and to sell their liues dearly. Now he truly tolde vnto *Pelopidas* onely, what was said vnto him & the rest: he told that *Archias* had sent for him to speake with him, of other mat- ters. The storme of the former danger was scant blowne ouer, but fortune sent them an other. For immediately vpon talke had with *Charon* at the first, came a messenger from *Athenes*, that brought a letter to the same *Archias*, written by the Bishop of *Athenes* at that time, called *Ar- chias* also as him selfe, & was his old hoste & frend: wherein he wrote not of simple coniecture, nor furnished suspicion, but the plaine conspiracy in euery degree, as afterwards it fell out. So the messenger was brought to *Archias* that was dronke, and deliuering him the letter, he said vnto him. Sir, he that sendeth you this letter, straightly charged me to tell you, that you should presently read the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. *Archias* laughing sayd vnto him: weighty matters to morrow. So heooke the letter and put it vp, & then fell asleepe to his tale he had begonne with *Philidas*. But euer after, the *Grecians* made this a common prouerbe among them: weighty matters to morrow. Now when the cōspirators spied their time to go about their businesse, they deuided them selues in two companies. *Pelopidas* and *Damoch- das* went with one company, to sette vpon *Leontidas* and *Hypates*, because they dwelt nere toge- ther: *Charon* and *Melon* with the rest, went against *Archias* and *Philip*, beinge disguised in wo- mens apparell they had put vpon their priuy cotes, & wearing garlands of pyne apple and syme trees on their heads, that couered all their faces. So when they came to shew them selues at the hall dore where the banquet was made, they that were in the hall at the first sight, thinking they had beene the women they looked for, beganne to shewre, and made great noyse for ioye. But when the conspirators cast their eyes rounde about the hall to knowe those which were at the table, they drew out their swordes, and set vpon *Archias* and *Philip* ouerthwart the table: then they shewed them selues what they were. Then *Philidas* had his gussetes he hadde bidden to the banquet with them, that they shoulde not stirre, for they shoulde haue no hurt: so some of them fate still. But the greatest number of them would needes from the borde, to defende their go- uernours. Howebeit bicause they were so dronke that they knewe not what they did, they were soone slaine with them. Now *Pelopidas* enterprise was not so easie. For they went against *Leontidas*, that was a sober discrete man, and withall, hardy of his handes; and they found he was gone to bed, his dores were shut vp, and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length, one of his men that hearde them rappe so hard, with much a doo came to open the dore: but he had no sooner thrust backe the bolt of the dore, and beganne to open it, but they pushed it from them with such a force asson him altogether, that they layed him on the grounde, and went straight to his maisters chamber. *Leontidas* hearinge the noyse of them that ranne vpe to him in such hast, presently mistrusted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, tooke his sword in his hande, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chamber all night, for if they hadde beene out, they might easily haue hurt one an other in the darke. But the lampes giuinge cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber dore, and gaue *Cephisodorus*, the first man that pressed to enter asson him, such a blowe with his sword, that he dropped downe dead at his feete. Hauing slaine the first man, he dealt with the seconde that came after him, and that was *Pelopidas*. The fight went hard betwene them two, bothe for that the chamber dore was verie straight, as also for that *Cephisodorus* body lying on the ground, did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithstanding, *Pelopidas* ouercame him in the ende, and slue him: and went from thence with his companie, straight to *Hypates* house, where they got in, as they did into *Leontidas* house before. But *Hypates* knewe presently what it was, and thought to slue him selfe in his neighbours houses. Howebeit the conspirators followed him so harde, that they cutte him off before he could recover their houses. Then they gathered together, and ioyned with *Melon* company, and sent immediately with all possible speede to *Athenes*, to the banished *Thebans* there, & cried through the city, liberty, liberty, arming those citizens that came to them, with the armor & spoyle of their enemies, that were hanged vp in common wawtes, & armorers shops about *Charons* house, which they brake open, or caused to be opened by force. On the other side, *Epaminondas*, and *Gorgidas*, came to ioine with them, with a company of young men & honest olde men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole cite

was

A was straight in an vpröre & tumult, & euery house full of lights, one running to an other to know what the matter was. Neuertheles the people did not yet assemble together, but euery one being amazed, musing at this stir, not vnderstanding the trocke, staid vntill day came on, that they might call a counsell. But truly herein, me thinks the Capitaines of the garrison of the *Lacedæmonians* were greatly in fault, that they did not stirre betimes, & set vpon the incontinently: considering they were xv. hundred souldiers, besides a great number of citizens that would haue come, one after an other to take their partes. But the great noyse they heard, made them a- feard, & to see lights in euery mans house, & the people running vp & down the streets in great multitudes to & fro: wherupon they stirred not, but only kept the within the castel of *Cadmea*. The next morninge by breake of day, came the other banished *Thebans* from *Athenes* very wel armed, & al the people of *Thebes* drew together in counsaill. Thither did *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* bring *Pelopidas*, & his cōsorts, & presented the before the people, cōspassed about with prielts & the professed of the city, offering them crownes to put vpon their heads, & they praised the assembly of the citizens, that they would help their gods, & their contrie. Al the people that were present, whē they saw them, rose vp, & stood on their feete, & with great shoutes & clapping of hands receiued the, as their sauours, that had deliuered their contrie frō bondage, & re- stored them again to liberty: & therupon, before them al, euen in the market place, by the whole voice & consent of the people, they chose *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, & *Charon*, gouernors & capitaines of all *Bœotia*. *Pelopidas* then immediately made them besiege the castel of *Cadmea* about, with trenches, & force of wod, doing al he coulde possible to winne it, & to expulse the *Lacedæmo- nians*, before any supply & aide came to them frō *Sparta*. So he did, & preuented it so sodainly, that the garrison being departed out of the castel by cōposition, as they returned towards *Lacedæmonia*, they found *Cleombrotus* king of *Sparta* in the contrie of *Megara*, comming to- wards the with a great army to help the. Afterward, of the three capitaines which had charge of their garrison that lay at *Thebes*, the *Spartans* condēned two of them to death: *Hermipidas*, & *Arctissus*, were presently executed: & the third capaine, *Dyscoridas*, they set so greuous a fyne on his head, that he wet out of *Peloponesys*. This enterprise being attēpted, & executed with the like valiantnes, & the same daiger & trouble, that *Thrasibulus* practisē was, whē he deliuered *Athenes* from the slavery of the thirty gouernors & tyrans, & hauing the like fortune, & happy ende: the *Grecians* termed it cōsyn german to *Thrasibulus* act. And in deede it were a harde matter to find two other such, besides the two, that with so fewe me ouercame their enemies, being many more in nōber then the selues, or that with so small help did ouercome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprise with their only valiantnes & wisdō, & were cause besides of so great blessing & benefit to their contrie, as *Pelopidas* & *Thrasibulus* attēpt was. But the great change & alteration of the state afterwards, did make their actes farre more noble & famous. For the warre that ouerthrew the maiestie of *Sparta*, & that tooke away al the seigni- orie & rule of the *Lacedæmonians* bothe by sea & by land, beganne the very same night, when *Pelopidas* him self making the twelue person, & entering into a priuate house, (taking neither cite, nor castel, nor stronge hold) to tel truly by figuratiue speach, did breake & cut in fonder the links & chaynes that linked straight together, & strēghened the *Lacedæmonians* whole empire & monarchie ouer al *Greece*: who vntill that presēt time were thought so strong, as no possibillitie coulde breake or fonder them. Now the *Lacedæmonians* fortuning afterwards to inuade the cōtry of *Bœotia* with a mighty army: the *Athenians* trembling for feare of their great power, did vterly leaue to protect the, & renouened the league & alliance they had made before with them. And moreover, they did faithfully prosecute law against those, that were ac- cused to take part with the *Bœotians*: so wher some of the were put to death, other were banished from *Athenes*, & the rest condēned in great summes of money. To be short, euery man sayd the *Thebans* were but vndone, considering they had no help, & were beloued besides of none. At that presēt time it fel out *Pelopidas* & *Gorgidas* were generals ouer al *Bœotia* for that yere, who deuiling to throw a bone betwixt the *Athenians* & the *Lacedæmonians* again, to make the square, they vfed this policie. There was a capitaine of the *Lacedæmonians* called *Sphodrias*, a valliant mā, but elle of smal capacity, & vainly giuē, hauing a certē fond ambitio & humor, perswading him selfe he had done some notable good seruice in his time. This *Sphodrias* was left in the city of *Thebes*, with a great band of souldiers, to receaue & fauor al the *Bœo-*

Pelopidas vi-
cinitie the
Castell of *Cad-
mea* by *Com-
position*.

Pelopidas o-
uerthrowe the
seigniorie of
the *Lacedæ-
monians*.

Pelopidas po-
licie to make
the *Athenians*
fall out againe
with the *Lacedæmonians*.

TIANS, that had a minde to reuolte fro the THEBANS. *Pelopidas* of him selfe sent a marching (a very frende of his) vnto *Sphodrias*, with a great some of money from him, and certaine perswasions withall, which perswaded more then the money, withinge him to attempt some greater matter, & to seke to winne the haue of *PIRÆA*: a thing soone wonne, if he came to assault it on the sodaine, & the rather, for that the *ATHENIANS* mistruste nothinge, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreouer, that he might assure himselfe, nothinge could be better welcome to the lords of *LACEDÆMONIA*, the to make them lords of the city of *ATHENS* also. And againe, that the *THEBANS*, being at deadly foode with the *ATHENIANS*, for that they had betrayed & forsake them in their neede, would not aide nor succor the in any respect. *Sphodrias* giuing to light care to this vaine perswasion, tooke the souldiers he had with him, and marching away by night, entred the realme of *ATTICA*, & wet on to the city of *ELYSIUM*: but whē he came thither, his souldiers were afeard, & would go no further. So his purpose beinge discovered, he was forced to returne backe to *THESPIES*, hauing raised such a warre to the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, as fel out to be of no small importance to them, nor easie to be pacified. For after that time, the *ATHENIANS* fought league & amity againe with the *THEBANS*, & did aide them very louingly: & moreover, putting them selues to sea, they sailed vp & downe, procuring & drawing to their league all such, as were willing to rebell against the *LACEDÆMONIANS*: & the *THEBANS* besides, had bin prety skirmishes with the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the meane time, in their own cōtry of *BOEOTIA*. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was such a great learning & cōtinual training of them in marshall discipline, as the *THEBANS* stil increased in corage & valliantnes, & waxed stronger & better souldiers: for by those skirmishes they grew not onely expert souldiers, but waxed more skillfull in vsing their weapons, then before. As we read, that *Antalcidas* a *SPARTAN* said one day to king *Agesslaus*, cōminge home sore hurt fro *BOEOTIA*: surely the *THEBANS* haue giuen you a worthy reward, for teaching the to be souldiours against their wils. But to say truly, *Agesslaus* was not their maister to teache the to make wars, but they were the good & wise leaders of the *THEBANS*, who like good wod mē in choosing their game, could skilfully choose both time & place to giue their enemies battell, & make the retire again with safety, after they had bin fleshed, giuing the a litle tast of the frutes & cōmodity of victory: but among the, *Pelopidas* was he that deserued most honor and glory. For, since the first time they gaue him charge of men of warre, they neuer failed, but chose him continually euery yeare, either Captaine of the holy bande, or gouernor of *BOEOTIA* so long as he liued: so that *Pelopidas* only did the most things in this warre. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* were ouerthrowē in sundry iorneyes, that they were distressed by the cities of *PLATEES*, & of *THESPIES*, where *Phæbidas* himselfe (that had before taken the castell of *CADMEA*) was slaine amongst other. An other great power of theirs also was ouerthrowen nere to the city of *TANAGRA*, where *Panthoidas* gouernor of the same, was also slaine. Now all these victories, though they much encouraged the hearts of the conquerors, & made the hardy: yet did they not therby altogether cōquer the mindes of the vanquished. For the *LACEDÆMONIANS* were not overcome in any pitched field, nor set battell, where they had their whole army together: but they were light rode, & skirmishes properly laid of purpose, where somtime flying, somtime driuing the againe, they bickered very oft, & put the to the worst. But the battell of *TEGIRA*, which was but a florish & profeto the iourney of *LEVCTRES*, swan *Pelopidas* greathonor. For he had no cōpanio to chāleage any part of his glory & victory, neither did he leaue his enemies any lawfull excuse, to shadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he spied al occasio he might possible, how to take the city of *ORCHOMENE*, that tooke part with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and had receiued two ensignes of footemen of theirs to kepe it. *Pelopidas* being aduertised one day, that the garrison of *ORCHOMENE* was gone abroad to make a rode into the cōntry of the *LOCRIDES*, & certaine shuld finde *ORCHOMENE* without garrison: he marched thither with his holy band, & certaine nūber of horse mē. But whē he drew nere the city, he had intelligence there was another garrison cōming fro *SPARTA*, to supply the place of the garrison that was abroad: wherupō he returned backe againe by the city of *TEGIRA*, for he could haue passed no other way, but to haue turned down by the foote of the moūtaine. For al the valley that lay between both, was drowned with the overflowing of the riuer of *MELAS*, which euē fro his very hed carieth euē such bredth with it, as it maketh the marishes nauigable, so as it is vnpassable for any shallow it hath. Not far fro these marishes, standeth the tēple of *Apollo TEGIRIAN*, where was an oracle in old time, but left at this

The Theban
exercisē
armes.

Antalcidas
saying to king
Agesslaus.

The victory
of the The-
bans against
the Lacedæ-
monians.

Pelopidas vi-
ctory of the
Lacedæmoni-
ans at the bat-
telle of Tegy-
ra.

Melas fl.

At this day, & had neuer long continuance, but only vncill the time of the warres of the *MEDES*, when *Echecrates* was maister and chiefe priest there. And some holde opinion, that *Apollo* was borne there: for they cal the next mountaine to it, *DEIOS*, as the foote whierof the marishes of the riuer of *MELAS* doo end, and behinde the temple are two goodly springes, from whence cometh great abundance of good sweete water: wherof the one of them is called to this day the *Palme*, and the other the *Oliue*: And some say also, that the goddesse *Latura* was not brought to bed betwene two trees, but betwene these two springes: For mount *TEGIRA* is hard by it also, from whence the wilde bore came on a sodaine that flighed her. And the tale that istolde of the serpent *Pytho*, and of the gyant *Tityus*, doo both conspire, that *Apollo* was borne in the same place. I passe ouer manie other coniectures confirming the same, for that we doo not beleue in oure contrie that *Apollo* is among the number of those, who from mortall menne haue bene translated to immortall goddes: as are *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put of mortalitie, and tooke immortality upon them: but we rather take him for one of those that neuer had beginninge nor generation, at the least if those things be to be credited, which so many graue and ancient writers haue left in writing to vs, touching so great and holy things. The *THEBANS* returning backe from *ORCHOMENE*, and the *LACEDÆMONIANS* on the other side returning also from *LOCRIDE*, both at one time, they fortunē both armies to mete about the city of *TEGIRA*. Now, so lone as the *THEBANS* had discovered the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, passing the fraire, one of them ranne sodainly to *Pelopidas*, and tolde him: Sir, we are fallen into the hands of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, answered *Pelopidas* againe? with these wordes, he commaunded his horsemen that were in the reerward, to come before, and sett upon them: and him selfe in the meane time put his footemen immediately into a pretie quadron close together, being in all, nor aboue three hundred men, hoping when he should come to geue charge with his battell, he should make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater number. For the *LACEDÆMONIANS* deuicid them selues in two companies, and euery company as *Ephorus* writeth, had five hundred men: and as *Callistenes* sayd, seven hundred: *Polybius*, and diuers other authors saye, they were nyne hundred men. So, *Theopompus* and *Gorgolaon*, the Captaynes of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, lustely marched agaynst the *THEBANS*: and it fell out so, that the first charge was giuen, where the chieftaynes or generalls were of either side, with great furie on eyther parte, so as both the generalls of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* which sett vpon *Pelopidas* together, were slayne: They being slayne, and all that were about them, being either hurt or killed in the fild: the rest of the armie were so amased, that they deuicid in two, and made a lane on either side, for the *THEBANS* to passe through them if they would. But when they saw *Pelopidas* went not to take the passage they offered him, and that he came on still with his men to set upon those that were yet in battell raye, and slue all them that stood before him: then they turned tayle, and tooke them to their legges. Howbeit the *THEBANS* did not chafe them farre, fearing the *ORCHOMENIANS* who were not farre from them; and the new garrison besides, that were come from *LACEDÆMON* not long before. And this was the cause they were contented that they had ouercomē them by force, and had passed through their armie in despite of them, and broken and ouerthrowen them. So when he had set vp markes of triumphe, and spoyled their slayne enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obteyned victory. For in all the warres the *LACEDÆMONIANS* euē made, as well with the *GRECIANS*, as with the barbarous people also, there was neuer chronicle mencioned at any tyme; that their enemies being so fewe, did overcome them that were so many, nor that they were overcome also by any number equall in battell: Whereupon they grew to coragious and terrible, that no man durst once abyde them: for their only fame did so terrifie their enemies that came to fight agaynst them, that they thought with no equall force to be able to performe as much as they had done. But this battell of *TEGIRA* was the first that made both them and the other *GRECIANS* knowe, that it was not the ryer of *EVROTA* alone, nor the valley that lyeth betwene the ryers of *CNACION*, and of *BABYCH*, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places else, where they learne young

Latura
brought to
bed betwene
two springes:
called the
Palme, and
the Oliue.

Pelopidas
victory.

what enemies
are most ter-
rible & to be
feared.
The first inspi-
ration of the
holy bande.

men to be ashamed of dishonest and vile things, and to venter their liues for honest causes, fearing more dishonorable reproche, then honorable danger. These are the people most to be feared, & are most terrible also to their enemies. And for the holy bad we mentioned before, it is said, *Gorgidas* was the first erecter of the same. They were three hundred chosen men entertained by the state, and they alwaies kept within the castell of *CADMEA*, and the bande was called the townes bande: for at that time, and specially in that part of *GREECE*, they called the castles and great houses in cities, the townes. Other say it was a band of footemen that were in loue one with another. And therefore *Parmenes* pleasant words are noted, saying, that *Nestor* could no skyll to set an armie in battell raze, seeing he gaue the *GREECIANS* counsell, in the *ILIADS* of *HOMER*, that they should set them in battell raze, euery countrie and tribe by them selues:

*That by affections force, and lynkes of kindly loue,
that one might aueraiſe helpe as bande, that other to behoue.*

Men louing
euer, fight
disparately
against their
enemies.

*Hercules &
Iolauus liue.*

*Platoſe ſay-
ing of a iouer,*

*The Goddeſſe
Harmonia.*

For, saide he, one frende should rather be set by another that loues together: because in danger, men commonly do little regarde their contrie men, or suche as are of their tribe. But men that doo loue one another, can neuer be broken nor overcome: for the passion of loue that entertaineth eche others affection, for affection sake, dothe kepe them from forsaking one another. And those that are beloued, being ashamed to doo any vile or dishonest thing before those that loue them, for very loue will stick one by another to the death. And sure the reason is good, if it be true that louers doo in deede more regard them they loue, though they be absent: then other that be present. As appeareth by the example of him, that being stricken downe to the ground, his enemy lifting vp his swoorde to kyll him, he praised him he would geue him his deatnes wounde before, left his frende that loued him, seeing a wounde on his backe, should be ashamed of him. It is reported also, that *Iolauus* being beloued of *Hercules*, did helpe and accompanie him in all his labors and quarrels. Whereupon *Aristotle* writeth, that vnto his time, such as loued hartly together, became sworne brethren one to another, upon *Iolauus* tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this bande was first called the holy bande, by the selfe same reason that *Plato* calleth a loue, a diuine frendly goddes appointment. It is written also, that this bande was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowen, before the battell of *CHARONIA*: After that battell, *Philip* taking vewe of the slaine bodies, he stayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that bande laye all dead on the ground, one harde by another, and all of them slayne and thrust through with pikes on their brestes, whereto he wondered muche: and being tolde him that it was the louers bande, he fel a weeping for pittie, saying, Wo be to them that thinke these men did, or suffered any euill or dishonest thing. And to be short, the misfortune of *Laius*, that was slaine by his owne brother *Oedipus*, was not the first originall cause of this custome, that the *THERBANS* beganne to be in loue one with another as the *POETS* write: but they were their first lawmakers, who perceiving them to be a stout & fierce nation of nature, they sought euen for their youthe to make them gentell and ciuill, and therefore in all their actions both of sport and earnest, they continually acquainted them with playing of the flute, being highly esteemed of them in those dayes. They brought in the vse also to make loue, in the midst of all their youthfull sportes & exercises of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to a ciuill life. And therefore they had reaso that gaue the goddeſſe *HARMONIA* to the *THERBANS*, for defender and patronesse of their citie, who was begotten (as they say) betwene *Mars* and *Venus*. For that geueth vs to vnderstande, that where force and warlike courage is ioyned with grace, to winne and perfwade: all things by this vnion and accord are brought, to a goodly, profitable, and most perfect government. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this holy bande of the *THERBANS*. *Gorgidas* deuinding it in the former rankes, and placing it all alongest the fronte of the battell of the footemen, it did not appeare what they were able to doo of them selues, for that he brought them not all into one body: so as thereby they might see what seruice the whole companie coulde doo, being together, considering that it was deuinded and mingled amongst manie other, that were a great deale of lesse value then them selues. But *Pelopidas* that had made good proofe of their valiauntes before, when they fought about

about him of them selues, without others by them, at *TEGIRA* would neuer after deuinde nor separt them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entier body that had all his members, he would alwaies beginne with them to geue a charge, in his most dangerous battels. For, as we see in running of coches at games, that horses being tyed all together in afronte, doo runne faster and stronger, then they doo when they are loſe, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many together doo breake through the ayer better, but for that the contention and enuy betwene them to outtronne one another doth in dede set their hartes and stomakes a fyre. Euen so he thought, that valiaunt men geuing one another a desire and enuy to doo well, should haue the more corage, and woulde be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers fight. But the *LACEDÆMONIANS* afterwards being at peace and league with all the other *GREECIANS*, proclaymed open warres against the *THERBANS* onely: and kyng *Cleombrotus* went to inuade them with an armie of tenne thousande footemen, and a thousande horsemen. Whereupon, the *THERBANS* were not only in the like danger they stood in before to lose their libertie, but the *LACEDÆMONIANS* did openly threaten they would vtterly destroy them for euer: so that all the contrie of *BOEOTIA* stood in greater feare, then euer they did before. And one day as *Pelopidas* went out of his house to goe to the warres, his wife bringing him out of the doores to take her leaue of him, weeping, she praised him hartely to looke well to him selfe. But he answered her againe: my good wife, it is for priuate souldiers to be careful of them selues, but not for captaynes, for they must haue an eye to saue others liues. And when he came to the campe, he founde the captaynes and the Lieutenantes of the armie, in sundrie opinions: and he was the first that agreed with *Epaminondas* opinion, who thought it best they should geue battell to the enemies. *Pelopidas* at that time was neither governor of *BOEOTIA*, nor general of the armie, but onely captaine of the holy bande: notwithstanding they had great affaile in him, & gaue him great authoritie in counsaile concerning their affaies: such as became a man that had made so good testimonie of his naturall loue & affection to his contrie, as he had done. Now, being determined in counsaile that they should geue the enemy battell, they all mustred together in the valley of *LEVCTRES*, where he had a vision in his dreame, that troubled him verie muche. In that valley there are the tombes of the daughters of one *Scedafus*, whiche by reason of the place, they call the *LEVCTRIDES*, for that they were buried there, after they had bene defyled and rauished, by certaine guesstes of the *SPARTANS* that laye in their house, trauayling that way. This act being so horrible and wicked, the poore father of these defiled virgines, coulde neither haue iustice, nor reuenge of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and therefore after he had bande and cursed the *LACEDÆMONIANS* with most horrible and execrable raylings and curses as might be possible, he kyllid him selfe vpon the graues of his daughters. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* had many fundrie oracles, prophecies & signes of the goddes to warne them, to take heede of the wraethe of the *LEVCTRIDES*: howbeit euerie man vnderstoode not the signification of this prophecie, but were deceiued by the equiuocation of the name. For there was a litle towne in the contrie of *LACONIA*, standing upon the sea, called *LEVCTRYM*: and in *ARCADIA* also by the citie of *MEGALIPOLIS*, there was another towne called by the same name. This misfortune chaunced longe before the battell of *LEVCTRES*: but then *Pelopidas* dreaming in his tente, thought he sawe in a vision the daughters of *Scedafus* weeping about their graues, and cursing the *LACEDÆMONIANS*: and that he sawe their father also, commanding him to sacrifice a red mayden to his daughters, if they woulde obtaine the victorie. This commaundement at the first, seemed verie cruel and wicked: whereupon when he rose, he went to the Prognosticators and generalls of the armie, and tolde them his dreame. So, some of them saide, this was no matter to be lightly passed ouer, but to be considered of, alledging manie examples in the like cases. As of *Menecius* the sonne of *Creon* in olde time, and of *Macaria* the daughter of *Hercules*. And yet of later memorie, the wife *Pherecydes*, whome the *LACEDÆMONIANS* slue, and whose skynne they kynges doo keepe at this daye, by commaundement of an oracle. And *Leonidas*, who following a prophecie of the goddes, did as it were sacrifice him selfe, for the safetie of *GREECE*. And furthermore, the younge boyes

*Cleombrotus
king of the
Lacedæmoni-
ans.*

*Pelopidas
princely attire
ſuare.*

*Se what pla-
gue ſuene
where iustice
is denied.*

*Pelopidas
dreame & vi-
ſion in the
ſeldes of
Leuctra.*

which *Themistocles* did sacrifice to *Bacchus Omestes* (to say, eating rawe fleshe) before the battell of *Salamina*. And all these sacrifices were acceptable to the goddesses, as the victories following did plainly shewe it. In contrarie manner also king *Agessilaus*, coming from those very places, from whence king *Agamemnon* came in the time of the warres of *Troia*, and goinge againe against the same enemies: dreamed one night in the citie of *Avidis*, he sawe the goddess *Diana*, asking him his daughter for sacrifice. But he tenderly loving her, would by no means performe it: and thereupon was compelled to breake of his iorney, before he had executed his enterprise, and departed with small honor. Other to the contrarie stood to it slowly, and saide it was not to be done. For, so cruell, abhominable, and brutish a sacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the goddesses, nor to any god, better or mightier then ours: considering that they be no impressions in the ayre, nor gyants that rule the world, but the one onely mightie & eternal, God, father of gods, & men. And, to beleue that either goddess or demy goddess doo delite in murder, or theading of mans blood, it is a meere mockery and folly. But, admit it were so, they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that have no power at all: for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirit, when they haue suche damnable and horrible desires in them, and specially if they abide styll with them. Now, the generall and heads of the armie of the *Thebans* being of fondry opinions, & *Pelopidas* being more afraid then before, by reason of their disagreement: a young mare colt, or sylle, breaking by chaunce from other mares running and flying through the campe, came to staye right against them. Then euery man beganne to looke upon her, and to marke what a faire sylle it was, and red colored euery where, and what a pride the tooke with her selfe to heare her owne neyting. *Theocritus* then the soothesayer being amongst them, did beholde her, and knew straight what the sylle ment, and so cried out forthwith: O happie *Pelopidas*, loe here is the sacrifice thou lookest for, seeke no other virgin for thy sacrifice, but take this that God him selfe doth send thee. When *Theocritus* had saide so, they tooke the sylle, and laide her upon the tombe of *Seedsus* daughters, and put garlandes of flowers about her, as they handled other sacrifices: and then after their prayers made to the gods, they did sacrifice her with great ioye, and told *Pelopidas* vision in his dreame the night before through all the campe, and the sacrifice they had made also according to the signification thereof. Moreouer, when they came to ioyne battell, *Epaminondas* being generall, drew all his army on the left hande, because he would bring the right winge of the enemies army (where they had placed the naturall *Spartans*) further from the other *Grecians* their frendes and allies, that were set in the other wing of their battell: that he comming with his whole power together to geue a charge vpon *Cleombrotus* their king (being in a corner by him selfe) might be distressed or ouerthrowen. The enemies synding *Pelopidas* intent, beganne to chaunge their order, and hauing mentow, ment to thruste out their right winge at length to compasse in *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* in the meane time sodainly preuented them, and running with great furie with his squadron of three hundred men, he set upon *Cleombrotus* before he could disorder his men to put furth the right winge, and ioyne them together againe. And so he founde the *Lacedaemonians* not yet settled in their ranks, and brake them in this disorder, thrusting one in anothers place to put them felues againe in order: notwithstanding the *Lacedaemonians* of all other men were the only capitaines and most expert souldiers in marshall discipline, as men so trained and practised, that no sodaine altering, of forme or order in their ranks, coulde either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turne head or side vpon any sodaine occasion offered, and coulde fight and order them felues in battell euery way alike. So *Epaminondas* going to geue thonsel upon them alone, with the whole force of his battaile together, not tarrying for others: and *Pelopidas* also with an incredible courage and readines, presenting him selfe in battell before them, did put them into such a terrible feare, that they cleane forgotte their skill in fightinge, and their wonted courage fayled them. For they cowardly turned their backs, and their were moe *Lacedaemonians* slain that day then euer were before in any former battell. *Pelopidas* therefore, being netter governor of *Borotia*, nor general of all the army, but onely captain of the holy band did notwithstanding winne as muche honor and glorie of this victorie, as *Epaminondas*, that

Agessilaus
dreamt.Godly sayings
concerning
God.Gods providence
and
sodaine ayde.The sylle saine
or sacrificed.The battell as
Leuiticus.The cause of
the ouerthrow
of the Lacedaemonians.Pelopidas and
Epaminondas
victorie, as
the battaile of
Leuiticus.

was governor of *Borotia*, and generall of all the armie. In dede afterwards they were both governors of *Borotia* together, when they inuaded the contrey of *PELOPONNESVS*: where they made most parte of the cities & people rebell against the *Lacedaemonians*, and take their parte. As the *ELIANS*, the *ARGIVES*, and all *ARCADIA*, and the best parte of *LACONIA* selfe, notwithstandinge it was in the hart of winter, and in the shortest dayes of the yeare, and towards the latter ende also of the last moneth of their yeares authority and rule, hauing not many dayes to cōtinue in office, being forced to leaue their authority, upon paine of death if they did refuse, vnto other officers new chofen, the beginning of the next moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, & governors also of the contrey of *Borotia*, what for feare to incurre the daunger of the lawe, as also to auoyde the trouble to lye in campe in the sharpest of winter: they did vrge and perswade them to bring the armie backe againe into their contrey. But *Pelopidas* was the first that yielded to *Epaminondas* opinion, and wanne the other *Thebans* also to consent vnto it, to be contented to be led by them, to geue assaile to the city selfe of *SPARTA*. So, through their perswasion they passed ouer the riuer of *Evyrotas*, and tooke many litle towne of the *Lacedaemonians*, & wasted & destroyed all the contrey to the sea side, leading vnder their enignes an armie of threescore and ten thousand fightinge men, and all *Grecians*, the *Thebans* not making vp the twelut parte of them. Now, the honor and great reputation of these two perones, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, brought their frendes and confederates, that they followed them, without any resolution of counsell or publike order, and neuer opened their mouthes against them, but willingly marched vnder their conduction. And in my opinion, truly me thinks it is the first and chiefeest point in the lawe of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himselfe, should leane to one that is strong, and able to defende bothe. Euen much like to freshe water souldiers, and rawe sea men, that lying at sea in calme weather, & in safe harbor, are as lusty & bragge with the masters & botswaines as may be: and let a litle storme of weather come upon them sodainly, and that they be in any danger, then they looke on the masters, hoping for no life but at their handes. And euen in like manner the *ELIANS* and *ARGIVES*, who though in all assemblies of counsell they would euer iarre and strue with the *Thebans*, for honor and superiortie in the armie: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherein they saw there was daunger, then their peockes brauerie was gone, and they were glad to obey their generalles commaundement. In this iourney they brought all the cities of the prouince of *ARCADIA* to be in league with them, and tooke all the contrey of *MESSENIA* from the *Lacedaemonians*, which they peaceably enioyed: and called home againe all the ancient inhabitants of the same, and restored them to their contrey, and replenished the citie of *ITHOM*: Then returninge afterwards into their contrey by the citie of *CENCHREES*, they ouerthrew the *ATHENIANS* that came to trouble them, in entringe into the straight of *PELOPONNESVS*, supposinge to haue stopped their passage. Thus was the valliantnes of these two worthy men greatly commended and honored of euery body, for so many notable exploits & victories as they had wonne, and their maruelous good successe greatly wondered at. But as their glory and renowne increased abroad, so did their contrey mens malice and enuie encrease against them at home: who had prepared such a welcome home for them, as was to bad and vile for so honorable seruce as they had done. For *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* bothe, at their returne, were accused of treason. For there was a special law at *THEBES*, that commatided all such as should happen to be gouernors of *Borotia*, to resigne their office immediately to the new officers elect, at the beginning of the first moneth of the yeare, which in *Borotia* they call *BOVCATION*: and they had kept it foure whole moneths about their teatime appointed, in which time they had done all that we haue spok of before, as well in the prouince of *MESSENIA* & of *ARCADIA*, as also in the contrey of *LACONIA*. *Pelopidas* was the first of the two that was called in by proccesse, therefore he stood in the greater dainger: howbeit in the end, they were both discharged again. As for *Epaminondas*, he tooke his accusatiō & the attempt of his enemies (wherby they sought to haue caft them both away) quietly enough: ludging that pacience to those that deale in state and government, is a great heue of force & magnanimite. But *Pelopidas* being of a hotter nature, and more chollericke, and set on besides by some of his frendes, did take this occasion to

Pelopidas &
Epaminondas
journey into
Peloponnesus,
being both
gouernors of
Borotia.Appell
lawe as The-
bes, for resig-
ning up of
office at the
years end.Pelopidas &
Epaminondas
went ouer the
riuer of Euy-
rotas, with 70,
thousand men.The ingrat-
itude of the
Thebans, to-
wards Pelopi-
das and Epa-
minondas.The Lawe
Borotian.Epaminondas
pacience.

*Pelopidas con-
demneth Me-
neclidas, a fe-
ditious orator
and accuser.*

*The practise
of spitefull
men.*

*Our forefa-
thers did
paine and fit
for their
battles.*

*Alexander
the tyrant of
Pheres.*

Larissa, a city.

be reuenged. *Meneclidas* the orator was one of those that came into *Charon's* house with *Pelopidas*, and *Melon*, but notwithstanding the *THEBANS* did nothing honor him, as they did the rest. He taking this ill at their hands, being maruelous eloquent of speeche, but vitiously geuen otherwayes, and a man of a vile and mischieuous nature: did fondly abuse his eloquence, falsely accusing those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not being contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put *Epaminondas* one yeare from being gouernor of *BOETIA*, which he sued for; and moreover he was euer against him in all matters of state he tooke in hand. But he coule neuer bring *Pelopidas* out of fauour with the people: and therefore he fought to make bate betwixt him and *Charon*. For it is the common trick of all spitefull perones, when they can not be thought to honest men as those whome they eniue: to go about to proue that they are not so honest and meete men, as those whome they preferre and commend. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended *Charon's* noble actes and victories, and specially that victory about other, which the *THEBANS* wanne before the iorney of *LEVCTRES*, in a skirmish of horsemen, that was before the city of *PLATEES*, he hauinge charge of the same: of the which he woulde leaue this memory. *Androcydes* a *CYZICENTIAN* and painter, was at a price with the *THEBANS* to painte them some other battell in a table, and he did draw this worke in the citie selfe of *THEBES*: but as he was in hand with all the rebellion of the *THEBANS* fell out against the *LACEDAIMONIANS*, and warre followed on the necke of that, whereupon the painter forsooke *THEBES*, leauinge his worke in manner done and perfite. The *THEBANS* kept this table by them, and this *Meneclidas* moued the people they woulde hang it vp in some temple or publicke place with an inscription apont it, saying thus. This was *Charon's* victorie, of purpose to deface and obscure the glorie of *Pelopidas*, and of *Epaminondas*. To vaine and fond was his ambition, to set before so many noble battells and victories, one simple ouerthrowe of *Charon*, in the which *Gerandas*, one of the meaneft gentlemen of all *SPARTA* was slayne, and forty other with him: & this was all he did. *Pelopidas* miliked *Meneclidas* motion, maintaining that it was directly against the lawes of *THEBES*, which did expely forbid that no priuate person should be honored with the title of common victorie, but willed the glory thereof should be attributed to all the people generally. In dede *Pelopidas* in all his orations did greatly praise and commend *Charon*, notwithstanding, he made open prooffe, howe *Meneclidas* was an enuius and spitefull detractor, and a naughty wicked man, oftentimes askinge the *THEBANS* if they them selues were worthy of no honor? so as in the end he caused *Meneclidas* to be condemned in a great summe of money. But he finding him selfe vnable to pay it, beinge so great a summe: practised afterwarde to alter the whole state and gouernment. I thought good to dilate this at large, because me thinkes it doth somewhat declare *Pelopidas* nature, and maners, what they were. Now about that time, *Alexander*, the tyrant of *PERES*, was at open warres with many people of *THESSALIE*, and did vse all policie he coule, to bringe them all to his obedience. Whereupon the free cities sent their Ambassadors vnto *THEBES*, to pray them to fend them a captain, with an armie to aide them. Then *Pelopidas* seeinge *Epaminondas* occupied about the warres of *PELOPONNESVS*, did offer himselfe to the *THESSALIAN* Ambassadors, beinge lothe to drowne his experience and sufficiency in warres, with vnprofitable and tedious idleness, knowing that in those partes where *Epaminondas* lay, there neded no other captain. Now when he came with his armie into the *THESSALIE* the citie of *LARISSA* yielded presently vnto him: where the tyrant *Alexander* came to meete with him, and to pray him to treat a peace betwixt him and the *THESSALIANS*. *Pelopidas* attempted to bring it to passe, seeking in steade of a tyrant, to make him a gentle, iust, and lawefull gouernor of *THESSALIE*. But when he saw no perwasions could take place with the tyrant, and that he grew more stubborne and vnratable, and woulde not heare reason: and moreover that he heard many greuous cruelties of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a maruelous dissolute and vnriple person in all his doings, and extremely couetous besides: then he beganne to speake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyrant thereupon tooke away secretly from him, and fled with his gard and souldiers about him. So *Pelopidas* leaunge the *THESSALIANS* out of all feare and danger of the tyrant, and furthermore in good peace and amity one with the other,

At her, he went into *MACEDON*: where *Ptolomy* made warre at that time with *Alexander*, beinge kinge of *MACEDON*, they bothe hauing sent for him to heare and determine the quarrell betwixt them, and also to helpe him that had the right, against him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them bothe, and restored the banished men of either side, to their landes and goodes againe. For assurance of the peace, he tooke the kinges brother in ostage, whose name was *Philip*, and thirte other children of the noblest mens sonnes of *MACEDON*, whom he brought away with him to *THEBES*, to let the *GREECIANS* see, that the reputation of the *THEBANS* power stretched farre, & the renoune also of their manner of gouernment and iustice. It is the same *Philip*, that made warre afterwarde with the *GREECIANS*, to take their libertie fro them: howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at *THEBES* in *Pammenes* house. And this is the cause, why some thought *Philip* did followe *Epaminondas* manner: and it might be peraduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres, which in dede was but a peece of *Epaminondas* vertue. But as to the continency, iustice, magnanimie, and clemencie, which were the speciall pointes that made *Epaminondas* of great fame: *Philip* coule neither by nature, education, nor studie euer attaine vnto. The *THESSALIANS* hauinge sent afterwarde to *THEBES*, to complaine of *Alexander* the tyrant of *PERES*, that did againe molest and trouble the free cities of *THESSALIE*: *Pelopidas* was sent thither Ambassador with *Ismenias*, carying no power with him fro *THEBES*, little thinking he shoulde haue needed to haue made warres: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the contrie fild, vpon the instant necessitie offered. At the very same time also, all *MACEDON* was vp in armes. For *Ptolomy* had slaine the king, and vsurped the kingdom, and the seruants and frendes of the dead king called vpon *Pelopidas* for aide: who desiring to come euen vpon the fact, and hauing brought no men of warre out of his owne contrie with him, did presently leaue certaine men where he was, and so marched forward with them against *Ptolomy*. Nowe *Ptolomy* when bothe their powers met, did corrupt the souldiers *Pelopidas* had brought with money, to take his parte. But notwithstanding this policy he had practised, yet he was afeard of the name only, and greatnes of *Pelopidas* reputation: wherefore he went vnto *Pelopidas*, as to a better man than him selfe, and making maruelous much of him, and intreating of him, he made promise, and bounde it by othe, that he would keepe the realme for the brethren of the dead king, and that he woulde take all those for his frendes or enemies, whom the *THEBANS* did either loue or hate. And for assurance of his promise, he gaue him his sonne *Phioxenus* in ostage, and fifty other of his frendes, all the which *Pelopidas* sent vnto *THEBES*. But in the meane time, beinge maruelously offended with the treason of the souldiers against him, vnderstanding that the most parte of their goodes, their wiues and children, were in the citie of *PHARSALIE*, he thought if he coule winne that, it were a maruelous good way for him to be reuenged of the trechery of the souldiers against him: whereupon he leauid certaine *THASALIANS*, & went to that citie. *Pelopidas* was no sooner come thither, but *Alexander* the tyrant arriued also with his armie. *Pelopidas* supposing he had come to iustifie him selfe, clearing the complaints of the *THESSALIANS* made against him: went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delited in murder and sheading of blood. Neuertheles, he hoped he durst not haue attempted any thing against him, for the authority and feignories sake of *THEBES*, by whom he was sent thither, as also for his owne reputacion. But the tyrant seeing him slenderly accompanied, and without traine of souldiers: tooke him prisoner, and wanne the city of *PHARSALIE* at that present time. But this act of his put his subiects in a great feare, who seeing him commit so shamefull a deede against all equity, did thinke straight he ment to spare no man, but would vse men, and all things else that came in his handes, like a desperate man, & one that reckned him selfe callt away. But when the *THEBANS* vnderstood this newes, they were maruelous forie, and straight sent an armie thither appointing other Captaines then *Epaminondas*, because then they had some mistaking of him. *Alexander* the tyrant hauing brought *Pelopidas* in the meane time to *PERES*, did suffer any man that woulde, at the first to come and see him, and speake with him: supposing his imprisonment had killed his hart, and had made him very humble. But when he was tolde the contrary, how *Pelopidas* did comforte the citizens of *PERES*, and willed them to be of good cheare, telling them the howe it was

*Philip of
Macedon, de-
liuered for
ostage vnto
Pelopidas.*

*Pelopidas re-
ken prisoner
by the tyrant
Alexander at
Pharsalia.*

*Pelopidas
freuen.*

*These the
wife of A-
lexander the
tyran.*

now come that the tyran should smirke for al the mischiefs he had done: and that he sent him A word to his face, he had no reason to hang and put his poore citizens daily to death as he did, with sundry kindes of cruell tormentes, who had in nothing offended him, & did let him alone, knowinge that if euer he got out of his hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyran wondering at this great stomake of his, & at his maruelous constancy fearing nothing: asked what he ment to long for halty death? *Pelopidas* beinge tolde what he sayd, aunswered him againe: Mary, sayd he, bicause thou shouldest dye the sooner, beinge more odious to the goddes and men, then yet thou art. After this answere, the tyran would neuer suffer any man to come and speake with him againe. But *Thebe*, that was the daughter of the tyran *Iason* deceased, and wife at that time of *Alexander* the tyran, hearinge report of *Pelopidas* noble minde and corage by his keepers: she hadde a meruelous desire to see him, and to speake with him. But when she came to see him, like a woman she could not at the first discern the greatnesse of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, findinge him in such misery: yet comiecturinge by exterior shew, notinge his simple apparell, his heares and beard growen very long, & how poorely he was serued, and worse entertained: she thought with her selfe his case was to be pittied, and that he was in no state mete for the glory of his name, wherewith the fell a weepinge for compassion. *Pelopidas* that knewe not what the was, beganne to mule at the first: but when it was tolde him she was *Iasons* daughter, then he curteously saluted her for her father *Iasons* sake, who while he liued was his very good frend. So *Thebe* said vnto him: my Lord *Pelopidas*, pittie thy poore Lady & wife. Truly so do I pittie thee, quod *Pelopidas* againe to her: that thou beinge no prisoner, canst abide such a wicked *Alexander*. This aunswere tickled *Thebe* at the heart, who with great impacience did beare the cruelty, violence, and villany of the tyran her husband: that besides all other infamous actes of his detestable life, committed Sodomy with her youngest brother. So she oft visitinge *Pelopidas*, and boldly makinge her moone to him, tellinge him closely all the iniuries her husbande offered her: through *Pelopidas* talke with her, by litle and litle the grew to abhorre him, and to conceiue a hate in heart against him, desiringe reuenge of him. But now the Captaines of the *Thebans* that were sent to deliuer *Pelopidas*, beinge entred into *Thessalie* with their armie: (whether it was through default of ignorance, or their mishap) they returned home with shame, and did nothing. Whereupon the *Thebans* at their returne home, condemned them euerie man in the summe of tenne thousande Drachmes, & sent *Epaminondas* thither againe with an other armie: at whose comming, all *Thessalie* rose incontinently, for the reputation of so great a captaine. And his fortune was so good, that he had in a manner vterly ouerthrowen all the whole state of the tyran: his frends and captaines were so much afraid, and his subiectes on the other side so well disposed to rebell, and maruelous glad for the hope they had, quickly to see the tyran haue his deservied hyer, for all his former wicked deedes he had committed. Notwithstanding, *Epaminondas* preferringe the deliuerie and safety of *Pelopidas*, before the consideration of his owne honor & glorie, and fearinge least *Alexander* seeinge him selfe in daunger to be turned out of all he had, fallinge in despayre like a bedlem beast, would bende all his desperation and fury against *Pelopidas*: he drew these warres out in length, compassinge him rounde about, but not fiercely settinge upon him, with culler to prepare his way the better by delayinge still, thereby to soften the cruell minde of this tyran, goinge on in this gentle sorte, and partly to cutte his combe and extreme pride, but specially to preferue *Pelopidas*, from the daunger and crueltie of his beastly rage. For he knewe right well he was a cruel man, and one that neither regarded reason, nor iustice in any sorte, consideringe howe he made some man to be buried alive, and others to be put in the skinnes of beares and wilde bores, and then to set houndes upon them to teare them in peeces, or else him selfe for his pastime would kill them, with shootinge or throwinge of dartes at them. And in the cities of *Melliea* and of *Scotyva*, bothe of them beinge in league and frendshipp with him, he spyinge a time one day when the citizens were assembled in counsaill together, sodainely compassed them in with his gard and souldiers, and put them euery one to the sword, euen to the little children. And he consecrated the darte also wherewith he had slaine his owne vnkle *Polypbron*, and hauing put garlandes upon it, he did sacrifice to it, as to a god, and called it *Tychon*, as one would say, happy killer. And an other time being

*Epaminondas
sents into
Thessalie with
an army.*

*The brauery
valour of A-
lexander the
tyran.*

A in a Theater, where the tragedy of *Troades* of *Euripides* was played, he went out of the Theater, and sent word to the players notwithstandinge, that they shoulde go on with their playe, as if he had bene still amonge them: sayinge, that he came not away for any misliking he had of them or of the play, but bicause he was alhamed his people shoulde see him weepe, to see the miseries of *Hecuba* and *Andromacha* played, and that they neuer saw him pity the death of any one man, of so many of his citizens as he had caused to be slaine. The gilty conscience therefore of this cruell and heathen tyran, did make him tremble at the only name and reputation of *Epaminondas*: and as the common prouerbe sayth:

*He lett his winges downe fall, not much unlike the cocke,
which doth refuse the pit prepare, and lyst not bide the shooke.*

B So he sent straight vnto *Epaminondas* to excuse him selfe. But *Epaminondas* would in no wise suffer the *Thebans*, through his meanes, to make league with such an hell hounde: no he yelded to abstynce of armes for thirty daies, upon deliuerie of *Pelopidas* & *Ismenias* into his hands, with whom he straight returned vnto *Thebes*. Now the *Thebans* beinge aduertised that the *Lacedaemonians* & the *Athenians* did sende Ambassadors to *Artaxerxes* the mighty king of *Persia*, to make league with him: they sent to him *Pelopidas* for them also, beinge wisely considered of them to sende a man of such fame and reputation. For *Pelopidas* passinge first through contries subiect to the king of *Persia*, his fame was such where he came, that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the report of the famous battells he had wonne of the *Lacedaemonians*, was not onely caried into the next regions and contries of *Asia*: but since the first newes of the journey of *Leuctres* was brought thither, *Pelopidas* hauinge after that wonne victorie apon victorie, his estimation grewe so great, as it was blowne abroad through the worlde, euen to the highest and furthest partes of the East contries. And when he came to the king of *Persias* court, the princes, great Lordes, and captaines of *Persia* that sawe him, had him in great admiration, sayinge: loe this is he that conquered the *Lacedaemonians*, and tooke all their feignorie, and authority from them, bothe by sea and by land, and draue the *Spartans* beyond the riuer of *Evrota*, and from mount *Tavgetum*, who not long before made warres with the great kinge of *Persia*, beinge ledde under their kinge *Ageflaus*, euen to the middest of *Asia*, for the realmes of *Suse*, and of *Ecbatane*. So king *Artaxerxes* selfe was very glad of his comming, and praised him aboute them all, and made his estimation greater then it was before, by his great and honorable entertaininge of him, meaninge thereby to returne the honor to him selfe againe: bicause menne shoulde thinke that the most famous men of the worlde came to honor him, and to see his court, as esteeminge bothe him, and his greatnesse, the onely happines of the worlde. But when he had seene his face, and heard him speake, and perceiued that his wordes were much grauer then the *Athenians*, and plainer then the *Lacedaemonians*: he then was further in loue with him then before, and without disguisinge he did honor and fauor him aboute all the other Ambassadors, who found that he made more estimation of him, then of the all. Notwithstanding, he seemed to beare greater good will vnto *Antalcidas* *Lacedaemonian*, then to any other of the *Grecians*: for that one day beinge at the table, he tooke a garlande of flowers from his owne head, and washed it in perfuming water, and sent it vnto him. In dede he did not vfe *Pelopidas* with that open familiaritie, yet did he send him the goodliest and richest presentes he could deuise, & granted him besides al his requestes he made vnto him: which were, that all the people of *Greece* should be free: that the city & contrie of *Messina*, should be inhabited againe: & that the citizens of *Thebes* by their successors should be take, as ancient frends & allies of the kings of *Persia*. So when he had receaued these aunswers, he returned home againe, & would by no meanes accept any of the great presents the king had offred him: which caused the other Ambassadors of the *Grecians* to be so ill welcome home to their cities. For amonge other, *Timagoras* was accused to the *Athenians*, & condemned to dye, and was executed: which if they did in respect of the great presents he had taken of the kinge, truly they had reason, & it was worthily done of the. For he tooke not only gold & siluer enough, as much as they would giue him: but receaued a very rich bed also, & *Persian* chamberlains to make and dresse it vp, as if no *Grecian* seruantes of his could haue serued that turne.

*Epaminondas
deliuered
Pelopidas out
of prison.*

*Artaxerxes
king of Per-
sia.*

*Pelopidas
sents Ambas-
sadors to the
king of Per-
sia.*

*Pelopidas
greatly hono-
red of the king
of Persia.*

*Pelopidas re-
sisted the
great gifts of
the kinge Ar-
taxerxes.
Timagoras
Ambassador
for the Athe-
nians, put to
death for tak-
ing great
giftes of the
kinge of Per-
sia.*

Moreouer he receaued foure score milche kine to the paille, & neateheards to keepe them, hauing neede of cowes milke belike, to heale a difeafe that fell vpon him: and woulde needes be caried in a litter apon mens armes from the kings court, vnto the MEDITERRANEAN sea, the king rewarding them for their paines that caried him, with foure Talents. Yet it seemeth the gifts he tooke did not offend the ATHENIANS so much, considering that *Epirates* (a drudge or tancquer bearer) did not onely confesse before the people, howe he had taken giftes of the king of PERSIA: but sayd furthermore, that he would haue a law made, that as they did verely choofe nine officers to rule the whole city: so that they would choofe nine of the poorest and meanest citizens, and sende them Ambassadors vnto the king of PERSIA, that they might returne home rich men with his giftes. The people laughed to heare him, but yet were they very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they demanded: not considering that *Pelopidas* estimation and worthinesse did more preuaile, and take better effect, then all the orations the other could make, and specially to a Prince that sought alwaies to enterteine those GRECIANS, which were of greatest force and power in the warres. This Ambassade did greatly increase euery mans loue and good will vnto *Pelopidas*, because of the replenishinge againe of MESSINA with inhabitants, & the infranchising & setting at liberty of all the other GRECIANS. But the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, returninge againe to his old accustomed cruelty, and hauing destroyed many cities of THESSALIE, & placed his garrisons through al the contry of the PHTHIOTES, ACHATIANS, and MAGNESIANS: the cities beinge aduertised of *Pelopidas* returne againe to THEBES, they sent Ambassadors immediatly to THEBES, to pray the to sende the an army, & namely *Pelopidas* for Captaine, to deliuer the fro the miserable bondage of the tyrant. The THEBANS willingly graunted them, & put all things in readines very sodainly. But *Pelopidas* beinge ready to set forward in his iorney, there fel a sodain eclipse of the sunne, so as at none daies it was very darke in THEBES. *Pelopidas* seeinge euery man afraid of this eclipse above, he would not compell the people to depart with this feare, nor with so ill hope to hazard the losse of seuen thousande. THEBANS, beinge all billed to go this iorney: but notwithstandinge, he put him selfe alone into the THESSALIANS hands, with three hundred horsemen of strangers, that were glad to serue with him, with whom he tooke his iorney against the soothsayers mindes, and against the good will of all his citizens, who thought this eclipse did threaten the death of some great persone like him selfe. But *Pelopidas* though he needed no spurre to be reuenged apon the tyrant *Alexander*, beinge by nature hotte, and desirous of him selfe to reuenge the spite and villany he had offered him: yet he had a further hope to finde the tyrans house deuied against himselfe, by the former talke he had with his wife *Thebe*, in time of his imprisonment there. Neuertheles, the fame and reputation of the iorney vnderaken, did wonderfully increase his noble courage, and the rather, because he was desirous (all he coulede) the GRECIANS should see, that at the very same time when the LACEDÆMONIANS did sende gouernors & captaines to *Dionysius*, the tyrant of SICILE, to serue & aide him, & that the ATHENIANS as hyerlings tooke pay of the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, in whose honor they had set vp a statue of brasse in their city, as vnto their sauour: the THEBANS only at the selfe same time tooke armes against the, to deliuer those whom the tyrans oppressed, & sought to roote out al tyrannical gouernment ouer the GRECIANS. So, when he came to the city of PHARSALIE, & had gathered his army together, he went presently into the field to mete with the tyrant. *Alexander*, perceauing *Pelopidas* had very fewe THEBANS about him, and that he had twise as many moe THESSALIANS with him, then the other had: he went to the temple of THETIS, to mete with *Pelopidas*. There one telling *Pelopidas*, that *Alexander* was comming against him with a great power: *Pelopidas* answered him straight, al the better, we shal kil the more. Now, in the middelt of the valley, there are certaine round hills of a good pretty height, which they commonly call the dogges heads: they both strued which of their footemen should first get those hills. *Pelopidas* hauing a great number of horsemen, & good men at armes in the fildes, sent them before to giue charge apon the enemies, that pressed to winne the vantage of the place: & hauing ouerthrowen them, they followed the chafe all the valley ouer. But in the meane time, *Alexander* hauing his footemē hard by, marched forwards, & got the hills, because the THESSALIANS that were further of came to late: notwithstandinge, when they came to the hills, they fought forcibly

Pelopidas second iorney against the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES. The eclipse of the sunne made the THEBANS afraid.

Dionysius went by the temple of *Thebes*, vnto the tyrant *Alexander*.

A forcible to clime them vp, beinge very high and steepe. But *Alexander* comming downe the hill, gaue charge apon them to their disadvantage, & slue the first that gaue the attempt to get vp against the hill: and the residue beinge fore hurt, rettyred againe without their purpose. *Pelopidas* seeinge that, founded the retreat for the horsemen that followed the chafe, to repayre to the standard, and commaunded them they should set apon the footemen of the enemies that were in battell raye: and him selfe ranne to helpe those that fought to winne the hills. So he tooke his target on his arme, and passing through the rereward, got to the foremost rankes: to whome, the sight of his persone did so redouble their force and corage, that the enemies them selues thought it hadde beene a freshe supply of newe mens hartes and other bodies, then theirs with whom they hadde fought before, that came thus lustily to sette againe apon them. And yet they did abide two or three onfettes. Howebeit in the ende, perceiuing those men did still more fiercelly force to gette vp the hill, and moreouer how their horsemen were come in from the chafe: they gaue way, and left them the place, rettyringe backe by litle and litle. Then *Pelopidas* hauinge wonne the hills, stayed on the top of them, viewinge the army of his enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waued vp and downe in great disorder. And there he looked all about, to see if he coulede spye out *Alexander*: and at the length he founde him out amongst others, in the right winge of his battell, settinge his men againe in order, and incoringe of them. After he had fere eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his hart so rose against him apon sight of him, that geuinge place to wrath, he neither regarded his persone, nor the intent of his iorney, but runninge farre before his men, he cried with a lowde voyce to the tyrant, and chalenged the combat of him. The tyrant woulde not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid him selfe amongst his souldiers. But for his souldiers, the first that thought to set apon *Pelopidas*, were slaine by him, and many left dead in the fildes. The residue standinge slowly to it, and close together, did passe his curaces through with their long pykes, and thrust him into the brest. The THESSALIANS seeinge him thus fore handled and distressed, for pities sake came runninge from the toppe of those hills, to the place where *Pelopidas* was, to helpe him. But euen as they came, he fell downe deade before them. Then did they together with their horsemen so fiercelly sette apon them, that they made the whole battell of the enemies to flye: and followinge them in chafe a great waye from that place, they couered the valley with deade bodies, for they slue aboute three thousande men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that were at *Pelopidas* death, tooke it very heauilie, and lamented bitterly: callinge him their father, their sauour, and maister, as one that hadde taught them the worthiest thinges that might be learned of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other frendes and confederates also of the cite of THEBES, besides their exceddinge in settinge out their common proclamations and edictes in prayse of his memorie, and doinge him all the honor that could be due to the most rare and excellent persone that euer was: they did yet more shewe their loue and affection towards him, by their passinge great sorowe and mourninge they made for him. For it is sayed, that they that were at the battell, did not put of their armor, nor vnbride their horses, nor woulde dresse their woundes, hearinge tell of his death: before they went first and sawe his body not yet colde with fightinge, layinge great heapes of the enemies spoyle about it, as if he coulede haue tolde what they had done, nor before they hadde clipped of their owne heares, and the heare of their horses, in token of sorowe. And many of them also, when they were come into their tentes and pavilions, woulde neither haue fier, eate, nor drinke: and all the campe was full of sorowe and mourninge, as if they hadde not wonne a notable victorie, but hadde beene ouerthrowen and made subiect by the tyranne. Afterwards when the newes of his death was spread through all the contrie, the Magistrates of euerie citie through which *Pelopidas* bodie was conueyed, went to receaue it verie honorable, accompanied with all the younge menne, Priestes, and children, carying tokens and crownes of triumphe, and other ornaments of golde. And when his funerall daye came, that his bodie shoulde be caried to be buried, the oldest and noblest persones of the THESSALIANS went to the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might haue the burying of him: and one amongst them beinge the mouth of the reste, spake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lordes of THEBES,

Pelopidas slaine.

The great lamentation for mourninge for *Pelopidas* death.

The oration
of the Thebans.
Thebans.

our good beloued frendes, and confederates, we onely craue this good tume at your handes, wherein you shal much honor vs, & in our great calamity somewhat also cōfort vs. For we shall neuer more accompany *Pelopidas* aloue, nor requite his honorable desertes to vs, that he shal enue know them. But if it please you to let vs handle his body with our handes, and that we may bury him, and set forth his obsequies: we will imagine then at the least that you doe thinke that, which we our selues do certainly beleue that we *THESSALIANS*, not you *THEBANS*, haue receiued the greatest losse of both. For you haue lost in deede a worthy Captaine, and we haue not only receaued that like losse with you, but the hope also of recouering of our liberty. For how dare we againe fende to you for an other Captaine, when we can not redeliuer you *Pelopidas*: The *THEBANS* hearing their petition, graunted their desire: and in mine opinion, no funeralles could be done with greater pompe and honor, then the *THESSALIANS* performed his: being men that reckon not dignity, magnificence, & pompe, to consist in ornaments of tūory, nor of purple. As *Philistus* doth set it out, who praiseth to the moone the buryinge of *Dionysius* the tyrant of *SYRACUSA*, which was the ende of his tyranny, as a sumptuous conclusion of a statelie tragedy. And *Alexander* the great, at the death of *Ephestion*, did not only clippe his horse heares & mules, but plucked downe also the battellments of the wals of the city: because it should appeare, that the very walles them selues did mourne for his death, shewing that deformitie, in steede of their former beawtie. But all such thinges are done only by force and compulsion, upon the Lordes commandementes, which doe but raise vp enuy against their memorie for whom they are done, and hatred of them that are against their willes constrained to do the thing they misliked: & are no iust proofes of honor nor good will, but rather vaine shewes of barbarous pompe, and pride in him, that disposeth his authority and plenty of goodes, in trifling toyes not to be desired. Where contrariwise it plainly appeareth, that a priuate man dying in a foreine contry, by reason should be accomped most happy of all other creatures, that hauing neither his wife, kinne, nor his children by him, he should be conueyed to his funeralles, accompanied with such multitudes of crowned people and number of cities, enuying one an other who should most honor the funeralles, as being vnrequested, & least of all compelled. For faith *Esope*, the death of a happy man is not greuous, but most blessed, seeing it bringeth all good mens doinges to happines, and leaueth fortune to her fickle change, and sportinge pleasure. But in my iudgement, a *LACEDÆMONIAN* spake better, when he sayd *Diagoras* an old man, that had him selfe in old time gotten victory in the games Olympicall, & had sene besides, his own childrē, & his childrens childrē (both sonnes & daughters) crowned with victories also in the self same games: O *Diagoras*, die presently, els thou shalt neuer come to heauen. But these victories of the Olympicall & Pythian games, whosoever should put the al together, are not to be cōpared with one of the battels only, that *Pelopidas* hath foughten & wonne: hauing spent the most parte of his time in great calling and dignity, & lastly ended the same, beinge gouernor of *BOBOTIA* the third time (which was the highestt office of state in all his contry) when he had distroied the tyrans that kept the *THEBANS* in bondage, and was also slaine him selfe, valiantly fighting for the recovery of the *THESSALIANS* liberty. But as *Pelopidas* death was greuous to the *THEBANS* friends & confederats: so fell it out very profitable for them. For the *THEBANS* hearinge of *Pelopidas* death, did not delay reuenge, but sent an army forthwith of seuen thousande footemen, and seuen hundred horsemen, vnder the conduct of *Malchus*, and of *Diogiton*. They findinge *Alexanders* army ouerthrowen, & that he had lost the most parte of his strength, did compel him to geue vp the *THESSALIANS* townes he kept by force against the, & to set the *MAGNESIANS*, the *PHTHIOTES*, & the *ACHAIANS* at liberty, withdrawing his garrisons he had placed in their strong holdes: and therewithall to sweare, that from thence forth he would marche vnder the *THEBANS*, against any enemy they should leade him, or commaunde him to go against. So, the *THEBANS* were pacified upon these conditions. Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him soone after for *Pelopidas* death, who (as we haue tolde you before) had pretily instructed *Thebe* his wife, that she should not feare the outward appearance nor power of his tyranny, although he were enuironed with fouldiers of banished mē, whom the tyrant entertained to gard his person. Her self on the other side, fearing his fallhode, as also hating his cruelty, conspired her husbands death with her three brethren,

The strange
manner of
serue, of
Alexander the
great, for the
death of
Ephestion.

Pelopidas
happines.

Esope say-
inge of the
happines of
the dead.

Death a blef-
sed thing.

The Thebans
reueneged
Pelopidas
death.

Alexander
the tyrant of
Pheres slaine
by his wife.

Tisiphomus,

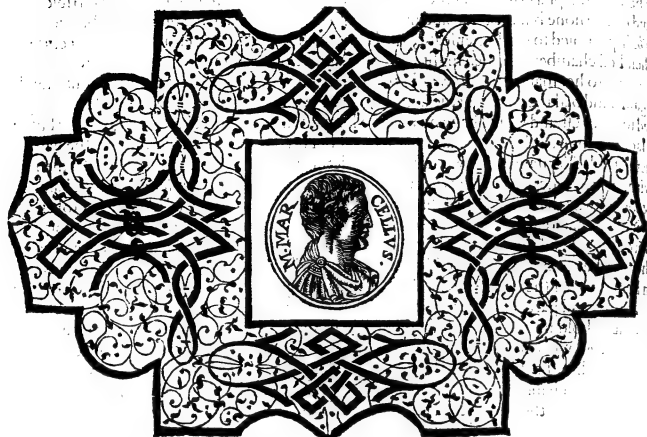
Tisiphomus, *Pytholaus*, & *Lycophron*, & executed her cōspiracy after this sorte. The tyrans palice where he lay, was straightly garded euery where with fouldiers, who nightly watched his person: but their bed chamber which they cōmonly vsed to lie in, was in the top of al his palice, where they kept a dog tyed at the chamber dore, to giue warning, which was a terrible dog, and knewe none but the tyrant and his wife, and his keeper that gaue him meate. Nowe when *Thebe* purposed to worke her feare, she locked vp her three brethren a whole day neere vnto their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, she went her selfe alone according to her māner, into *Alexanders* chamber: and finding him a sleepe, she staid out straight againe, and bad the keeper of the dogge to cary the dogge away, for her husbande was disposed to take rest, and would haue no noyse. There was no way to get vp to this chamber but by a ladder, which she let downe: and fearing least her brethren should make a noyse, she had couered the ladder staues with wolles before she let it fall downe. When she had gotten them vp with their swordes, and had set them before the dore, she went first her selfe into the chamber, & tooke away the tyrans sword that hong at his beds head, and shewed it them, as a token geuen them that he was a sleepe. Vhen it came to the pinche to do the deede, these young men were afrayed, and their heartes beganne to faile them. But she tooke on with them, and called them cowardly boyes, that would not stande to it, when it came to the point, & with all swaie in her rage, that she would goe wake the tyrant, and open all the treason to him. So partly for shame, and partly for feare, she compelled them to come in, and to step to the bed, her selfe holding a lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the feet, and bounde them hard: an other caught him by the heare of his head, and pulled him backward: & the third thrust him through with his sword. So by chance he dyed sooner then he should haue done, and otherwise then his wicked life deserued, for the maner of his death. So *Alexander* was the first tyrant that was euer slaine by the treason of his wife, whose body was most villanously & dispitefully vsed after his death. For when the townes men of *PHERES* had drawn him through the city in myer and dirt, they cast him out at length to the dogs to deuoure.

The ende of Pelopidas life.

EE iij

Alexander
the tyrant of
Pheres was
the first tyrant
that was slaine
by his wife.

THE LIFE OF Marcellus.



Marcellus
knew.

Marcellus
condemned.



Marcus Claudius that was five times Consull at ROME, was the sonne A (as they say) of another Marcus; and as *Posidonius* wryteth, he was the first of his house furnished *Marcellus*, as who would say, a marshall & warlike man by nature. For he was cunninge at weapons, skillfull in warres, stronge and lusty of body, hardy, and naturally geuen to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor shewed his great corage, but in warres against the enemy: otherwise he was euer gentle, and fayer conditioned. He loued learning, and delired in the Greeke tongue, and much esteemed them that could speake it. For, he him selfe was so troubled in matters of state, that he could not study and follow it, as he desired to haue done. For if God (as *Homer* sayth) did euer make men

To use their youth in warres, and battells fierce and fell,
till crooked age came creeping on, such fates for to expell:

They were the noblest and chiefeest men of ROME at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the CARTHAGINIANS in SICILE: in their middle age, against the GAVLES to kepe them from the winning of all ITALIE: & againe in their old age, against *Hannibal* & the CARTHAGINIANS. For their age was no priuiledge for them to be dispenced with, in the seruice of their warres, as it was else for common citizens: but they were bothe for their nobilitie, as also for their valliantnes and experience in warres, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them, by the Senate & people. Now for *Marcellus*, there was no battell could make him giue ground, beinge practised in all fights: but yet he was more valliant in priuate combat C man for man, then in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refused enemy that did chalenge him, but slue all those in the fildes that called him to the combat. In SICILE he saued his brother *Offacilius* life, beinge ouerthrowen in a skirmish: for with his shielde he couered his brothers body, & slue them that came to kill him. These valliant partes of him, beinge but a young man, were rewarded by the generall vnder whom he serued, with many crownes, and warlike honors, vsually bestowed upon valliant fouldiers. *Marcellus* increasinge still his valliantnes and good seruice, was by the people chosen *Edilis*, as of the number of those that were the

worthiest

A worthiest men, and most honorable: and the Priestes did create him *Augure*, which is a kinde of Priesthoode at ROME, hauinge authority by law, to confider and obserue the flying of birds, to diuine and prognosticate thinges thereupon. But in the yere of his office of *Edile*, he was forced against his wil to accuse *Capitolinus*, his brother in office with him. For he beinge a rash, and dissolute man of life, fell in dishonest loue with his colleagues sonne *Marcellus*, that bare his owne name: who beinge a goodly young gentleman, and newly come to mans state, was as well thought of, and taken of euery man for his manhoode and good qualities, as any way for his beaury and perfonage. The first time *Capitolinus* moued this dishonesty to him, he did of him selfe repulle his shameles offer, without any others priuite: but when he saw he came againe to tempe him the seconde time, he straight reuealed it to his father. *Marcellus* his father beinge maruelously offended withall, (as he had good cause) went and accused *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* at the first, layed in many exceptions and fained excuses, to kepe him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: but they declared plainly they would not receiue his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to answer the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attempted euer any such thinge, bicause there were no witnesses to proue it against him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to fende for young *Marcellus*, who comminge before them, bothe blushed, and wept together. The Senate seeinge shamefastnesse in him, mingled with teares, and a malice that coulde not be pacified without seekinge other proofe: they tooke it a cleare case, & so condemned *Capitolinus* presently in a great summe of money, which *Marcellus* conuerted into siluer vessell, to serue at sacrifices, and so did consecrate them to the seruice of the goddes. Now when the ROMAINES had ended their first warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, which held them fully the space of two and twenty yeares: Immediately after that, they beganne a newe warre against the GAVLES. For the INSVBRIANS, beinge a people deriued fro the GAVLES, & dwelling at the foote of the moitaines of the ALPES on ITALIE side, beinge able to make a good power of them selues, did notwithstandinge pray aide of the other GAVLES inhabiting on the other side of the mountaines: & they cauled the GASSATES, a mercenary people and hierlings to them that would giue pay, to bringe great numbers with them. Truly me thinkes it was a maruelous matter, and wonderfull good happe for the ROMAINES, that this warre of the GAVLES came not upon the, while they were at wars with the D CARTHAGINIANS: & that the GAVLES also had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purposely sworne to set upon the conquerors) expectinge still an end betwene the, & then to set upon the coquerors, when they had nothing to say to any other. Yet the scituation of their country did trouble the ROMAINES much, bicause they were so nere neighbours vnto them, & had warres as it were at their owne dores. And so did the ancient reputation of the GAVLES somewhat appawle the ROMAINES, who as it shoulde seeme they did feare more, then any other nation whatsoeuer: bicause ROME had bene taken before by the GAVLES. Since which time, a law was made, that Priestes and ecclesiasticall perones should be dispenced with, from going to the warres, onles the GAVLES did rise against them. The preparation they made for this warre at that time, did plainly show the feare they had of the GAVLES. For the world E thinks, that neuer before, nor since, there were so many naturall ROMAINES assembled together in fildes, as were then at that present. Moreouer, the newe come cruelty they vsed in their sacrifices, doth recorde this to be true. For before, they neuer vsed any straunge manner in their sacrifice, or barbarous facion, but were fauorable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion, & agreeable to the GREECIANS, touching the seruice of the goddes. But then, they were compelled to obey certaine oracles, and auncient prophecies they found wrytten in SIBYLLES bookes: & they buried two GREECIANS aliue in the oxe market, a man & a woman, and likewise two GAVLES, a man and a woman. Vnto them they doe yet continew certaine secret anniuersaries in Noueber, that are not to be sene of euery body. The ROMAINES in their first battels of this warre, were often ouercommen, and did ouercome: but these battels were of little purpose, for ending of the warres. In the yere that C. *Quintius Flaminius*, and P. *Furius Philo* were Consuls, and sent with great armies to make warres upon the INSVBRIANS, people subiect to the state of MILAN: newes were brought to ROME, that there was a riuer scene

EE iij

Marcellus
accused *Capitolinus*.

The Romanes
had warres
with the Car-
thaginians
two & twenty
yeares toge-
ther. The warre of
the Gavles.
Gassates mer-
cenary
Gavles.

A lawe to ex-
empt ecclesi-
asticall persons
fro the warre.
The Romanes
did feare the
warre of the
Gavles.

Men and wo-
men buried
aliue.

Flaminius &
P. Furius
Consuls.

The Romanes
troubled with
warres.

Marcellus sa-
ued his bro-
ther *Offaci-
lius*.
Marcellus
chofen *Edi-
lis* and *Au-
gure*.

Newes
brought to
Rome, of
strange things
seene in Ro-
mania.

Flaminius o-
uercome the
Gaules in bat-
telle.

The great re-
ligion of the
Romaines.

An ordinance
for publicke sa-
fety.

Marcellus &
Cneus Corne-
lius Consuls.

in the cōtry of ROMANIA, red as blood, & three moones also at the very faine time in the city of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priestes & Soothsayers, that had obserued & considered the tokens, & significations of birdes on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls, they tolde plainly there was error in their election, & that they were directly chosen against all signes & tokens of the birdes. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediately to the campe to them, & willed them to come home to depose themselves of their Consulshippe, before they did attempt any thing as Consuls against the enemies. The Consul *Flaminius* receaued the letters in time; but because he was ready to giue battell, he woulde not open them, before he had first ouerthrown his enemies, & spoyled their countie, as in dede he did. But when he was come backe to ROME againe, and had brought marvellous great spoyles with him, the people for all that woulde not goe out to meete him, because he did not presently obey the letters they wrote vnto him, nor returned upon it as they commaunded him, but contemptuously, without any regard of their displeasure, followed his owne phantasie: whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honor of triumphe. For his triumphe was no sooner ended, but they compelled him to giue ouer his Consulship, and made him a priuate man with his companion. The ROMAINES therein were so religiously bent, as they would all things shoulde be referred vnto the gods good grace & pleasure, & would suffer none to contemne the obseruations & prognosticatione of the soothsayers, nor their auncient vses & customes, for any prosperity & felicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessary and profitable for benefit of the common weale, that the Senate and magistrats shoulde reuerence the ceremonies and seruice of the goddesses: then that they shoulde overcome their enemies in battell. As for example *Tiberius Sempronius*, a man as much honored and esteemed of the ROMAINES for his iustice and valiantnes, as any other of his time: beinge one yeare Consul, did nominate & elect two other for Consuls the yeare following, *Scipio Nasica*, & *Caius Martius*. These two beinge entred into their Consulship, and sent from ROME also to their feuerall prouinces appointed them by lot: *Sempronius* by chaunce tooke certaine little bookes in his hande, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the ceremonies of publicke sacrifice, and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinance he neuer heard before. And this it was. That if a magistrate were set in any tent or hyred house without the citie, to beholde and obserue the prognostications of birdes, & that vpon any sodaine occasion he were driue to come againe into the citie, before the birdes had giuen any certaine signes: the second time when he returned againe to ende his obseruations, there was no remedy, but he must leaue his tent or first hyred house, and take an other, and beginne new obseruations againe. *Tiberius* vtterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his obseruations twise in one selfe house, and had chosen there, *Nasica* and *Martius*, Consuls to succede him. But when he knew he had offended, he tolde the Senate of it: who would not let slippe so little a fault: but wrote to the newe Consuls, and they straight left their prouinces, and returned againe to ROME, willingly resigning vp their offices. That was a pretty while after. Againe also, about the very present time we write of now, there were two Priestes of noble houses (and noble persones also) the one called *Cornelius*, and the other *Cethegus*, both which were disgraced of their Priestthoode, because they had not giuen the intrayles of the sacrificed beast in order, as they shoulde haue done. *Quintus Sulpitius* in like maner, was disgraced of his Bishopricke, because his miter which the FLAMINES doe weare, fell of his head in his sacrificing. *Mimutius* beinge Dictator also, and hauinge chosen *Caius Flaminius* generall of the horsemen: because they heard the noyse of a ratte at the electiō of *Flaminius*, they were both put out of their authoritie, and other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise euen in trifles, it was not by reason of any supersticion mingled with their religion: but because they woulde not breake any iorte of the auncient institutions and ceremonies of their contrie. But to our storie againe. *Flaminius* beinge deprived of his Consulshippe, *Marcellus* was created Consul in his place, by the regents at that time called *Interreges*. *Marcellus* beinge inuested in his office, chose *Cneus Cornelius* for his companion: and they say, that the GAULES beinge inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME also willinge to harken to peace, *Marcellus* did stirre vp the people, and made them rather desire warre. Notwithstandinge, they concluded peace at that time: but the GAULES *Gessates* immediately after renewed the wars againe.

For

For there came ouer the mountaines of the ALPES, a thirty thousand of them, & they ioyned with the INSVARIANS, which were many more in number then the selues. Now, they being in a maruelous idollty, went incontinently to lay siege to the city of ACARRAS, that standeth upon the riuier of Po: and during the siege, king *Britomarcus* taking ten thousand *Gessates* with him, went & destroyed all the contrie about the Po. *Marcellus* hearing that, left with his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, all the armed footemen, & the third parte of the horsemen, in his campe by ACARRAS: & he him selfe with the residue of the horsemen, & six hundred footemight armed, marched towards the enemy, traouelling night & day, vntill he met with the ten thousand *Gessates*, nere vnto a village of GAULES on this side the mountaines, called CLASTIDIUM, which was subiect not long before to the ROMAINES. So he had no leasure to take rest, nor to refresh his men a litle: for the barbarous people knew straight he was come, & tooke him for no better then by and by overcome, because he had so fewe footemen. And for his horsemen, the GAULES made no reckening of them: for besides themselves are very good men at armes, and excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of horsemen farre about *Marcellus*. Therefore they straight marched towards him in a maruelous furie, & with thunderinge shoutes, as if they would haue deuoured them at their comming. *Britomarcus* their king, aduanced him selfe before all his company. *Marcellus* fearing to be compassed in behinde, being so small a number: he put out the wings of his horsemen as much as he could, to haue the contrie at large, so that his two wings were very slender, vntill he came nere his enemies. And being ready to gallop towards the enemy, it fortuneth his horse beinge afraid with the noyse of his enemies, turned about, & caried *Marcellus* backe againe in spite of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMAINES supersticion, in taking this for an euill token, and that they would take a conceite upon the same: plucking the bridle with his left hande, turned his horse head againe vpon the enemy, and then he worshipped the sunne, as though he had not turned his horse by chaunce, but purposely for that cause. For it is the ROMAINES manner to turne about so, when they do honor their goddesses. So when they beganne to ioyne battell, he made a vowe to *Iupiter Feretrian*, to offer him vnto the goodliest spoyles of his enemies, if he did overcome. The kinge of the GAULES seeinge him at that instant, imagined by the markes and tokens he saw, that he shoulde be the general of his enemies: So he set spurres to his horse, and galloped towards him from all his company geuing him defiance, & chalenged him, shaking his staffe in his hande. He was the goodliest persone and strongest man of all the GAULES, and his armor was all guilt and flured, and so set forth with sundry workes and colours, that it shined as the sunne. *Marcellus* on the other side hauinge viewed all the army of his enemies thorough out, and perceauinge none so richely armed as the king: thought straight it was against him, that he had made his prayer and vowe to *Iupiter*. Then he put his horse in full carierr against him, and came with such a force & fury to him, that he pearced his armor with his staffe, and overthrew him, but yet he killed him not dead: whereupon he sodainly redoubled two or three strokes besides apon him, & so slew him right out. Then he lighted from his horse, & taking the dead kinges armor in his hande, he lift vp his eyes to heauen, and said, O *Iupiter Feretrian*, thou that doest from heauen beholde and direct all marshall feates and Captaines deedes: thy selfe I call to witness, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that beinge generall of the army, haue slaine with my owne handes, the king and generall of the enemies: and I promise here to thee, to offer thee vp the richest spoyles of mine enemies, so thy godhead will vowchsafe to graunt vs the like good fortune in all this warre besides. His prayer ended, the men of armes of the ROMAINES ranne in among the horsemen & footemen of the GAULES, one being vnparted from an other: and fortune did so fauor them, that they wanne a passing victory, in such a straunge and wonderfull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer seene before nor since, that so fewe horsemen did overthrow, so great a number of men of armes and footemen ranged together. Now when *Marcellus* hadde slaine the greater number of them, and had gotten their spoyles & all their baggage: he returned againe to his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, whom he founde makinge warres vnfortunatly with the GAULES, before the greatest and most populous city they had, called MELLEINE, which the GAULES on this side the mountaines take for their chiefe city, and from whence all other had their first originall. Whereupon they did

The Gaules
Gessates make
warres with
Rome, and
come ouer the
Alpes.
Acarras, a ci-
ty upon the
riuier of Po.

Clastidium, a
village on
this side the
mountaines.

The manner of
the Romaines
when they
worship.

The combat
of horsebacke
betwixt *Britomarcus* king
of the Gaules,
and *Marcellus*.

Marcellus
slue king *Britomarcus* as
Clastidium.
Marcellus
prayer vnto
Iupiter Feretrian.

The Gaules
ouercome by
Marcellus.

all their possible endeour to defende it, and did as straightly besiege the Confull *Corneilius*, as he did them. Now, when *Marcellus* was come to the campe againe, the *Gessates* vnderstanding that their king *Britomarus* was slaine in batell, returned backe againe into their contry, & the city of *Millaime* was taken. After that, all the other cities there about yielded of them selues, without force of siege, and the *Gavles* wholly submitted them selues & all that they had, to the mercy of the *Romaines*, who graunted them peace vpon eafie conditions. For these famous victories, the Senate of *Rome* gaue all the honor of triumphe vnto *Marcellus* only, and that was as wonderfull and worthy a fight, as any that euer past before him: what for the infinite spoyle, and the numbers of great men taken prisoners, and also for the exceeding sumptuousnes & lately shew thereof. But the goodliest fight of all for the rarenes, was to behold *Marcellus* selfe, carying on his shoulders the whole spoyle of the barbarous king, to offer vp to *Iupiter Feretrian*. For he had cut downe a goodly younge oke of the mountaine, straight, and shurt vp very long, which he had trimmed vp in forme of triumphe, hanging all the armed peeces he had wonne of the king, very orderly rounde about it. Then, when all the shew of his triumphe was past, he him selfe tooke the oke on his shoulders, and gotte vp vpon his triumphing charret, and so marched through the city, carying these signes thereupon: which was the noblest fight, and honorablest shew, of the whole triumphe. His army followed after the charret, singing verses and songes of victory, in praise of the goddess and their Capitaine: and when he had passed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of *Iupiter* called *Feretrian*, there he set vp this younge oke, and token of triumphe. This *Marcellus* is the third and last *Romaine* Capitaine, to whom happened this honor in our age. For the first man that euer offered vp to *Iupiter* the spoyle of the general of their enemies, was king *Romulus*, who wanne the like spoyle of *Acron*, king of the *Cæninians*. The second was *Cornelius Cossus*, who slue *Tolumnius*, general of the *Tuscanes*. And the third was *Marcellus*, who slue with his owne handes *Britomarus*, king of the *Gavles*: and after him, no man euer since could obtaine the like good fortune. The god to whom these manner of spoyle are consecrated thus, is called *Iupiter Feretrian*, so termed as some write, because they do cary this token of triumphe to him, following the deuotion of this Greeke word, *Feris*, which signifieth to cary: for in those former times, many Greeke words were mingled with the Latine. Other affirme it is one of the furnames of *Iupiter*, signifying as much as lightening: for *Ferre* in the Latine tonge, signifieth to strike. And some say also, in warres it is properly to hurt or kill with his owne handes: for the *Romaines* do vse at this day when they geue a charge apon their enemies in battell, or that they haue them in chase flying, to crie, incouraging one another, *Feris, Feris*: which is as much, as kill, kill. And the spoyle taken from the enemies also, are generally called *Spolia*: but those which Lieutenantes, generally, or generall, do take from the generall of their enemies, when they haue slaine them, they are called particularly *Spolia opima*. Yet some hold opinion, that king *Numa Pompilius* mentioning the rich spoyle, or *Spolia opima* in his commentaries, speaketh of the first, the second, and the third: and commaundeth that the first spoyle which are wonne, should be consecrated to *Iupiter Feretrian*: the second vnto *Mars*: and the third vnto *Quirinus*. And that they should giue to him that had wonne the first spoyle, three hundred *Affes*: the second, two hundred: & the third a hundred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion & vsuall taking of *Spolia opima*, referreth them to be the first spoyle wonne in a foughten field, & those which the Lieutenant of an army, or a general, doth take from the general of the enemies, after he hath slaine him with his owne handes. And thus much for declaracion of this matter. Furthermore, the *Romaines* were so ioyfull of this victory, & of their good successe in this warre, that they caused a masse cuppe of golde to be made of the spoyle they had gotten, weyinge a hundred pounde weight, which they sent to offer vp in the temple of *Apollo Pythias* in the city of *Delphes*, in token of thanks: and they made liberall diuision besides of the spoyle vnto their frendes and confederates, and sent a great parte of it vnto *Hieron* king of *Syracusa*, who was their confederate. Not long after, *Hanniball* being entred into *Italye*, *Marcellus* was sent with an army by sea, into *Sicilye*. And after the great ouerthrow was giuen at the battell of *Cannes*, wherein they died so many thousande *Romaines*, & that very few of them saved them selues by flyinge, into the city of *Cannys*: they looked that *Hanniball* haunge ouercome the flower of all the

Marcellus
wanne the
city of *Mil-*
laine.

Marcellus
triumphe.

Marcellus of
feringe vp of
his rich
spoyle.
The three
persons that
offered vp
Spolia opima
in Rome:
Romulus,
Cossus,
Marcellus.
Iupiter Feretrian why so
called.

Spolia opima
what they be.

Marcellus
sent into *Sic-*
ilye with an
army.

A the *Romaines* youth, and their greatest force, would not sayle to come straight to *Rome*. Wherefore *Marcellus* first sent fifteen hundred of his men by sea, to help to defende *Rome*: and hauing afterwards receaued commaundement from the Senate, he came to *Cannys*, where he tooke such as were fled thither for succor after the battell, & so brought them out to the fildes, to defende the contrie. Now the *Romaines* hauing lost the most parte of all their best Capitaines, in diuerse sundry battells before: of all those that remained, *Fabius Maximus* was the onely able and reputed man for commendacion of his honesty and wisdom, yet they misliked of him notwithstanding, for a timorous man, and of no corage, as a man to ful of doubts and consideration, and loth to put any thing in hazard: saying, he was a good Capitaine to defende, but not to offende the enemy. Whereupon they thought good to ioine *Marcellus* with his youth & corage, with *Fabius* feminine feare and wisdom: and therefore some yeares they chose them both Consuls together, or else they sent one of them as Consul, and the other as Proconsull, eche in his turne, to the contrie where they hadde warres. And for prooffe hereof, *Possidonius* wryteth, that the *Romaines* at that time called *Fabius Maximus* their target, and *Marcellus* their sword. Therefore *Hanniball* him selfe layed, he feared *Fabius Maximus* as his gournor, and *Marcellus* as his enemy: because the one kept him from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to him selfe. Immediately after this great victory at *Cannes*, *Hanniball* souldiers became so bolde, so carelesse, and disordered, that they kept the fildes without feare of any thing, and disperfed them selues farre from their campe: wherefore *Marcellus* setting apon those stragglers, he slue them euery man, & so by litle and litle did still lessen the power C and strength of his enemy. Afterwards he aided the cities of *Bizantium* and of *Nola*, and stablished the true deuotion and loue of the *Bizantines* towards the *Romaines*: from thence he went to *Nola*, & found great sedition there betwixt the Senate & people, because the Senate could not keepe the people in obedience, but they would needes take *Hanniball* parte. The cause of the peoples stubbornnesse grew, by occasion of a gentleman of the city called *Bandius*, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valliant man of his hands. This *Bandius* hauing fought valliantly at the battell of *Cannes*, after he hadde slaine many a *Carthaginian*, was him selfe in the ende stricken downe, and founde lyinge amonge deade bodies, sore wounded and mangled: whereupon *Hanniball* greatly commending his valliantnes, did not onely let him go without ranfome, but furthermore presented him, & made him his hoste and frende. Hereupon *Bandius* at his coming home, to requite *Hanniball* honor and curtesie, became one of those that most fauored *Hanniball*, & most perswaded the people of *Nola* to take his parte. Notwithstanding this, *Marcellus* thinking it to great a sinne against the goddess, to put a man to death that had made so great prooffe of his valliantnes, and had serued with the *Romaines* in their greatest warres and extremest daunger, and who besides the goodnes of his nature, hadde a marvelous gift also, to winne mens good wills by his great curtesie: when this *Bandius* came one day to do his duty to him, *Marcellus* of purpose asked him what he was, though he had known him long before, only to take occasion to talke with him. The other answered him, his name was *Lucius Bandius*. Then *Marcellus* seeming to be marvelous glad, and to wonder at him, layed: and art thou that *Bandius* they speake of so much at *Rome*, E whom they say did so notable seruice in persone at the battell of *Cannes*, and neuer forooke *Paulus Aemilius* the Consul, but receaued so many woundes vpon thy body in defence of him? *Bandius* answered, that he was the man, and therewith shewed him many woundes he had apon his body. *Marcellus* then replied: alas, thou that cariest such notable markes of thy vnfaigned loue towards vs, what diddest thou meane, that thou camest not straight againe vnto vs? art thou perswaded we are so miserable & vnthankfull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valliantnesse of our frendes, whom our enemies selues do honor? After *Marcellus* had vsed this courteous speech vnto him, and had embraced him, he gaue him a goodly horse for seruice in the warres, & five hundred Drachmes of siluer besides. So after that time, *Bandius* did euer take *Marcellus* parte, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him, F and shewed him selfe very feuaere and earnest to accufe them, that tooke *Hanniball* parte in the city: which were many in number, & had conspired among them selues, that the first time the *Romaines* should go into the fildes to skirmish with the enemies, they would slue the

Possidonius
wordes of *Fa-*
bius & *Mar-*
cellus.

Lucius Ban-
dinus, of *Nola*:
a valliant
man.

Marcellus
gentleman.

Reward made
Bandius a
true subject.

gates after them, & take the spoyle of al their cariages. *Marcellus* being informed of this treachery, did set his men in battell raye within the city, hard by the gates, & behind them he placed al the sumpters & carriage in good order: besides that, he made proclamation by trumpet, that no citizen upon paine of death shoulde approach the walles. This occasion drew *Hannibal* to come hard to the city, seeinge no watche upon the walles, and made him the bolder to come in disorder, imagininge there had bene some mutinie or fedition within, betwene the noble men and the people. But in the meane time, *Marcellus* set open the gates beinge hard by, and sayling out upon the sodaine with the best men of armes he had, he gaue a charge vpon *Hannibal* in the vordward. Immediately after came out his foreemen at another gate, running straight vpon *Hannibal*, with a wonderfull crie and howle: so as *Hannibal* to withstand them, was driven to deuide his men in two companies. But as he was deuindinge of them, sodainly a third gate opened upon them, from whence al the residue of the *ROMAINES* issued out, who sette vpon the *CARTHAGINIANS* on euery side, they beinge maruelously amazed to be so sodainly fet on, which they looked not for: so hauing their handes full with those that came first upon them, beinge scant able to defende them selues against them, and seeinge this newe and last charge also: they were forced to retire. This was the first time, that euer *Hannibal* souldiers beggan to giue place to the *ROMAINES*, who draue them backe vnto their campe, and slewe a great number of them, and did hurt diuerse of them besides. For some wryte, there were slaine of the *CARTHAGINIANS* at that conflikt, aboue fise thousande: and of the *ROMAINES* there died not past fise hundred men. But *Titus Liuius* doth not set out the ouerthrow so great, and yet confesseth that *Marcellus* wanne great honor by it, & that it made the *ROMAINES* maruelous valliant againe, after so many and sundry battells as they had lost one after another: for then they were perswaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether vnuincible, but that he might sometime also, as well as them selues, receiue both losse and hurt. Therefore, one of the Consulls dyinge about that time, the people caused *Marcellus* to be sent for, & placed him in his roome: and in spite of the Senate they deferred all deputation vntill his returne from the campe. *Marcellus* came no sooner to *ROME*, but he was chosen Consull in the deade mans roome, by all the voyces of the people. Notwithstandinge, when they went to choosé him, it thundered maruelously: which the Priestes & Augures tooke for an ill token, but yet they durst not openly speake against his election, because they feared the people. Howbeit *Marcellus* of him selfe did willingly giue vp his Consullshippe, and yet was it no exception to him for his seruice in the warres: for they created him Proconsull, and sent him againe to the campe at *NOLA*, where he did feuerely punish the such as tooke *Hannibal* parte. Who beinge aduertised thereof, came thither with all possible speede to helpe them: and euen at his first comming, he offered *Marcellus* battell, which refused it at that time. Neuertheles he tooke his time, when *Hannibal* hadde sent the best parte of his army to forrage, as meaning to fight no more battells: and then he set upon him, hauing giuen his footemen long pykes, such as they vse in fight upon the sea, and taught them also, howe to hurt the enemy a farre of, keeping them still in their handes. But the *CARTHAGINIANS* hauing no skill of their pykes, and fighting with shorte iauelings in their handes, did strike downe right blowes: which was the cause, that they beinge fet upon by the *ROMAINES*, were driven to turne their backs, & flee before them. So there were fise thousande of the *CARTHAGINIANS* left dead in the field, foure elephants slaine, and two taken alive: and furthermore, three dayes after the battell, there came a three hundred horsemen, some of them *SPANIARDS*, and other *NUMIDIANS*, that submitted them selues to the *ROMAINES*. Neuer came there such a misfortune before to *Hannibal*: who had of long time kept together in great loue & amity, an army assembled of sundry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit these three hundred continued euer after faithful to the end, both to *Marcellus*, and to all other Lieutenants & generals of the *ROMAINES*. Shortly after, *Marcellus* beinge againe chosen Consull the third time, went into *SICILE*. For *Hannibal* prosperous successe and victories had so incouraged the *CARTHAGINIANS*, as they sought againe to conquer this Ilande: and specially because that after the death of *Hieronimus* the tyran, there rose some tumult at *SYRACUSA*. Vpon which occasion, the *ROMAINES* had sent an army thither before, and a Prator called *Appius*: at whose handes *Marcellus* hauing

Marcellus
victorie of
Hannibal at
NOLA.

Marcellus
proconsull.

Certaine Spaniards and Numidians resorted from *Hannibal*.

Marcellus the third time Consull, sent into *Sicile*.

A hauing receiued the army, a great number of the *ROMAINES* became humble suiters to him, to pray him to aide them in their calamity, which was this. Of those that scaped from the battell of *CANNES*, some sauéd them selues by flying, other were taken prisoners, of which there were such a number, as it appeared that *ROME* had not people enough left onely to keepe the walles. Neuertheles, those few that remained, their hartes were so great, that they would neuer redeeme the prisoners, which *Hannibal* was contented to deliuer them vpon small ranome, but made a decree they should not be redeemed: and so suffered some of them to be killed, others to be solde for slaues out of *ITALIE*. And moreover, those that sauéd them selues by flying, they sent straight into *SICILE* commanding they should not once set foot againe in *ITALIE*, whilst they had warres with *Hannibal*. These were the men that came altogether, and fell downe at *Marcellus* feete, so soone as he arriued in *SICILE*, & humbly besought him, to appoint them to serue vnder some ensigne, that they might fight to do their contrie honor and seruice: promising him with teares running downe their cheekes, that their faithful seruice then shoulde witnesse for them, that the ouerthrow they had at *CANNES*, fell upon them rather by misfortune, then through lacke of corage. Whereupon *Marcellus* hauing compassion on them, wrote to the Senate in their fauor, & prayed them that they would graunt him licence to supply the bands of his army, as they diminished, with those poore *ROMAINES* his contrymen. Many reasons passed to, and fro, against this sute: neuertheles, it was concluded in the ende by the Senate, that the common wealth made no reckening of the seruice of faint harted men like women: wherefore if *Marcellus* thought good of their seruice, yet it shoulde not be lawfull for him to giue them any crownes or rewards of honor, for any notable seruice fouer they did, as all generallies are wont to giue to honest men that serue valliantly. This order of the Senate misliked *Marcellus* very much, who at his returne home out of *SICILE*, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifest wrong: to deny him that fauor, that hauing done his common wealth such faithful seruice diuerse times, as he had done, he might not restore so many poore *ROMAINES* to their honor againe. Nowe, when *Marcellus* was in *SICILE*, he receiued great hurtes and iniuries by *Hippocrates*, generall of the *SYRACUSANS*: who, to pleasure the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and by their meanes to make him selfe chiefe Lord of *SYRACUSA*, did put many *ROMAINE* citizens to death. Whereupon *Marcellus* went and layed siege to the city of the *LEONTINES*, and when he had taken it by assault, he hurt neuer a townes man, nor naturall citizen of the same: but such traitors as he founde there, and had fled from his campe, & yielded to the enemies, them he caused to be whipped, and then hanged. But notwithstanding, *Hippocrates* had before caused it to be bruted at *SYRACUSA*, that *Marcellus* had put all the *LEONTINES* to the sword, not sparing liule children: and afterwards *Hippocrates* comming thither on the sodaine, in the feare and garboyle of this false bruite, he easily tooke the city. *Marcellus* hearing *Hippocrates* had taken *SYRACUSA*, left forth with the *LEONTINES*, & went with his whole army, & camped hard by *SYRACUSA*: and sent his Ambassadors to tell the *SYRACUSANS* truly, what he had done in the city of the *LEONTINES*, and quite contrarie to that they were informed of. Howbeit that prevailed not, for they beleued not *Marcellus*, because *Hippocrates* being the stronger, had wonne the city. Whereupon he beganne then to approach the walles, and to assault in euery quarter, as well by sea as by lande. *Appius* tooke charge of them that gaue assault by lande. *Marcellus* him selfe, with three score galleyes of fise owers at euery bancke, well armed, and full of all sortes of artillery and fire works, did assault by sea, and rowed hard to the walle, hauing made a great engine and deuise of battery, vpon eight galleyes chained together, to batter the walle: trusting in the great multitude of his engines of battery, and to all such other necessarie prouision as he had for warres, as also in his owne reputacion. But *Archimedes* made light accompt of all his deuises, as in deede they were nothinge comparable to the engines him selfe had inuented: and yet were not his owne such, as him selfe did reckon of, to shew singularity of worke and deuise. For those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometry, and thinges done to passe the time with, at the request of king *Hieron*: who had prayed him to call to minde a liule, his geometricall speculation, and to apply it to thinges corporall and sensible, and to make the reason of it demonstratiue, and plaine, to the vnderstanding of the common people by experi-

The severity of the *Romains* to cowardly souldiers.

Cowards distressed of the *Romains*.

Hippocrates generall of the *Syracusans*.

Marcellus wanne the city of the *Leontines*.

Marcellus besiegeth *Syracusa*.

Archimedes a notable mathematician.

Architas and
Eudoxus, fa-
mous Mathe-
maticians.

VVhy Plato
reproued Eu-
dorus and
Architas.

Archimedes
with an en-
gine drew one
of the great-
est hulkes
from the
king had a
stone.

The wonderfull
force of Ar-
chimedes en-
gines as Mar-
cellus saith of
Syracusa.

ments, and to the benefit and commodity of vs. For this inuentiue arte to frame instruments and engines, (which are called mechanically, or organically, so highly commended and esteemed of all sortes of people) were first set forth by *Architas*, and by *Eudoxus*: partly to beautifie a litle the science of Geometry by this finenes, and partly to proue and confirme by material examples and fencible instruments, certaine Geometrical conclusions, wherof a man can not finde out the conceuable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and proofes. As that conclusion which instructeth one to seache out two lines meane proportionally, which can not be proued by reason demonstratiue, and yet notwithstandinge is a principall and an accepted ground, for many things which are contained in the arte of portraiture. Both of them haue facioned it to the workmanship of certaine instruments, called *Mesolabes* or *Mesographes*, which serue to finde these meane lines proportionally, by drawing certaine curve lines, and ouerthwart and oblique sextions. But after that, *Plato* was offended with them, and maintained against them, that they did vtterly corrupt and disgrace, the worthines & excellency of Geometry, making it to discerne from things not comprehensible, and without body, vnto things fencible and material, and to bringe it to a palpable substance, where the vile and base handie worke of man is to be employed: since that time I say, handy craft, or the arte of engines, came to be separated from Geometry, and being long time despised by the Philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike artes. But *Archimedes* hauinge tolde king *Hieron*, his kinsman and very frende, that it was possible to remoue as great a weight as he would, with as litle strength as he listed to put to it: and boasting him selfe thus (as they reporte of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proued this cōclusion, that if there were an other globe of earth, he was able to remoue this of ours, and passe it ouer to the other: kinge *Hieron* wondering to heare him, required him to put this deuise in execution, and to make him see by experience, some great or heauy weight remoued, by litle force. So *Archimedes* caught hold with a hooke of one of the greatest carets, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, required a maruelous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done so) and put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinary burden: and he himselfe sittinge alone at his ease farre off, without any straining at all, drawing the ende of an engine with many wheelles and pulleys, fayer and softly with his hande, made it come as gently and smoothly to him, as it had floated in the sea. The king wondering to see the sight, and knowing by proofe the greatnes of his arte: he prayed him to make him some engines, both to assault and defend, in all manner of sieges and assaults. So *Archimedes* made him many engines, but kinge *Hieron* neuer occupied any of them, because he reigned the most parte of his time in peace, without any warres. But this prouision and munition of engines, serued the *SYRACUSANS* turne maruelously at that time: and not only the prouision of the engines ready made, but also the engineer & worke maister him selfe, that had inuented them. Now, the *SYRACUSANS* seeing them selues assaulted by the *ROMAINEs*, both by sea and by land, were maruelously perplexed, and could not tel what to say they were so afayed: imagining it was impossible for them to withstande so great an army. But when *Archimedes* fell to handle his engines, and to set them at liberty, there fue in the ayer infinite kindes of shot, and maruelous great stones, with an vncredible noyse and force on the sodaine, upon the footemen that came to assault the city by land, bearing downe, and tearing in peeces all those, which came against them, or in what place soeuer they lighted, no earthly body beinge able to resist the violence of so heauy a weight: so that all their ranckes were maruelously disordered. And as for the gallies that gaue assault by sea, some were soncke with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of shippes, whereto they fasten their sailes, which were sodainly blown ouer the walles with force of their engines into their gallies, and so soncke them by their ouergreat weight. Other being hoysed vp by the prooes with handes of Iron, and hookes made like cranes billes, plunged their poupees into the sea. Other being taken vp with certaine engines fastened within, one contrary to another, made them turne in the ayer like a whirlegigge, & so cast them upon the rockes by the towne walles, and splitted them all to fitters, to the great spoyle and murder of the persons that were within them. And sometimes the shippes and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a fearfull thing to see them hang and turne in the ayer as they did: vntill that casting their

men

A men within them ouer the hatches, some here, some there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be empty, and to breake against the walls, or else to fall into the sea againe, when their engines left their hold. Now for *Marcellus* engine, which he brought against the walles, vpon a bridge made of gallies ioyned together: that was called *Sambuca*, by reason of the facion it had like to an instrument of mulicke of the same name, which is a harpe. The same being yet a good prety way off fro the walls, there fell a great stone apon it sent fro the walls, weying ten talents. Then, a seconde after that, and a third one after that, the which falling all into this engine with such a thunder and terrible tempest, brake the fundacion of the engine, and tare all the bridge of the gallies ioyned together in peeces, that susteined it. So that *Marcellus* being amazed with all, not knowing well what it ment: was glad to retyre quickly, and sent to make his trumpet found the retreat to those that gaue assault by land. Hereupon they fate in counsaile to determine what was to be done, and they resolyed, that the next morning before day they shoulde approche the walles if it were possible: because that *Archimedes* engines, which were very strong and hard wounde vp, shoulde by this meanes fende all the force and furie of their stones and shot ouer their heades, and that neere hande also he coulde do no good with them, for that they had not the scope of their leauell and cartage they shoulde haue. But *Archimedes* had preuented this deuise by long preparation before, hauing made prouision of engines for farre and neere, the leauell and cartage whereof was proportioned for all distances: their shot thorte, the arrowes not very long, many holes and arches in the walles one harde by another, where there were store of crosbowes to kill neere hande, sette in such places, as the enemies coulde not see them without. Wherefore, when the *ROMAINEs* thought to approche, thinking they had bene safe and close, that no man saw them: it amazed them all when they were receaued againe with infinite shot, and striken to the ground with stones that fell apon their heades like leade: (for there was no parte of all the walles, from whence they had not the like (shotte).) Whereupon they were forced againe to retyre from the walles. And yet when they were further off from them, the arrowes, stones, and other kinde of shot that fue in euery place amonge them, killed a great number of them, scattered farre from thence: so that many of them were slaine and fore wounded, and diuerse of their shippes splitted, and they not once able to be reuenged, nor to hurt their enemies, because *Archimedes* had placed his engines very closely behinde the walles, and not apon the walles in sight of the enemy. So that it appeared the goddes fought against the *ROMAINEs*, they were so slaine and wounded, and yet they coulde not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithstanding, *Marcellus* escaped with life, safe from hurt, and mocking his workemaisters and engineers he had in his campe, he sayd vnto them. What, shall we not leaue to make warres with this Briarian engineer and Geomettrician here? who sitting still apon the wharfe, in sporting manner hath with shame ouerthrowen our navy, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred handes of the Gyants, discharginge at one instant so many shot among vs? For in deede, all the residue of the *SYRACUSANS* were, as the body and members of *Archimedes* preparation: and he him selfe was the only creature that moued and did all, all weapons else being quiet, and his engines only occupied, to assault and defend. At the length, *Marcellus* seeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but see the ende of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the wall, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* was letting loose some of his engines apon them: he would no more approche the walles, nor geue assault, determininge to see if he coulde winne it by longe siege. Notwithstanding, *Archimedes* had such a great minde, and was so profoundly learned, hauing hidden in him the only treasure and secrets of Geomettrically inuentions: as he would neuer let forth any booke how to make all these warlike engynes, which wanne him at that time the fame & glory, nor of mans knowledge, but rather of diuine wisdom. But he esteeminge all kinde of handy craft & inuention to make engines, & generally all maner of sciences bringing common commodity by the vse of them, to be but vyle, beggerly, & mercenary drossie: employed his witte & study only to vntie things, the beavty and subtiltie whereof, were not mingled any thinge at all with necessitie. For all that he hath written, are geomettrical propofitions, which are without comparifon of any other writings whatsoever: because the subiect whereof they treat, doeth appeare by demonstration, the matter giuing them the grace & the greatnes, and the demon-

Marcellus
Sambuca.

Marcellus
wounded as
Archimedes
engines.

Archimedes
profoundly
learned.

stracion prouing it so exquisitely, with wonderfull reason and facilitie, as it is not repugnant. For in all Geometry are not to be founde more profounde and difficulte matters written, in more plaine and simple termes, & by more easie principles, then those which he hath inuented. Now some do impute this, to the sharpnes of his wit & vnderstanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre it to the extreame paines he tooke, which made these things come so easily from him, that they seemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no man liuinge of him selfe can deuise the demonstration of his propositions, what paine foucer he take to seeke it: & yet straight so soone as he commeth to declare & open it, euery man then imagineth with him selfe he could haue found it out well enough, he can then so plainly make demonstration of the thing he meaneth to shew. And therefore that me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was so rauished & dronke with the swete intylements of this Sirene, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgate his meate & drinke, and was careless otherwise of him selfe, that oftentimes his seruants got him against his will to the bathes, to washe & annoynt him: & yet being there, he would euer be drawing out the Geometrical figures, euen in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annoynting of him with oyles & swete fauours, with his finger he did draw lines upon his naked body: so fast was he take from himselfe, & brought into an extasy or traunse, with the delite he had in the study of Geometry, & truly rauished with the loue of the Muses. But amongst many notable things he deuised, it appeareth, that he most esteemed the demonstration of the proportion betwene the Cylinder (to wit, the round coloume) & the Sphere or globe contained in the same: for he prayed his kinsmen & friends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder upon his tombe, containing a massie Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion, wherof the continent exceedeth the thing contained. So *Archimedes* being as you haue heard, did as much as lay in him, both saue him selfe & SYRACUSA from taking. But now againe to *Marcellus*, *Marcellus* during the siege at SYRACUSA, wanne the city of MEGARES in SICILE, one of the ancientest cities in all the Ilandes: & he tooke besides, the campe of *Hippocrates*, lying by ACILES, where he lue about eight thousand men, surprising them upon the sodaine, euen as they were preparing to lodge, & to fortifie their campe. Then he ouercame a great parte of the champion contrie of SICILE, & made the cities to rebel that tooke the CARTHAGINIANS parte: & in all the bandes he fought, he euer ouercame them that durst bid him battell. It chaunced afterwards, that he tooke a LACRDEMONTIAN Captaine prisoner, called *Danippus*: euen as he came out of SYRACUSA by sea. The SYRACUSANS desirous to redeme him, lent to him to pray he might be ransomed. They made many parles about his ransom, and drew out this practise to diuerse meetings: vntill *Marcellus* had taken good markes of a certeine tower, that had no great watch kept vpon it, & into the which he might secretly couey a certeine number of men, the walle of the city in that place being no very hard thing to scale. Therefore when he had geuen a good gesse by estimation at the height of that tower, by often approaching to it, hauing parled many a time hard by it: he prouided skaling ladders, & tooke the opportunity of a feast which the SYRACUSANS solemnized in the honor of *Diana*, on which day they gaue the selues to all feasting, sporting & playes. So he tooke not only the tower, but filled all the walls round about with armed men before day, & brake open the maine gate & entry of the citie called Hexapyle. And as the SYRACUSANS began to flirre, perceiving the ROMAINES on the wals: *Marcellus* made his men found their trumpets on euery side. Whereupon the SYRACUSANS were so afraid & amazed, that they beganne to flie, thinkinge all the city besides had bene taken, where in deede the greatest & strongest quarter of the city called ACRADINA, was not yet touched: because it is walled in rounde about, and separated from the rest of the citie, which is deuided into two other partes, the one called the newe citie, and the other fortune. The two partes whereof beinge wonne, *Marcellus* by the breake of the daye forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapyle. And when his Captaynes tolde him he was happie, to winne so goodly a citie, so easely: they say, that he lookinge about him, and consideringe the greatnesse & statelinelie of the same, he wept for verie pitie, foreseeinge whereto it shoulde come, thinking with him selfe what a sodayne chaunge it shoulde haue, when his armie came to spoyle and sacke the same. For there was not a Captaine that durst denie the fouldiers when they demanded the

Archimedes
Siren.

Archimedes
demonstration
of the Cylind.
der.

Marcellus
victories in
Sicilie.

Danippus a
Lacedemonian
Captaine tak-
en prisoner.

Marcellus
winning Sy-
racusa.

Acradina.

A the spoyle, and yet were there many that would nedes haue it burnt and rased to the ground. But *Marcellus* would not agree to that in any case, and besides, it was fore against his minde to graunt them the spoyle of the goodes and laues: straightly commaunding them notwithstanding, not to lay handes of any free man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any SYRACUSAN slaue. Wherein, though he shewed great fauor and mercy yet it greued him to see so famous a citie, brought to that miserable state: and in the middelt of all the ioy he had for his victorie, he could not refrain from weeping for pity to see so rich and wealthie a citie, in the turning of a hand, spoiled, and brought to nought. For it is sayd, that the riches and goodes taken away at the sacke of SYRACUSA, were nothinge inferior to the spoyles of CARTHAGE, which was also sacked not longe after that: for the other parte of the city of SYRACUSA called ACRADINA, was soone after also taken by treason, and spoiled against the Captaines willes, laininge the kinges treasure, which was referred to be caried to the common treasure of ROME. SYRACUSA beinge taken, nothinge greued *Marcellus* more, then the losse of *Archimedes*. Who beinge in his studie when the citie was taken, busily seekinge out by him selfe the demonstration of some Geometrical proposition which he hadde drawn in figure, and so earnestly occupied therein, as he neither sawe nor hearde any noyse of enemies that ranne vpp and downe the citie, and much lesse knewe it was taken: He wondered when he sawe a fouldier by him, that bad him go with him to *Marcellus*. Notwithstandinge, he spake to the fouldier, and bad him tary vntill he had done his conclusion, and brought it to demonstration: but the fouldier beinge angry with his answer, drew out his sword, and killed him. Other say, that the ROMAINES fouldier when he came, offered the swordes poynt to him, to kill him: and that *Archimedes* when he saw him, prayed him to hold his hand a litle, that he might not leaue the matter he looked for vnperfect, without demonstration. But the fouldier makinge no reckoning of his speculation, killed him presently. It is reported a third way also, sayinge, that certeine fouldiers met him in the streetes going to *Marcellus*, carying certeine Mathematicall instrumentes in a litle pretie coffer, as dialles for the sunne, Sphaeres and Angles, wherewith they measure the greatnesse of the body of the sunne by viewe: and they supposing he hadde caried some golde or siluer, or other pretious Iuells in that litle coffer, flue him for it. But it is most true, that *Marcellus* was maruelous sorie for his death, and euer after hated the villen that flue him, as a cursed and execrable persone: and howe he made also maruelous much afterwards of *Archimedes* kinsmen for his sake. The ROMAINES were esteemed of at that time by all nations, for maruelous expert fouldiers, and taken for verie vallyant and dangerous men to be dealt with: but they neuer shewed any example of their clemencie and curtesie, and least of all of any ciuill manner to any straungers, vntill *Marcellus* taught the way, whose actes did shewe the GREECIANS then, that the ROMAINES were more gracious and mercifull, then they. For he did so curteoullie intreate those that hadde to do with him, and shewed such fauour to priuate persones, and also to whole cities: that if there were any crueltie shewed in the cities of ENNA, or at MEGARES, or against the SYRACUSANS, it was rather through their owne fault and follie that were hurt, then theirs that didde them the hurte. And for proofe hereof, I will recite you one example onely amongst many. There is a citie in SICILE called ENGYIVM, it is no great thinge, but a verie auncient citie of name, by reason of the trafficke thither, for that there are certeine goddesses to be seene, whome they worship, called the mothers. Some say the CRETANS were the first builders and founders of the temple there, where you shall see speares and helmets of copper, and upon them are grauen the name of *Meriones*: and upon others, *Vlysses* name also, which are consecrated to these goddesses. This citie floode altogether at the deuotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and *Nicias* beinge the chiefeft man of the same, was all he might against it, and perswaded them openlie in all their counsailes to take parte with the ROMAINES, prouinge it by many reasons, that his enemies counsayinge the contrarie, were vnprofitable members of the common wealth. Whereupon *Nicias* enemies fearinge his greatnesse and authority, they did conspyre amonge them selues to apprehend him, and to deliuer him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But *Nicias* hearinge of suche a matter, and findinge that they laye in waye to take him: vsed this pollicie to preuent their treason. He gaue out openlie

Marcellus
gentiles.

Rich spoyle
at Syracusa.

Archimedes
mathematicall
science in his
study.

Diuers opin-
ions of Archi-
medes death.

Marcellus
clemencie.

Engyivm a
city in Si-
cilie.

Nicias craft.

very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honor: and sayd the fight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but deuse, and that there was no credit to be geuen to them. These words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mischiefe they pretended against him, to him selfe, as the only cause of his owne hurt. So they hauing appointed a day to apprehende him, by chaunce a common counsaill was kept that day they hadde determined of: where *Nicias* speaking to the people about matter of counsaill, in the midst of his oration fell to the grounde, to the great wonder of the whole assembly, as euery man may coniecture. Howbeit neuer a man stirred, & a prety while after he beganne to lift vpp his head a litle, and to looke gassly about him, with a faint trembling voyce, which he still gathered higher and lower by litle and litle, vntill he sawe all the people wonderously afayed and amazed, that not one of them durst speake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and ranne towards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddesses mothers did torment him: and not a man durst once come neere him, nor offer to stoppe him, they were so superstitious and foolishly afayed of the goddesses, imagining it was some diuine punishment. But by this meanes he easily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he neuer seene after that time, to do, or speake, like a madde man in any thing. His wife that was made priuy to his deuse, and furthered his intent, went first and fell downe on her knees before the goddesses mothers in their temple, as she had hartly prayed vnto them: & faining afterwards she would go seeke her husband, that ranne vp and downe the fieldes like a madde man, she went out of the city with her litle children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they escape without daunger, and went vnto *Marcellus* to SYRACVSA. The ENGIENIANS afterwards played such insolent partes, that *Marcellus* in the ende went thither, and caused them all to be taken and bounde, as though he would haue put them to execution. But *Nicias* came to him with the teares in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kissing his handes, besought him to take pite of his poore citizens, beginning first with those that were his greatest enemies. This good nature of *Nicias* so pacified *Marcellus* wrath, that he pardoned them all, & did no hurt to the city, and gaue *Nicias* certaine land, besides many other rich giftes he bestowed vpon him. Thus it is reported in the history of *Posidonius* the Philosopher. Now *Marcellus* being sent for home by the ROMANES, bicause they had warres in their owne contrie, and euen at ROME gates departed out of SICILE, returning towards ROME, and caried the goodliest tables, pictures, and statues, and other such ornamentes as were in SYRACVSA, meaning first to beaunifie his triumphe with them, and to leaue them afterwards for an ornament to ROME, which before that time neuer knewe what such curious workes ment. For, this finenes, and curious tables and imagery, neuer came into ROME before, but was thoroughly set out with armor and weapons of barbarous people, and with bloody spoiles, and was also crowned with monumentes of victories and triumphes of diuerse enemies, which were no pleasaunt, but rather fearefull sightes to looke vpon, farre vnfitte for feminine eyes. But euen as *Epaminondas* did call the plaine of BORTIA, *Mars* scaffold, where he kept his games: and *Xenophon* also called the city of EPHESVS, the armorers shopp: euen so me thinke (as *Pindarus* said) they might rightly haue termed ROME, the temple of *Mars* fighting. And this wanne the peoples good wille much more to *Marcellus*, bicause he did so passingly set forth ROME, with such excellent fine toys of GREECE. But *Fabius Maximus* on the other side, was better beloued of the old men: bicause he brought no such toys with him from the city of TARENTVM, when he wanne it. In dede he brought away golde and ready coyne, and much other goodes that were profitable: but for images and tables, he left them standing in their places, speaking a thing of great note. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their goddes offended with them. And furthermore the noble men were angry with *Marcellus*, saying, that by this act he had purchased ROME great malice and hate. First, bicause he did not onely leade men prisoners in his triumphe, but the gods also: and secondly, bicause he had filled the people full of pride prattle, & idle curiosity, spending all the whole day in gasinge, and wondering at the excellency of the workemen, and of their workes, where before they would fall to their labor, or else they went to the warres, not being acquainted with curiosity, nor idle life as *Euripides* sayd, speaking of *Hercules*:

IN

In wretched practises, he simple was as to see,
but he excell'd in vertuous dedes, and feates that worthy be.

1 Notwithstandinge, *Marcellus* did glory amongst the GREECIANS them selues, sayinge: that he had taught the ROMANES to esteeme the wonderfull workes of GREECE, which they knewe not before. But at his returne out of SICILE, his enemies procured, that his honor of triumphe was denied him. So *Marcellus* knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in SICILE, and that the warre was not altogether ended, and fearing besides least a third triumphe would make him to much enuied: he was contented with good will to haue the honor of the great triumphe, in the mountaine of ALBA only: & of the litle triumphe, in the city of ROME. This manner of litle triumphe is called in Greeke, *Euon*, and the ROMANES call it *Ouatia*. And this difference there is betwene them: that in the *Ouatia* triumphe, the party to whom it is graunted, doth not enter into the city vpon triumphing charret drawn with foure horses, nor doth cary any lawrell vpon his head in token of triumphe, nor hath any trompettes or hornes blown before him, but doth marche a foote with a payer of slippers on his feete, hauing flutes and howboyes playing before him, and wearing a garlande of fyre tree vpon his heade: so as this manner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasaunt then fearefull sight. And that reason doth flatly drawe me to beleue, that these two Kindes of entries they graunted to the Capitaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were deuised in the olde time, rather for the maner, then for the greatnes of the doings. For such as had ouercomen their enemies by great slaughter and bloody battells, they did make their entry with pompe of triumphe, that was altogether marshall and terrible, followed with their souldiers armed, and crowned with lawrell garlandes, as their custome was in mustering their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary side, that without any employe of armes returned home with victorie, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law graunted them the honor of *Ouatia* triumphe, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an instrument of pleasure belonging to peace, and the fyre tree is a tree consecrated to *Venus*, which goddesse, about all goddes and goddeses doth most delect warres. This second kinde of entry was called *Ouatia*, not as many GREECIANS haue taken it, comming of this word *Euon*, which is a voyce and song of ioy, although they did vse also to accompanie the Capitaines making their entry in this sorte, crying and singing *Euon*: but there were certeine GREECIANS that would haue fetched the deriuation of this word, from an old common custome they had: & were of opinion besides, that parte of this honor did appertene to god *Bacchus*, whose surname we call *Enius*, and sometimes *Thriambus*. Howbeit this is not the true deriuation of the name, but after this sorte. At the great triumphe and entry made, the Capitaine or generall that triumpheth as a conqueror, did offer and sacrifice (by the old orders and ancient customes of ROME) one, or diuers oxen: where at the seconde triumphe called the *Ouatia*, he onely sacrificed a mutton, which the ROMANES call in their tongue *Ouem*, and thereof was it called *Ouatia*. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the lawe maker of the ROMANES lawes and customes, and the law maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS: how both of them were contrary to the other, in appointing their sacrifices for victorie. For at SPARTA, the Capitaine or generall that had done his feate by policy or friendship, the sacrifice he did offer vpp to the goddes, was an ox: and he that by force, and bloody battell had obtained victory, only offered vp a cocke for sacrifice. For though they were very good souldiers, yet they thought better of his seruice, that by his wisdom & wise perswasions obtained victory: then of his, that wanne it by valiantnes, and force of armes. Thus may you see which of these two lawemakers hadde best reason in his ordinaunces. But nowe to *Marcellus* againe. He beinge chosen Consul the fourth time, his enemies and euill willers did stirre vpp the SYRACVANS against him, and perswaded them to complayne to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly, and vncurteously viled them, contrary to the ancient league & allyances made long time before with the ROMANES. *Marcellus* beinge sacrificing one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were sette in counsaill: the SYRACVANS deputies came before them, & kneeling downe, besought the to giue them audience, & that they would do them iustice. The other Consul that was present rebuked them, being angry they had so maliciously spied the occasion of *Marcellus* absence.

FF iijj

Marcellus
the first that
brought in
foures & cu-
rious tables
and pictures
into Rome, of
the spoiles of
Syracusa.

Marcellus
entred into
Rome with
Ouatia tri-
umphes,
vpon the
Ouatia
triumphes.

Ouatia
whereof it is
called.

The sacrifices
of the quies
triumphes.
The sacrifices
of the litle
triumphes
Ouatia.

The difference
betwixt the
Spartans and
Romans in
their sacrific-
es for victo-
rie.

The Syracu-
sans accuse
Marcellus.

But when *Marcellus* hearde of it, he straight left of all, and came to the Senate, and first farrt him downe in his Consulls chayer, where he gaue audience as Consull, and dispatched diuerse causes: when he had done so, he rose out of his chayer, and came downe among them, standing as a priuate person to aunswere at the barre, as other offenders and men accused, suffering the SYRACVSANS to alleadge and say against him what they would. Then were the SYRACVSANS blanke, when they saw the maiesty of *Marcellus*, and his stayed countenance in all things: so that hauing founde him before a very valliant man in warres and vnconquerable, they found him then a man no lesse dreadful in his Consulls robe: that they hong downe their eyes, and durst not looke him in the face. Notwithstanding, they beinge suborned by his enemies, beganne at the length boldly to accuse him, and yet with sorow and lamentacion, the effect whereof was this. That they beinge the ROMAINES frendes and confederates, had abidden such iniuries at *Marcellus* handes, as all other generallnes neuer offred their very enemies. Whereeto *Marcellus* straight answered againe to the contrary. That for many iniuries the ROMAINES had receiued of the, they suffred nothing but that, which was vnpossible they should not suffer, that resisted vntill they were taken by force: and yet they might thankethem selues for any thing they suffred, because they would not obey nor consent, to reasonable capitulations and articles of peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alleage for their excuse, that the tyrans had compelled them to make warres: when they to the contrary, because they would enter into warres, were contented to be subiect to a tyrant. So, when both parties hadde spoken their mindes, the SYRACVSANS (as the manner is) went out of the Senate house, and *Marcellus* also, leauinge his fellowe Consull in his place in the Senate, and taried without the dore, attending the sentence of the Senate, neuer altering his countenance nor wonted looke, neither for feare of sentence, nor for malice or anger against the SYRACVSANS, quietly looking for his iudgement. Afterwards when the Senators voyces were gathered together, and that *Marcellus* was cleared by the most voyces: then the SYRACVSANS fell downe at his feete weeping, and besought him not to wreake his anger upon them that were present, and moreover that he would haue compassion of the residue of the citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confessed them selues bound to him for euer. *Marcellus* moued with pity by their intreaty, he pardoned them, and euer after did all the SYRACVSANS what pleasure he coulde possible. For through his intreaty and request, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his graunt vnto them, which was: that they might vse the liberty and benefite of their owne lawes, and quietly enioy their goodes also which were left them. To requite this special grace procured them by *Marcellus*, the SYRACVSANS gaue him many honors, & among others they made a law, that euer after, as oft as any of *Marcellus* name or house came into SICILE, the SYRACVSANS should keepe a solemne feast, with garlands on their heades, and should also sacrifice vnto the goddes. After this, *Marcellus* went against *Hannibal*. And where all the other Consulls almost, & generallnes, after the ouerthrow at CANNES, had vsed this only policie with him, not to come to battell: he tooke a contrarie course to them all, thinkinge that tract of time, (whereby they thought to eate out *Hannibals* force) was rather a direct consuming and destroying of all ITALIE: and that *Fabius Maximus* standinge to much vpon safety, tooke not the way to cure the disease and weakenes of the common weale of ROME, looking to ende this warre, consuming by litle and litle the strength and power of ROME, committing a fearefull phisitions fault and error, beinge afraid to heale their patient sodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth lessen the disease. So, first of all he went to besiege certeine great cities of the SAMNITES, which were reuolted from obedience of the ROMAINES: and those he wanne againe with a great prouision of corne and money he founde in them, besides three thousande souldiers *Hannibal* left in garrison there, whom he tooke prisoners. *Hannibal* after that, hauinge slain the viceconsull *Cneus Fuluius* in APVLIA, with eleuen Tribunes militum (to wit, Colonels, euery one hauinge charge of a thousande footemen) and ouerthrowen the greatest parte of his armie *Marcellus* wrote letters to ROME, hoping to comforte the Senate & people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he would driue *Hannibal* out of APVLIA. When the ROMAINES had red his letters, they were nothing the more cōforted, but rather (as *Liuie* writeth)

more

A more afraid and discouraged: because they doubted the danger to come would be greater, then the losse past, takinge *Marcellus* to be a farre greater and better generall, then euer was *Fuluius*. Neuerthelesse, *Marcellus* performinge the contentes of his letters writen to ROME, draue *Hannibal* out of APVLIA, and made him retyre into LVCANIA. And *Marcellus* finding him in that contry, by a city called NYMISTRON, lodged upon hilles, and in places of strength and aduantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morninge he was the first that presented his enemy battell. *Hannibal* on the other side, came downe into the valley, and they ioyned battell: which was so cruelly fought, and so long time, as it coulde not be discerned who had the better. For the battell beinge begonne at nine of the clocke in the morning, it was darke night ere they gaue ouer. The next morning by pece of day, *Marcellus* let his men againe in battell raye, in the midst of all the dead bodies that lay slaine in the field, and challenged *Hannibal*, to proue who should haue the field. But *Hannibal* refused, and marched his way thence: so as *Marcellus* thereby had good leasure left him to strippe his slaine enemies, and also to bury his owne souldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his enemy by the foote, who layed many ambushes for him, but he coulde neuer trappe him in any: and in euery encounter or skirmishe they had together, *Marcellus* hadde euer the better, which wanne him great fame and credit. Nowe time beinge comen about to chooseth newe Consulls, the Senate thought good to sencer rather for the other Consull that was in SICILE, then to remoue *Marcellus* thence, who had fought with *Hannibal*. So when the other Consull was come to ROME, the Senate commaunded him to name *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, because the Dictator was neither chosen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Consuls or Prators, in open assembly of the people, nameth such a one Dictator, as he liketh of. Wherefore it seemeth, that this word Dictator, came upon that word naming: for, *Dicere* in the ROMAINES tongue, signifieth to name. Howbeit other holde opinion, that he was called Dictator, because he commaundeth of him selfe what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, & the voyces of the people: and this seemeth to be true, because the commaundements of the Senate of ROME are called *Edicta*, which we GRECIANS call *Diatagma*. Now the other Consull and companion of *Marcellus* beinge come out of SICILE, he would nedes name another Dictator, then him whom the Senate offred him: and because he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do, he staid away one night, and returned againe into SICILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, and the Senate wrote their letters to *Marcellus*, to confirme him: which *Marcellus* did, and authorised the peoples election. So he him selfe was chosen againe Proconsull, for the next yeare following: in the which he hauing conferred with *Fabius Maximus* about the warres, they were agreed, that *Fabius* should proue if he coulde winne the city of TARENTVM againe: and that *Marcellus* in the meane time should keepe *Hannibal* occupied, that he might not come to aide it. This resolution beinge taken betwene them, *Marcellus* went to meete *Hannibal* by the city of CANNISVM: who as he still chaunged and shifted lodginge, because he would not come to the battell against his will, found *Marcellus* euer in his eye before him. Inso much as *Hannibal* remouinge thus his campe, *Marcellus* plyed him so one day with continual alarms and skirmishes, that he brought him to a battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them both to leaue off till the next morning: where *Marcellus* shewed againe in field by breake of the day, in battell ray. Whereat *Hannibal* beinge in a maruelous rage, he called his souldiers together, and made an oration to them, earnestly mouinge them once againe to fight with *Marcellus*, if euer they had heretofore fought for his sake. You see, sayd he, that hauing fought so many battells, & gotten such victories as we haue done, we can not yet take breath as we would, nor bein quiet, how much soeuer we winne, if we driue not away yonder fellow *Marcellus*. When *Hannibal* had ended his oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, he led them on to the battell: where *Marcellus*, to no purpose, and out of time, would nedes shew *Hannibal* a stragame of warre, that turned him selfe to the worst. For *Marcellus* perceivinge the right wing of his army distressed, made one of his legions that was set in ray in the reuerend of his hoste, to marche to the fronte of his battell, to helpe those that needed ayde. But this remouing of the legyon, troubled them that fought, and gaue the enemies the victorie: who slue that day

Marcellus fought a battell with Hannibal at Nymistron in Apulia.

The Dictator chosen by the Consull or Prator, not by the people nor Senate. Whereof Dictator cometh.

Quintus Fuluius was chosen Dictator by the people. Marcellus Proconsull.

Hannibals oration to his souldiers.

Marcellus straggame.

Marcellus being Consull, manifested the SYRACVSANS accusations as a priuate man.

Marcellus consistory.

Marcellus cōfesse to the SYRACVSANS.

Marcellus acts against Hannibal in his fourth Consullship.

Cneus Fuluius viceconsull slaine in Apulia by Hannibal.

Marcellus
ouercome in
battell by
Hanniball.
Marcellus
hard words
to his fol-
diers.

two thousand seven hundred of the ROMAINES. So, when *Marcellus* was come againe into his campe, he straight called his souldiers before him, to whome he spake in this maner: that he lay a great deale of armor, and bodies of men, but he coulde see no ROMAINES. The ROMAINES hearing him say so, besought him to pardon the fault they had committed. *Marcellus* answered, he woulde neuer pardon them, so long as they were ouercome: but when they ouercome againe, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bringe them againe to fight with the enemy, that such as were at ROME should rather heare newes of their victorie, then of their running away. When he had sayed, he appointed they shoulde geue those bandes that first turned their backs to *Hanniball*, barley for wheate. So, as there were many of them in great danger of their liues, for the fore woundes they hadde geuen them in the battell: yet was there not a man of them, but *Marcellus* words did more greue them, then the greuous woundes they had. The next morning betimes was set out of the generall tent, the coate armor died in skarlet, which is the ordinary signe of battell: and the bandes that had receiued dishonor the day before, were placed at their owne request in the fronte of the battell. The other Captaines besides, that were not ouerthrowen: did leade their bandes also to the felde, and did set them in battell raye. *Hanniball* hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that can not be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the only odde man, that neuer giueth rest to his enemy, when he hath ouercommitted him: nor taketh any for him selfe, when he is ouercome. We shal neuer haue done with him, for any thing that I see: fith shame, whether he winne or loose, doth still prouoke him to be bolder and valliantier. After orations made of bothe sides, bothe armies marched forwardes to ioyne battell. ROMAINES being as strong as the CARTHAGINIANS, *Hanniball* put his Elephants in the vaward and fronte of his battell, and commaunded his men to driue them upon the ROMAINES: and so they did. Which in deede did somewhat trouble and disorder the first ranckes of the ROMAINES: vntill such time as *Flauius*, Tribune of the souldiers, tooke an ensigne in his hande, and marched before the beastes, and gaue the first of them such a thrust with the poynt of his ensigne, that he made her turne backe. The first beast being turned backe thus, ranne upon the seconde that followed her, and the second made the third go backe also, and so from one to another, vntill they all turned. *Marcellus* perceiving that, commaunded his horsemen to set upon the enemies with all the fury they coulde, in that place where he sawe them, somewhat troubled with these beastes, that turned backe againe vpon them: and that they should driue them further in amongst them. Which they did, and gaue so hotte a charge upon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turne their backs, & ranne away, and they pursued them still, killing them downe right, euen to their campe side: where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their Elephants that were wounded, fell downe starke deade within the gate of their campe. And they saye of the CARTHAGINIANS there were slaine at this battell, aboue eight thousande, and of the ROMAINES, onely three thousande: howbeit all the rest of them for the most parte were very sore hurt. Which fell out very well for *Hanniball*, that he might march away at his pleasure, as he did that night, and got him away farre off from *Marcellus* knowing he was not in state to follow him ouerlodainely, because of his great number of hurt men in his campe: and so by small iorneyes he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in garrison all the sommer, in the city of SINUSSE, to heale the woundes of his sore mangled souldiers. *Hanniball* hauing now gotten him selfe at the length out of *Marcellus* hands, & hauing his army free to serue him as he thought good: he burned & destroyed all ITALIA where he went & stoodde no more in feare of any thing. This made *Marcellus* ill spoken of at ROME, and caused his enemies to take holde of such a matter against him: for they straight raised *Publius Bibulus* Tribune, to accuse him, who was a hotte haredained man, but very eloquent, and coulde deliuer his minde very well. So this *Bibulus* called the people oft to counsaill, and tolde them there, that they must nedes call home *Marcellus*, and appoint some other to take charge of the army: for as for him, sayd he, because he hath fought a litle with *Hanniball* (and as a man might say, wrestled a litle with him) he is now gotten to the bathes to solace him selfe. But *Marcellus* hearing this, left his Lieutenantes in the campe, and went him selfe to ROME, to answer to the vntrue accusations layd against him, and there he perceiued at his comming, how they intended

Hanniball
worde of
Marcellus.

Battell be-
twixt Hani-
ball and Mar-
cellus.
The worthy
act of Fla-
uius, Tribu-
ne militiary.

Marcellus
writ ry of
Hanniball.

Hanniball
layn garrison
in the city of
Sinusse in
Campania.

P. Bibulus
Tribune of
the people ac-
cuseth Mar-
cellus.

A intended to prosecute the matter against him upon these informations. So a day of hearinge was appointed for his matter, & the parties came before the people assembled in counsaill, in the great lites or show place, called *Circus Flaminius*, to giue iudgement. There *Publius Bibulus* the Tribune, sitting in his chayer, layd open his accusation with great circumstance: and *Marcellus*, when *Bibulus* had tolde his tale, answered him in few wordes, and very discretely, only touching his purgation. But the noble and chiefeest men of the cite, rose vpp, and spake on *Marcellus* behalfe, telling the people plainly, that they did *Marcellus* wrong, to reckon worke of his valliantnes, then their enemy did: and to iudge of him as a coward, considering *Hanniball* only fled from him, of all other Captaines, and would by no means fight with him, neuer refusing to fight with any other whatloever. These perswasions tooke such effect, as where *Marcellus* accuser looked for his condénation: *Marcellus* to the contrary, was not only cleared of his accusation, but furthermore they chose him Consul againe the fift time. So beinge entered into his office, he went first into THVS CAN: where visiting the good cities one after another, and quieting them, he pacified a great sedition in the contry, when they were all ready to rise and rebell. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to consecrate the temple of honor & vertue, which he had built with the spoyle he gotte in the warres of SICILE. But the Priestes were against it, saying, two goddes might not be in one church. Thereupon he built an other temple, and ioyned it to the first, being very angry the Priestes denied for his consecration: and he did take it for an euill token, besides diuerse other signes in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were many temples set a fire with lightning at one time: and the rattes and mife did knawe the golde, that was in the chappell of *Iupiter Capitoline*. And it is reported also, that an oxe did speake: and a childe came out of the heade of an Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Priestes and Soothsayers sacrificing to the goddes, to withdraw this euill from them these sinifter tokens did threaten: they could neuer finde any fauorable signes in their sacrifices. Whereupon they fought to keepe *Marcellus* still at ROME, who had a maruelous earnest desire to be gone with speede to the warres: for neuer man longed for any thing so much, as *Marcellus* did, to fight with *Hanniball*. Inso-much he neuer dreamed other thing in the night, nor spake of any matters in the day to his frendes and companions, nor prayed to the goddes for any other thing, but that he might fight with *Hanniball* in the felde: and I thincke he woulde willinglyst haue fought a priuate combat with him, in some walled city or inclosed lytes for the combat. And had it not bene that he had already wonne him selfe great fame, and shewed him selfe to the worlde, (by sundry great proofes & experience of his doings) a graue, skilfull, and a valliant Captaine as any man of his time: I would haue said it had bene a pange of youth, and a more ambitious desire, then became a man of his age, who was three score yere old at that time, whē they made him Consul againe the fift time. Neuertheles, after he had ended all his propitiatory sacrifices and purifications, such as the Soothsayers had appointed: he departed from ROME with his fellow Consul *Quintus Crispinus* to the warres. He found *Hanniball* lying between the cities of BANCIA, and VENOSA, and fought all the meanes he could to procure him to fight, but he could neuer get him to it. Howbeit *Hanniball* being aduertised by spyalles, that the Consuls sent an army to besiege the city of the LOCRIANS, Iurnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS: (as ye would say, the occidentals, because the GRECIANS, in respect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals:) he layd an ambush for them that went, vnder the hill of PATELIUM, which was directly in their way, where he slew about two thousand five hundred ROMAINES. That ouerthrow did sette *Marcellus* on fire, and made him more desirous of battell: whereupon he remoued his campe from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemy. Betwene their two campes, there was a prety litle hill, strong of situation, a wilde thing ouergrown with wod, and there were high hillocks. Fro whence they might discern a great way, both the one & the others campe, & at the foote of the same ranne prety springs: Inso-much as the ROMAINES wondered, that *Hanniball* comming thither first, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. Howbeit *Hanniball* was crafty enough, leauing it of purpose: for as it was commodious to lodge his campe in, so it serued him turne better for an ambush. So he filled the wodde, the hollow places, and the valleys there about, with store of shot and spearmen, assuring him selfe that the

Circus Fla-
minius.

Marcellus
chosen Consul
the fift time.

The temple
of honor and
vertue built
by Marcellus.

Wonderfull
signes: were
seene in
Rome vnfor-
mulate to
Marcellus.

Marcellus
three score
yere olde
beinge chosen
Consul the
fift time.

Q. Crispinus
Consul.
Hanniball
lay betwixt
the cities of
Bancia and
Venosa.
Monte Pate-
lium.

An ambush
layd by Hani-
ball.

place woulde intyse the ROMAINES thither : and in deede he gessed rightly, for so fell it out. Straight, there flew a rumor abroade in the ROMAINES campe, that there was a passing place to lodge in, and euery man tooke upon him like a skillfull souldier, to tell what vantage they should haue upon their enemies, by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort vpon it. Whereupon *Marcellus* determined to goe see the place him selfe, taking a few horsemen with him. Notwithstanding, before he would take horse, he called for his Soothsayer to sacrifice to the goddes. The first beast that was sacrificed, the Soothsayer shewed *Marcellus* the liuer of it without a head. The second beast sacrificed, had a fayer great head of a liuer, and all the other partes were also sounde, and very newe : that by them it appeared all the feare of the first ill signes and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothsayers on the other side sayd, it did make them worle afraid then before: for these fo favorable and lucky tokens of the sacrifice, followinge immediatly after the first fowle and nawghty signes, made them doubt them much by reason of so straunge and fodaine an alteration. But as the Poet *Pindarus* sayth,

*Nor force of burning fire, nor vval of stele nor stone,
nor whatsoeuer other thing, is here this earth vpon:*

Can kepe abacke the counse of fatal destiny,

nor yet resist the due decrees, which come from heauen on high.

So *Marcellus* tooke his horse, with *Quintus Crispinus* his fellow Confull, and his sonne one of the Tribunes of the souldiers, hauing onely two hundred and twenty horsemen with him, of the which there was not one ROMAINE among them, but all were THVSCANS, sauing for *C*ty FREGELLANIAN, who from the beginning of these warres had alwayes shewed them selues very faithfull and louing to *Marcellus*. The hill we spake of before, being thicke covered with wodde and bushes, the enemies hadde set a skowte to watche on the topp of it, to geue warning if they saw any comming towards it. The ROMAINES could not see him, and he on the other side might see euen into their campe, and perceiue what was done, as he did aduertise those at that time that lay in ambush for *Marcellus* comming: and they suffered him to passe on, vntill he came directly against them. Then they shewed vpon the fodaine, and compassing in *Marcellus*, they both shot and strake at him, some following them that fled, and other fighting with the forty FREGELLANIAN which only stucke to it: who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the THVSCANS were fled) upon the first crie they heard, to defend the two Confulls, vntill such time as the Confull *Crispinus* hauinge two woundes on his body with a dart, did turne his horse to flee. And with that, one of the enemies gaue *Marcellus* such a fore blowe with a speare hauinge a broad iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIAN that were left aliue, beinge but a few in number, seeinge *Marcellus* flaine, left him lyinge on the ground, and tooke his sonne away with them that was very fore hurt, and by the swiftnes of their horses recovered their campe, and saued them selues. At this ouerthrowe, there were not slayne aboue fortie men, and fise and twentie taken prisoners, of which, fise of them were the Confulls sergeantes, and their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horsemen. Within few dayes after, the other Confull *Crispinus* died also of his hurt, which was such a misfortune, as neuer came before to the ROMAINES. E that both their Confulls were flaine at one battell. Now *Hannibal* made no great reckeninge of all that were flaine, or taken at this fiele: but when he heard that *Marcellus* selfe was flaine at this ouerthrow, he went him selfe straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and countenance, hauing taken full view of all the partes of him, he spake no proude word against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would haue done, that had slaine so valliant and daungerous an enemy : but wondering how he came to be flaine so straungely there, he tooke of his ring from one of his fingers that sealed his letters, and geuing his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honorably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a siluer pottle, on which he him selfe put a crowne of golde, and sent it vnto *Marcellus* sonne. It fortun'd so, that certaine light horsemen of the NYMIDIANS mette with them that caried this siluer pot, and would haue taken it from them by force: but they stood to it, and would

not

A not parte withall, and so fightinge and struing together for it, the bones and ashes were scattered all about. *Hannibal* hearinge this, sayd to them that were about him : see, howe nothinge can be, which the goddes will not. So he punished the NYMIDIANS, and cared no more to gette *Marcellus* bones together, but perswaded him selfe it was the will of the goddes he should dye so straungely, and that his body should haue no buriall. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus* wryte it thus : but *Linie*, and *Augustus Caesar* say, that the pot was caried vnto his sonne, and honorably buried. *Marcellus* did consecrate many monumentes in diuerse places, besides those at Rome. As at CATANA in SICILE : a place for young men to exercise them selues in. In the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, in the temples of the gods called Cabires many images and tables he brought from SYRACUSA. And in the Ile of LINDOS, in the temple of *B Minerva*, where among other, there is a statue of his, and this epigramme grauen vnder it, as *Polidonius* the Philosopher wryteth,

*O thou my friend! I say vvhich passest forth by me,
of Claudius Marcellus here, the image mayest thou see:
vvhose family at Rome, vvas of the noblest name.*

*Seven times he Confull chosen vvas, in vvhich he ouercame,
great numbers infinite, (in open fiele and fight)
of such as sought his contries spoyle, and put them all to flight.*

The author of this epigramme reckoneth, the two times of his being viceconfull, for two whole Confullships : but his posteritie continued alwayes in great honor, vnto *Marcellus*, *Marcellus* the sonne of *Octavia*, (*Augustus Caesars* sister) and of *Caius Marcellus*. He dyed a young man, beinge *Adilis* of Rome, & married vnto *Julia*, *Augustus* daughter, with whom he liued no long time. But to honor the memory of him, *Octavia* his mother built the library, and *Augustus Caesar* the Theater, which are called to this day, *Marcellus* Theater and library.

THE COMPARISON OF *Marcellus with Pelopidas.*



These are the greatest things and best worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* doings : and for their maners and naturall condicions otherwise, they were all one, because they were both valliant, painefull, and noble minded : sauing that this difference onely was betwene them. That *Marcellus* in many cities he tooke by assault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much blood : where *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* contrarily did neuer put any to the sword they ouercame, neither did they take away the libertie from any citie they tooke : and it is thought the THEBANES would not haue handled the

G G

11 figures to
Marcellus.

Quintus Crispinus fellowe
Confull with
Marcellus.

Marcellus
flaine in an
ambush at the
hill of Pindus.

The Confull
Crispinus
flaine.

Marcellus
funerall be-
nured by
Hannibal.

*Pelopidas &
Marcellus
actes in war.*

*Marcellus
monument.*

Marcellus
actes profre-
red before
Pelopidas.

The manner of
Marcellus &
Pelopidas
decides.

Marcellus
made the Ro-
maines cora-
gious.

Rasner in a
Captaine de-
serueth blame.

The valliantes
re: and obe-
dience of
Chryfantas a
souldier.

ORCHOMENIANS so cruelly as they did, if one, or both of them had bene present. Nowe for their actes, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of seruice that *Marcellus* did, with so small a company of horsemen as he tooke with him, to ouerthrow so great a number of horsemen & footemen both, of the *GAULES*: a thinge that neuer Generall but him selfe did, and specially that slewe with his owne handes in the fildes, the Generall of his enemies. Which *Pelopidas* could neuer attaine vnto: for he seeking to kill *Alexander* the tyrant of *PERES*, was slaine first him selfe, and suffered that, which he desired to haue done to another. And yet for that seruice may be objected, the battells of *LEVCTRES*, and of *TEGYRA*, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambush or secreete practise done by *Marcellus*, that was any thing like comparable to that *Pelopidas* did at his returne from exile, when he slewe the tyrants that kept *THEBES* in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and sodaine enterprise stolen apon, as none was cuer greater, or more famous. It is true *Marcellus* was yoked with *Hanniball*, who was a dreadfull and a violent enemy: so were the *THEBANS* also at that very time with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, who notwithstanding were overcome of *Pelopidas*, at the battells of *TEGYRA*, and of *LEVCTRES*. Whereas *Marcellus* did neuer so much as once overcome *Hanniball*, as *Polybius* wryteth, but remained vnconquered alwayes, vntill that *Scipio* ouercame him in battell. Notwithstandinge, we do geue best credit to the reportes of *Cæsar*, *Liuius*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and of king *Iuba* among the *GREECIANS*: who wryte, that *Marcellus* otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of *Hanniballs* companies, howbeit they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to speake of, & it seemeth rather, it was through some mockerie or deceite of that *AFRICAN*, then otherwise. Yet sure it was a great matter, and worthy much cōmendacion, that the *ROMAINES* were brought to that corage, as they durst abide in fight with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, hauing lost so many great ouerthrowes, & hauing so many generalls of their armies slaine in battell, and hauing the whole Empire of *ROME* in so great daunger of vtter destruction. For it was *Marcellus* only of all other generalls, that put the *ROMAINES* in hart againe, after so great and longe a feare thorowly rooted in them: and incouraged the souldiers also to longe to fight with their enemy, and not onely to hope, but to assure them selues of victorie. For, where by reason of their continuall losses and fearefull ouerthrowes they hadde, they thought them selues happy men to escape *Hanniballs* handes by runninge away: he taught them to be ashamed to flie like cowardes, to confesse they were in distresse, to retire, & leaue the fildes, before they had overcome their enemies. And where *Pelopidas* was neuer overcome in battell beinge generall, and *Marcellus* did overcome more then any generall in his time: it might seeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, should compare with the good happe of the other that was neuer overcome. It is true that *Marcellus* tooke the city of *SYRACUSA*, & *Pelopidas* failed of taking the city of *SPARTA*: but yet do I thinke, that it was more valliantly done of *Pelopidas*, to come so neere *SPARTA* as he did, and that he was the first that passed the riuer of *EVROTAS* with an army, which neuer enemy did before him, than it was of *Marcellus* to winne all *SICILE*. Vnles some peraduenture will say againe, this was *Epaminondas*, not *Pelopidas* acte, as also in the victorie of *LEVCTRES*: where no man liuing can pretend any parte of glory to the doinges of *Marcellus*. For he tooke *SYRACUSA*, beinge onely generall alone, and did ouerthrow the *GAULES* without his fellow Confull, and fought with *Hanniball*, without any mans helpe or incouragement (for all other were against it, and perswaded the contrary) and he was the first that altered the manner of warres the *ROMAINES* vsed then, and that trained his souldiers, that they durst fight with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the strangeness of either of their deaths doth geue me maruelously: as I do greatly wonder also, how *Hanniball* in so many battells as he fought (which are innumerable) could alwayes scape unhurt. I can not but greatly commende also the valliantnes of one *Chryfantas*, whom *Xenophon* speaketh of in his booke of the institution of *Cyrus*, saying: that he hauing lift vp his sword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trompet found the retreat, he softly retired, & would not strike him. Howbeit it seemeth *Pelopidas* is more to be excused: for beside that he was very hot and desirous of battell, yet his anger was honorable and iust, and moued him to seeke reuenge. For as the Poet *Euripides* sayth:

The

*The best that may betyde, is when a captaine likes,
and doth suruine the victories, which he with force achieues.
But if he needes must fall, then let him valliantly
euen thrust amid the thickest throng, and there with honor dye.*

For so becometh his death famous, & not dishonorable. But now, besides *Pelopidas* iust cause of anger, yet was there another respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he saw his victorie ended, in the death of the tyrant. Otherwise he shoulde hardly haue founde so noble an occasion to haue shewed his valliantnesse, as in that. And *Marcellus* contrarily, without any instant necessity, and hauinge no cause of heate or choller, (which putteth all men valliant in fight besides them selues, that they know not what they do) did rashly, and vnaduidedly thrust him selfe into the middelt of the daunger, where he dyed not as a generall, but as a light horseman and skowt, (forsaking his three triumphes, his sue Confullshippes, and his spoyles and tokens of triumphe, which he had gotten of kings with his owne hands) among venturous *SPANIARDS* and *NUMIDIANS*, that solde their blood and liues for pay vnto the *CARTHAGINIANS*: so that I imagine they were angry with the selues (as a man would say) for so great and happy a victorie, to haue slaine amongst *FREGELLIAN* skowtes, and light horsemen, the noblest and worthiest person of the *ROMAINES*. I would no man should thinke I speake this in reproch of the memory of these two famous men, but as a grieue onely of them and their valliantnes: which they employed so, as they bleamished all their other vertues, by the vndiscrete hazarding of their persones and liues without cause, as if they would (and shoulde haue dyed for them selues, and not rather for their contry and frendes. And also when they were dead, *Pelopidas* was buried by the allies & confederats of the city of *THEBES*, for whose cause he was slaine: and *Marcellus* in like manner, by the enemies selues that hadde slaine him. And sure the one is a happy thing, and to be wished for in such a case: but the other is farre aboue it, and more to be wondered at. That the enemy him selfe shoulde honor his valliantnesse and worthinesse that hurt him, more then the office of frendshippes performed by a thankfull frende. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honor his deade enemy, then the admiration of his worthines: and the frende sheweth frendship many times, rather for respect of the benefite he hath receiued, then for the loue he beareth to his vertue,

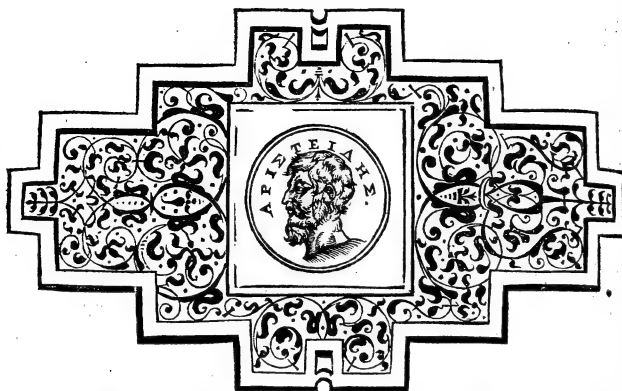
The ende of Marcellus life.

GG ij

Plutarch ex-
cuseth his free
speech and
Iudgement of
these famous
men.

Pelopidas &
Marcellus
funeralls vn-
like.

THE LIFE OF *Aristides.*



Aristides
wealth.

Aristides the sonne of *Lyfimachus*, was certainly of the tribe of *Antiochi-*
des, and of the towne of *ALOPECIA*. But for his goodes and wealth,
they diuerfely write of him. For some fay, he liued poorly all the daies
of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reason of their po-
uerty, liued vnmarried many yeres after their fathers death. And many
of the oldest writers do cōfirme that for troth. Yet *Demetrius Phaleri-*
us, in his booke intituled *Socrates*, wryteth the contrary: that he knew
certeine landes *Aristides* had in the village of *Phaleria*, which did
yet beare the name of *Aristides* lands, in the which his body is buried.

And furthermore, to shew that he was well to liue, and that his house was rich and wealthy,
he bringeth forth these proofes. First, that he was one yeaer mayer or prouost of *ATHENS*,
whom they called, *Archon Eponymos*, because the yeaer tooke the name of him that hadde it
yearely. And they say he came to it, by drawing of the beane, according to the auncient vse
of the *ATHENIANS*, and their wonted manner of makinge their election of the said office: In
which election none were admitted to drawe the beane, but such as were highest set in their
subsidie bookes, according to the value & rate of their goodes, whom they called at *ATHENS*,
Pentacosiomedimnes, as you would say, those that might dispēd fife hundred bushels of wheate
by the yere, and vpward. Secondly, he alleageth he was banished by the *Ostracifmon*, which
banisheth the nobilitie and great rich men onely, whom the common people enuie, because
of their greatnesse, and neuer dealeth with poore men. The third and last reason he makes it,
that he left of his gift, three footed stooles in the temple of *Bacchus*, which those do common-
ly offer vp, as haue won the victorie in comedies, tragedies, or other such like pastimes, wher-
of they them selues had borne the charge. And those three footed stooles remaine there yet,
which they say were geuen by *Aristides*, and haue this inscription vpon them: The tribe of
Antiochides wanne the victorie, *Aristides* defrayed the charges of the games, and *Archefttram*
the Poet taught them to playe his comedies. This last reason, though it seeme likeliest of
them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For *Epaminondas* (whome euery man knoweth was
poore euen from his birth, and alwayes liued in great pouertie) and *Plato* the Philosopher,
tooke apon him to defraye the charges of games that were of no small expence, the one ha-
uing borne the charges of flute players at *THEBES*, and the other the dawnc of the children
which

A which dawncd in a rounde at *ATHENS*: towards the furnishing of which charges, *Dion* the
SYRACUSAN gaue *Plato* money, and *Pelopidas* also gaue *Epaminondas* money. Now, this is not
spoken that vertuous men should alwayes refuse the gifts of their friends, and that they might
not in some sort accept their friendes curtesie offered them: but because they should thinke it
vncomely and dishonorable for them, to take any thing to enrich them selues, or to spare and
houde vp. Howebeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike shew to be
made, not tending to their priuate benefit: in such a case they should not refuse their friendes
louing offer, and goodwill towards them. And where *Demetrius* saith the three footed stooles
was offered vp in the temple of *Bacchus*, *Panetius* declareth plainly, that *Demetrius* was de-
ceayed by the semblance of the name. For since the time of the warres of the *MEDES*, vnto
the beginninge of the warre of *PELOPONNESVS*, in all the registers and recordes kept of the
defrayers of the charges of common playes, there were founde but two men bearinge name
of *Aristides*, that obtained victorie: & neither of them both was sonne vnto *Lyfimachus*, whom
we wryte of at this present. For the one is expressly named the sonne of *Xenophilus*, and the o-
ther was long after the same *Aristides* we now speake of: as appeareth easily by the wrytinge
and orthographie, which is according to the grammar rules, we haue vied in *GREEKE* euer
since *Euclides* time. Moreouer it is ealie to be knowne, by the name of the Poet *Archefttram*
that is adioyned to it. For there is no man that maketh mention of a Poet of this name, in all
the warres of the *MEDES*: but in the time of the warres of *PELOPONNESVS*, many doe put
him in for an author and maker of rymes and songes that were long in common daunces. Yet
for all *Panetius* obiections, the matter is to be better looked into, and considered of. But for
the *Ostracifmon* banishment, it is true, that such as were great men in estimation aboute the
common people, either in fame, nobility, or eloquence, they onely were subiect vnto this ban-
ishment. For *Damon* himselfe, beinge *Pericles* schoolemaister, was banished: onely because
the common people thought him to wife. Moreouer, *Idomenus* wryteth, that *Aristides* was
their prouost for a yeaer, not by lot of beanes, but by voyces of the *ATHENIANS* that chose
him. And if he were prouost since the iorney of *PLATES*, as *Demetrius* wryteth: it is likely e-
nough that they didde him this honor, for his great vertue and notable seruice, which other
were wont to obtaine for their riches. But this *Demetrius* doth not only defende *Aristides*, but
also *Socrates* pouerty, as if it were a fowle vyce and reproche to be poore. For he wryteth, that
he had not only a house of his owne, but also three score and ten Minas at vsery, which *Criton*
gaue him interest for. But now to our story againe. *Aristides* was *Clisthenes* very frend, he that
restored the gouernment at *ATHENS* after the expulsion of the thirty tyrannes, and did reue-
rence *Lycurgus* the Lawmaker of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* for his lawes, aboute all the men in
his time: and therefore he euer fauored the state of Aristocratie, that is, where the noble men
rule, and haue the souerainty. Howebeit he euer had *Themistocles* (*Neocles* sonne) his continu-
all aduersary, as takinge parte with the contrary, and defendinge the popular state of govern-
ment. Some say, that beinge schollers, and brought vp together, they were euer contrary one
to another in all their actions and doinges, were it in sporte, or in matters of earnest: and euer
after, men beganne to see the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrary affections.
E For *Themistocles* was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and subtil, and would ventur on any thing,
apon light occasion. *Aristides* contrariwise was very quiet, temperate, constant, and marue-
lous well stayed, who would for no respect be drawn away from equity and iustice, neither
would flatter, nor abuse any body, though it were but in sporte. Norwithstanding, *Aristus*
of *CILIO* wryteth, that their malice beganne first of light loue, and that it grew to greatnesse
by proccesse of time betwene them: for (sayeth he) both the one and the other of them fellin
loue with *Stesileus*, borne in the Ile of *Ceos*. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not easly from
them, nor the enuy they conceiued one against another, but continued against eche other in
matters of state: such was their malice towards one another. In which calling, *Themistocles*
fought the way to winne friendes, by whose meanes he came to great preferment in shorte
time, and had made him selfe very strong by them. Therefore, when a frende of his tolde him
one day, he was worthy to gouerne the city of *ATHENS*, and were very fitte for it, if he were
indifferent, and not partiall. The goddess forbid (quod he) I should euer occupie the place of a

Good men
may take
giftes, but af-
ter a sort.

Damon bani-
shed because
he was to wife.

Socrates was
not poore.

Aristocratie
what is signi-
fied.
Aristides and
Themistocles
enemies in
the common
wealth.
Themistocles
disposeth.
Aristides na-
ture.

Themistocles
springing up-
wardly.

gouernour, where my frendes shoulde not finde more fauor then straungers, that doe me no pleasure. But *Aristides* taking an other course by him selfe, would not stande upon his frendes in gouernment. First, because he woulde do no man wrong, with pleasuring his frendes: nor yet woulde anger them, by denying their requestes. Secondly, because he saw many rulers and men of authority bolde to do iniustice, and manifest wrong, bearinge them selues upon their frendes: but he caried this opinion, that no honest man, or good citizen, shoulde trust to any bolsting of frendes, but to his owne iust and vpright doings. Notwithstanding, *Aristides* perceiuinge that *Themistocles* did rashly alter many thinges, and euer encountered all his wayes, and hindered his doings: he was enforced sometime to crosse *Themistocles* againe, & to speake against that he preferred, partly to be euen with him, but most to hinder his credit and authority, which increased still through the peoples fauor and goodwilles towards him: thinking it better by contrariying him a litle to disappoint sometime a thing that might haue fallen out well for the common wealth, rather then by geuing him the head, to suffer him to grow to great. To conclude, it fortun'd on a time that *Themistocles* hauing preferred a matter very profitable for the common wealth, *Aristides* was so much against it, as *Themistocles* purpose tooke no place. Moreouer *Aristides* was so earnest against him, that when the counsaill brake vp after *Themistocles* motion was reiect'd, he spake it openly before them all: that the common wealth of *ATHENS* would neuer prosper, vntill they both were laid in Barathrum, which was a prison or hole, wherein they put all theues and condemned men. An other time, *Aristides* mou'd a matter to the people, which diuerse were against, but yet it went with him. And when the iudge or president of the counsaill did put it to the people, to knowe their allowance of it: *Aristides* perceiuing by the argumentes made against it, that the matter he preferred was hurtfull to the common wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not haue it passe. Many times also *Aristides* spake by other men, when he would haue a thing go forward, for feare least *Themistocles* spight towards him, woulde hinder the benefite of the common wealth. They founde him very constant and resolute in matters of state, whatsoever happened: which wanne him great commendation. For he was neuer the prouder for any honor they gaue him, nor thought him selfe disgraced for any ouerthrow he receiued: being alwayes of this minde, that it was the duty of an honest citizen, to be euer ready to offer his body and life to doe his contry seruice, without respect and hope of reward of money, or for honor and glory. Therefore when certaine verses were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of *Aeschylus*, made in commendation of the ancient Soothsayer *Amphiaraus*, to this effect.

*He will not only seeme, a iust man by his face,
but iust in dede he will be founde, and vertue still embrace:
With all his thoughts and soule, from whence there may procede,
grauel counsells for to beavrtise, his contries crowne in dede.*

All the people straight cast their eyes vpon *Aristides*, as vpon him, that in troth aboute all other most deserued the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so stout and resolute, nor only to resist fauor and frendshippe: but to reiect hate and anger also. For in case of iustice, neither coulde frendshippe make him go away for his frendes sake: nor enuy coulde moue him to do iniustice, to his very enemy. For prooffe hereof it is writen, that he had an enemy of his in suite of law, & did prosecute it to iudgement: insomuch as after the plaint was red, the iudges were so angrie with the offender, that without any more hearinge of him, they woulde haue geuen sentence against him. But *Aristides* rising from his place, went & kneeled at the iudges feete with the offender his enemy, and besought them to geue him leaue to speake, to iustifie and defende his cause, according to the course of the law. An other time he being iudge betweene two priuate men that pleaded before him, one of them sayd vnto him: *Aristides*, this fellow mine aduersary here, hath done you great iniurie. My frende (quod *Aristides* againe) I pray thee tell me onely the iniurie he hath done thee, for I am iudge here to do thee right, and not my selfe. Moreouer, he beinge cholen high treasurer of all the reuenues of *ATHENS*, did declare that all the officers before him, and other his late predecessors, hadde greatly robbed and spoyled the common treasure, but specially *Themistocles*: who was a wise man, & of great iudgement, but yet somewhat light fingered. Therefore when *Aristides* was to geue vpp his

Aristides manner of dealing in the common wealth.

Barathrum a prison or dungeon.

Aristides constant.

Aristides iustice.

Aristides wife saying.

Aristides chosen treasurer. Themistocles commonly gotten.

A accompt, *Themistocles*, and many other suborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abusing his office, and followed him so hard, that through their practise they condemned him, as *Idomeneus* wryteth. Yet the noblest citizens seeing what iniury they offered *Aristides*,ooke his cause in hande, and founde meanes to procure the people not onely to releafe the fine imposed vpon him, but to restore him againe to his office of high treasurer for the yeare before, and so dealt more fauorably with those he hadde to do, and would not examine euery thing so straightly as he did before. Whereupon such as were theues and stealers of the treasure of the common wealth, did maruelously praise and like him, and became suters for him to continew in the office. But when the day of election came, that the *ATHENIANS* woulde choole him againe, *Aristides* selfe reproued them, and sayd. VVhen I faithfully discharged the duty of mine office committed to me by you, I then receiued shame and reproche at your hands: and now that I haue dissembled, not seeming to see the thestes and robberies done upon your treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good citizen. But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainly, I am more ashamed of the honor you do me now, then I was of the fine you did set upon me, when you condemned me the last yeare: and I am sorie to speake it, that you shoulde thinke it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, then to prelerue the common wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the common thestes the offices of the city did commit: he stopped the theues mowthes that so highly praised and commended him for so honest a man, but yet of the noble and honest citizens he was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when *Darius* Lieutenant to *Darius* king of *PERSEA*, was come with all his navy to goe alande about *MARATHON*, in the contrie of *ATTICA*, upon pretence (as he sayd) to be reuenged onely of the *ATHENIANS* that had burnt the city of *SARDIS*, but in dede of minde to conquer all *GREECE*, and to destroy the whole contrie before him: the *ATHENIANS* chose tenne Captaines to go to the warres, amonge whom *Miltiades* was the chiefeest man of authority. But *Aristides* drew very neere him in reputation and creditte, because he did very good seruice in obtaining the victorie, specially when he agreed with *Miltiades* in counsaill, to geue battell upon the barbarous people: and also when he willingly gaue *Miltiades* the whole rule and order of the army. For euery one of the tenne Captaines did by turnes leade the whole army for one whole day: and when *Aristides* turne came about, he gaue his preferment thereof vnto *Miltiades*, teaching his other companions, that it was no shame, but honor for them, to be ruled by the wisest. Thus by his example, he appealed all strife that might haue grown amonge them, and perswaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counsaill, that had best experience in warre. And so he did much aduance *Miltiades* honor. For, after that *Aristides* had once yielded his authority vnto him, euery one of the rest did the like when it came to their turne: and so they all submitted them selues vnto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battell, the place where the *ATHENIANS* were most combed, was in the midst of the battell, where they had set the tribes of the *Leontides*, and of *Antiochides*: for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, and made their greatest fight in that place. By which occasion, *Themistocles* and *Aristides* fighting one hard by another, for that the one was of the tribe *Leontides*, and the other of *Antiochides*, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one another: so as the barbarous people at the last beinge ouerthrowen, they made them flie, and draue them to their shippes. But when they were imbarcked & gone, the Captaines of the *ATHENIANS* perceiuing they made not towards the *Iles* which was their direct course to returne into *ASIA*, but that they were driuen backe by storme of winde and pyrites of the sea, towards the coast of *ATTICA*, and the city of *ATHENS*, fearinge least they might finde *ATHENS* vnfurnished for defence, and might set upon it: they thereupon sent away presently nine tribes that marched thither with such speede, as they came to *ATHENS* the very same day, and left *Aristides* in the campe at *MARATHON*, with his tribe and contry men, to looke to the prisoners and spoyle they hadde wonne of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceiued the opinion they had of his wisdom. For notwithstanding there was great store of golde and siluer, much apparell, moueables, and other infinite goodes and riches in all their tentes and pavillions, and in the shippes alfo they

Aristides accused & condemned, for abusing his office. Aristides fine releas'd, and he made treasurer againe.

Aristides openly reproved with close thestes in the common wealth, and deserveth their praise.

Miltiades chiefe of the ten Captaines that went against Darius the King of Persia. Miltiades victory of the Persians.

The wicked
parce of Cal-
lus the torch
bearer.

Aristides cho-
sen prouost of
Athens.

Aristides cal-
led the iust.

The praise of
iustice.

Authority
would be with
out corrupti-
on.

Themistocles
enueith Ari-
stides iustice.

Aristides be-
nueith with
the Ostracif-
mon.

had taken of theirs: he was not so couetous as once to touch them, nor to suffer any other to medle with them, vnlesse by stealth some prouided for them selues. As amongst other, there was one *Callias*, one of *Ceres* Priestes, called *Dadonchos*, as you would saye the torch bearer: (for in the secret sacrifices of *Ceres*, his office was to holde the torch) whom when one of the barbarous people saw, and how he ware a bande about his head, and long heare, he took him for some king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kissed his hand, and shewed him great store of golde he hadde hidden and buried in a ditch. But *Callias*, like a most cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore soule that had shewed him the place, because he should not tell it to others. Hereof it cometh, that the comical Poets do call those that came of him in mockery, *Laccoplates*, as made rich by a ditch: because of the golde that *Callias* founde in it. Immediately after this battell, *Aristides* was chosen prouost of *ATHENS* for the yere: albeit *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that it was a litle before his death, after the iorney of *PLATEES*. For in their Chronicles, where they set in order their prouosts of *ATHENS* for the yere, since *Xanthippides* time, there appeareth no one name of *Aristides* in that yere, that *Mardonius* the kinge of *PERSIAES* Lieutenant was ouerthrowen by *PLATEES*, which was many yeres after. But contrariwise they finde *Aristides* enrolled amonge the prouostes immediately after *Phanippus*, in the yere the battell was fought at *MARATHON*. Now the people did most commend *Aristides* iustice, as of all other his vertues and qualities: because that vertue is most common and in vse in our life, and deliuereth most benefite to men. Hereof it came, that he beinge a meane man, obtained the worthiest name that one coulde haue, to be called by the whole city, a iust man. This surname was neuer desired of kinges, princes, nor of tyrannes, but they alwayes delighted to be surnamed, some *Poliorestes*, to say, conquerors of cities: other *Cerami*, to say, lightening or terrible: other *Nicanores*, to say, subduers: and some other, *Asi* and *Hieraces*, to say Eagles or Fawcons, or such like birdes that praye: desiringe rather (as it should appeare by those surnames) the praise and reputation growinge by force and power, then the commendation that cometh by vertue and goodnes. And notwithstanding, God whom men desire most to be likened to, doth excell all humaine nature in three speciall thinges: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the most honorable and precious thing. For as the naturall Philosophers reason, all the foure elements and *Vacuum*, are immortal and vncorruptible, and so are force and power, earthquakes, lighteninge, terrible stormes, runninge riuers, and inundacions of waters: but as for iustice and equity, no man is partaker of them, saue onely God, by means of reason and vnderstandinge. Therefore, because men commonly haue three sundry honors to the gods: the first, that they thinke them blessed: the second, that they feare them: the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them blessed, for the eternitie and immortality of their godhead: that they feare them, because of their omnipotency & power: and that they loue and worshippe them, for their iustice and equitie. And yet notwithstanding, of those three, men do couet immortality, which no flesh can attaine vnto: and also power, which dependeth most vpon fortune: and in the meane time they leaue vertue alone, whereof the goddes of their goodnes haue made vs capable. But here they shewe them selues fooles. For iustice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, keene diuine and celestiall: where without iustice, and dealinge vnjustly, his life is most beastly, and odious to the worlde. But now againe to *Aristides*. This surname of a iust man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwards it turned him to great ill will, and specially by *Themistocles* practise. Who gaue it our euery where, that *Aristides* had ouerthrowen all iustice, because by consent of the parties he was euer chosen Arbitrator to end all controuersies: & how by this meanes he secretly had procured the absolute power of a king, not needing any gard or souldiers about him. The people moreover beinge grown very dissolute and licentious, by reason of the victorie of *MARATHON*, who sought that all things should passe by them, and their authoritie: beganne nowe to mislike, and to be greatly offended, that any priuate man should go before the rest in good fame and reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all sheres of *ATTICA* into the city of *ATHENS*, and so banished *Aristides* with the Ostracifmon: disguising the enuy they bare to his glory, with the name of feare

The nature
of the Ostracif-
mon.

Hyperbolus
the last man
banished with
the Ostracif-
mon.
The cause of
Hyperbolus
banishment.

A description
of the Ostracif-
mon.

A tale of a
plaine man
that came to
Aristides with
his shell, to
pray him to
write Aristi-
des name in
it.

Aristides cal-
led from exile.

A of tyranny. For this maner of banishment called Ostracifmon, or Exostracifmon, was no ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed: but to geue it an honest cloke, they sayd it was onely a pulling downe and tying shorte, of to much greatnesse and authority, exceeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular state. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwile, the gentle meane to qualify the peoples enuy against some priuate person: which enuy bred no malice to him whole greatnes did offend them, but onely tended to the banishing of him for tenne yeres. But afterwards that by practise, this Ostracifmon banishment was layed upon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon *Hyperbolus* that was the last man so banished: they neuer after vsed it any more at *ATHENS*. And by the way, it shall not be amiss to tell you here, why, & wherefore this *Hyperbolus* was banished. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were the chiefest men of *ATHENS* at that time, and they both were euer at square together, a common thing amongst great men. They perceiuing now by the peoples assembling, that they went about to execute the Ostracifmon, were maruelously afraied it was ment to banish one of them: wherefore they spake together, and made both their followers friends with eche other, and ioyned them in one tribe together, insomuch, when the most voyces of the people were gathered to condemne him that should be banished, they founde it was *Hyperbolus*. The people therewith were much offended, to see the Ostracifmon so embased and scorned, that they neuer after would vse it againe, and so left it of for euer. But briefly to let you vnderstande what the Ostracifmon was, and after what sorte they vsed it, ye are to know: that at a certaine day appointed, euery citizen caried a great shell in his hande, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would haue banished, and brought it into a certeine place railed about with woden barres in the market place. Then, when euery man hadde brought in his shell: the magistrates, and officers of the city, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were lesse then sixe thousand citizens, that had thus brought the shells together: the Ostracifmon was not full and perfect. That done, they layd a parte euery mans name written in these shells: and whose name they founde wrytten by most citizens, they proclaimed him by sounde of trompet, a banished man for tenne yeres, during which time notwithstanding, the party did enioy all his goodnes. Now euery man wryting thus his name in a shell, whom they would haue banished: it is reported there was a plaine man of the contry (very simple) that coulde neither wryte, nor read, who came to *Aristides* (being the first man he met with) & gaue him his shell, praying him to wryte *Aristides* name vpon it. He beinge abashed withall, did aske the contrie man, if *Aristides* had euer done him any displeasure. No, sayed the contrie man, he neuer did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it greeues me to heare euery man call him a iust man. *Aristides* hearing him say so, gaue him no aunswere, but wrote his owne name vpon the shell, and deliuered it againe to the contrie man. But as he went his way out of the cite, he lift vpp his handes to heauen, and made a prayer contrary to that of *Achilles* in *Homer*, beseeching the goddes that the *ATHENIANS* might neuer haue such troubles in hande, as they should be compelled to call for *Aristides* againe. Notwithstanding, within three yeres after, when *Xerxes* king of *PERSIA* came with his army through the contries of *THESSALIE* and *BOEOTIA*, and entred into the heart of the contrie of *ATTICA*: the *ATHENIANS* reuoking the lawe of their Ostracifmon, called home againe all those they had banished, and specially, because they were afraied *Aristides* would take parte with the barbarous people, and that his example should moue many other to do the like, wherein they were greatly deceiued in the nature of the man. For before that he was called home, he continually travelled vp and downe, perswading and incorage the *GREECIANS* to mainteine and defende their liberty: After that lawe was repealed, and published, and that *Themistocles* was chosen the only Lieutenant generall of *ATHENS*, he did alwayes faithfully aide and assist him in all thinges, as well with his trauell, as also with his counsaill: and thereby wanne his enemy great honor, because it stoode upon the safetie and preferuation of his contrie. For when *Eurybiades*, generall of the armie of the *GREECIANS*, had determined to forsake the Ile of *SALAMINA*, & that the gallies of the barbarous people were come into the midst of the seas, and had enuironned the Iles all about, & the mouth of the arme of the straight of *SALAMINA*, before any man knew they were thus inclosed in: *Aristides* departing out of the Ile of *AEgina* with a maruelous boldenes, ventred

*Aristides sett
and counsell
against king
Xerxes.*

through the midst of all the barbarous shippes and fleetes, and by good happe gotte in the night into *Themistocles* tent, and calling him out, spake with him there in this sorte. *Themistocles*, if we be both wise, it is high time we shoulde now leaue of this vaine enuie and spite we haue long time borne eche other, and that we shoulde enter into an other sorte of enuy more honorable and profitable for vs both. I meane, which of vs two shoulde do his best endeour to saue *Greece*: you, by ruling and commaunding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counselling you for the best, and executing your commaundement: considering you are the man alone that will roundliest come vnto the point that is best: which is in my opinion, that we shoulde hazard battell by sea within the straight of *SALAMINA*, and that as soone as might be possible. But if our frendes and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you, your enemies do helpe it forward. For it is sayd, that the sea, both before and behinde vs, and rounde about vs, is covered all ouer with their shippes, so as they that would not before, shall be now compelled of force, and in spite of their heartes, to fight and besturre them like men: bicause they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them to escape, nor to flee. Whereunto *Themistocles* answered, I am fory, *Aristides*, that herein your honesty appeareth greater then mine: but since it is so, that you haue deserued the honor in beginning, and procuring such an honorable and commendable strife betwene vs, I will henceforth indeuor my selfe to exceede you in continuing this your desire. After which answer, he told *Aristides*, how he purposed to mocke the barbarous kinge, and prayed him to intreate *Eurybiades* to yelde to his deuise, & to perswade him that there was no other way to saue *Greece*, but to fight by sea: for *Eurybiades* gaue more creditt to *Aristides* perswasions, then he did to *Themistocles* wordes. For when all the Captaines were called to counsell, to determine whether they shoulde geue battell or not: one *Cleocritus* *CORINTHIAN* sayd to *Themistocles*, that his counsell did not like *Aristides* at all, as it seemed, bicause he spake neuer a worde to it being present. *Aristides* answered him straight, that he vtterly mistooke him. For, quod he, I did not thinke his counsell good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, nor for any good will I beare him, but bicause I finde his counsell wise and sounde. While the Captaines of the *GREECIANS* were reasoning in this sorte, *Aristides* seeing *PSYTTALEA* (a little llande before *SALAMINA* within the straight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarcked immediately the valliantest and lustiest souldiers he hadde of all his contry men, into the least foystes or pynnacles he had among all his gallies: and went with them, and landed in that Ile, and ouerthrew all the barbarous people he founde there, and put them to the sword euery man, taking the chieftest of them only prisoners, among which, were three sonnes of *Sandanes*, the kinges sister, whome he sent vnto *Themistocles*. These three Lordes were all slaine by the commaundement of *Euphrantides* the Soothsayer, and sacrificed to *Bacchus Omestes*, as to say, the cruell *Bacchus*, and eater of raw flesh, and all vpon an oracle they had receiued. That done, *Aristides* disperfed his souldiers about the Ile, to receiue all such as were by fortune of warre, or of the sea, cast into the llande: to the end that no enemy of theirs shoulde scape their hands, nor any of his frendes should perish. For the greatest fleet of all their shippes, and the sharpest encounter of the whole battell, was about this little llande: and therefore the tokens of triumphe were set there. After the battell was wonne, *Themistocles* to seele *Aristides* opinion, sayd vnto him: we haue done a good peece of seruice, but yet there is an other behinde of greater importance, and that is this. We must bringe all *ASIA* into *EVROPE*, which we may easily do, if we saile with all speede to the straight of *HELLESPONT*, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then *Aristides* cried out, stay there, neuer speake of that: but I pray you let vs rather seeke all the wayes we can, how to driue this barbarous king out of *Greece*, least if we kepe him in still with so great an army (and he shall see no way before him to escape out) we driue him then to fight like a desperate man, and perill our selues, we can not tell to what. When *Themistocles* had hearde his opinion, he secretly sent the euenuke *Arnaeus* his prisoner, vnto kinge *Xerxes*, to aduertise him from him, that he had altered the *GREECIANS* purpose, which was fully bent to haue broken vp the bridge he hadde made at the straight of *HELLESPONT*, to passe ouer his army: and that he was the willingest to let him vnderstande it, that he might the better prouide for the safety of his person. King *Xerxes* being nettled with this

*Aristides
wordes of
Themistocles.*

*Aristides
counsell
of
Themistocles.*

*Aristides wife
counsell
for
Xerxes flying
out of Greece.*

*Aristides came
of Themistocles.*

A this aduertisement, tooke straight his iorney, and with all speede went to recover the straight of *HELLESPONT*, and left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant generall in *Greece*, with three hundred thousand of the best souldiers of his army. This *Mardonius* was maruelously dreaded of all the *GREECIANS*, for the wonderfull great army he hadde by lande, and he did threaten them also by his letters he wrote vnto them. You haue, (sayd he) with your shippes by sea, ouercomen acquainted to fight by lande, and that neuer handeled ouer: but now, the plaines of *THESSALIE*, or the fieldes of *BOBOTIA*, are very fayer and large for horsemen and footemen to make proofe of their valliantnes, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the *ATHENIANS*, by the kinge his maisters commaundement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to builde vp their city againe, to geue them a great pencion, and furthermore to make them Lordes of all *Greece*, so they would geue ouer, and leaue of these warres. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* beinge forthwith aduertised of his letters wrytten to the *ATHENIANS*, and fearing lest they would haue bene perswaded by them: sent their Ambassadors with all speede to *ATHENS*, to pray them to send their wiues and children vnto *SPARTA*, and also to offer them vittalles, to relieue their poore olde people, bicause of the great scarcity that was at *ATHENS*, for that their city was burnt and rased, and all their contry besides destroyed by the barbarous people. The *ATHENIANS* hauing heard the offers of the Ambassadors of *LACEDÆMON*, made them a maruelous answer through *Aristides* counsell, and this it was. That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all thinges were to be sold for gold & silver, bicause they esteemed nothing more precious, nor better in this world, then to be riche and wealthy: but on the other side, they were greatly offended with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, that they only regarded the present poeury and necessity of the *ATHENIANS*, and did forget their vertue and noble corage, thinking to make them fight more valliantly for the preseruacion of *Greece*, by offering them vittalls to liue withall. The people approuing this answer, *Aristides* then caused the Ambassadors of *SPARTA* to come to the assembly, and commaunded them to tell the *LACEDÆMONIANS* by worde of mouth, that all the golde above, or vnder the ground, could not corrupt the *ATHENIANS*, to make them take any summe of money or reward, to leaue the defence of the liberty of *Greece*: & to the herald that came from *Mardonius*, he shewed him the summe, and sayd vnto him: so long as yonder summe keepeth his course about the worlde, so long will the *ATHENIANS* be mortall enemies vnto the *PERSIANS*, bicause they haue spoyled and destroyed all their contry, and haue defiled and burnt the temples of their goddes. Besides, he willed that the Priestes, by commaundement of the people, shoulde excommunicate and curse him that would procure them to sende vnto the *PERSIANS* to make peace with them, and to breake their league and allyance with the other *GREECIANS*. Hereupon, when *Mardonius* came againe the seconde time to ouerrunne the contry of *ATTICA*: the *ATHENIANS* got the againe into the Ile of *SALAMINA*, and then they sent *Aristides* Ambassador vnto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. He sharply tooke them vp, and reproued their sloth and negligence, bicause they had againe forsaken *ATHENS*, and left it to the spoyles of the barbarous people: and prayed them yet they would looke to saue the rest of *Greece*. The *Ephori* (which were certein officers that ruled all thinges within the city of *SPARTA*) when they had hearde *Aristides* perswasions: straight tooke order for ayde, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheere, keeping that day one of their solemne feastes they called *Hyacinthia*. Howbeit the next night following, they sent out fise thousande citizens borne in *SPARTA*, into the fielde, all proper men and valliant souldiers, euery one of them carying with him, seuen Illores (which are the contry men and slaues in the contrie of *LACEDÆMONIA*) not making the Ambassadors of *ATHENS* priuy to it at all. Wherefore *Aristides* came againe an other time into their counsell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughinge, and sayd he dreamed, or else he mocked them: for their army which they had sent against the straungers (for so they called the *PERSIANS*) was already at the city of *ORESTION* in *ARCADIA*. *Aristides* hearing their answer, replied, that they were to blame to mocke them in that sorte, to sende away their men so secretly, that they might not knowe of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceite their frendes, but their enemies rather. *Idomeneus* in his story reporteth the matter

*Xerxes left
Mardonius
his Lieutenant
in Greece with
300000 men.*

*The noble
minde of the
Athenians.*

Aristides
Lieutenant
general of
the Athenians
against Mar-
donius.
Paufanias
king of Lacedæ-
mon, gen-
eral of all
Greece.
Alpeus son.

Oracles of the
city of
Plataeæ.

The Nymphes
Sphragitides.

Arimnestus
decame.

The magna-
nimity of the
Plataeians.

Alexander
the great dish
honore the
Plataeians
for their no-
ble mindes.

thus in euery point. Notwithstanding, in the decree that was made to sende Ambassadors to SPARTA, *Aristides* is not named for Ambassador, but there are other appointed: as *Cimon*, *Xanthippus*, and *Myronides*. Afterwardes *Aristides* was chosen by voyces of the people, Lieutenant general of the army of ATHENS, in this warre against the PERSIANS, and went vnto the campe of the GREECIANS by the cite of PLATÆES, with eight thousand footemen well armed and appointed. There he found king *Paufanias* the only general of all the whole power and army of the GREECIANS, who brought with him the force of SPARTA: and there came daily into his campe one after another, a marvelous great multitude of other GREECIANS. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incaped all alongest the river of ASOPVS: but bicause their campe stretched out a marvelous way in length, they were not intrenched at all, but had only fortified a peece of grounde foure square with a walle about, which was ten furlonges on euery side, to place all their cariage and chiefeest thinges in. And for the GREECIANS againe, the foorthlayer *Tisamenus*, borne in the city of ELIDE, had told *Paufanias*, & all the GREECIANS together, that they should haue the victory, so they did not assault at all, but only defend. And *Aristides*, that had sent to the oracle of *Apollō* at DELPHES, in the name of the ATHENIANS, had answer: they should overcome their enemies, so they did sacrifice and make speciall prayers, vnto *Iupiter* and *Iuno* of mount CITHÆRON, vnto *Pan*, and vnto the Nymphes *Sphragitides*, and also vnto the demy gods, *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Democrates*, *Hypsiōn*, *Atæon*, & *Polydus*: and so that they did hazard battell also within their owne territories, and in the plaine of *Ceres Eleufinian*, and of *Proserpina*. This oracle troubled *Aristides* maruelously, bicause the demy goddes whome they had commaundement to do sacrifice vnto, were the fownders and auncesters of the PLATÆIANS: and the cause of the Nymphes *Sphragitides*, is one of the toppes of mount CITHÆRON, looking towards the west, where the sunne setteth in sommer. They say there was an oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many inhabitants thereabouts, and besought them of their wittes: whereupon, they called those so possessed, *Nympholepty*, as who would say, taken with the Nymphes. And againe tolde the ATHENIANS they should haue the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plaine of *Ceres Eleufinian*, and within their owne territorie: it was euen to sende them backe againe into the contry of ATTICA. *Aristides* being thus perplexed, *Arimnestus* Captaine of the PLATÆIANS, hadde such a vision in the night in his sleepe. Him thought that *Iupiter* the sauour did appeare vnto him, and asked him what the GREECIANS intended to do? and that he answered: my Lord, we must to morrowe remove our campe into the territories of ELEYSIN, and there we will fight with the barbarous people, according to the commaundement the oracle of *Apollō* hath geuen vs. Then that *Iupiter* replied, that they were greatly deceaued: for all that *Apollō* had declared by his oracle was ment within the territorie of the PLATÆIANS, and that they should finde it true, if they considered it well. *Arimnestus* hauinge plainly seene this vision in his sleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he straight sent for the oldest citizens, and considering with them where this place should be, he founde at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, by the city of NYSTIA, there was an olde temple they called the temple of *Ceres Eleufinian*, and of her daughter *Proserpina*. When he hearde them say so, he went straight and tolde *Aristides* of it, and founde that it was an excellent place to set an army in battell raye, that hadde but fewe horsemen: for that the foote of mount CITHÆRON did lette the horsemen, they could not goe to the place where the temple floode, and where the playne and valley did ende: besides also, that the chappell of *Androcrates* was euen in that place, which was all hidden with thicke wodde rounde about it. And bicause they should lacke nothing to hinder the expresse commaundement of the oracle for hope of victory: the PLATÆIANS (through *Arimnestus* counsell and aduise) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLATÆES should be taken away towards ATHENS side, and that the lande thereof should be geuen clearly vnto the ATHENIANS, bicause they should fight with the barbarous people in their owne lande, for the defence and preferuacion of GREECE, according to the commaundement of the oracle. This noble gift and present of the PLATÆIANS was so famous, as many yeares after, king *Alexander* the great hauing conquered the Empire of ASIA, built vp the walles againe of the city of PLATÆES, and when he had done, made a herald

A heraulde openly proclaime it at the games Olympical: that *Alexander* hadde done the PLATÆIANS that honor and dignitie, for a memoriall and honor of their magnanimity. Bicause in the warre against the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally geuen away their lande vnto the ATHENIANS, for the safetie of the GREECIANS: and had shewed them selues of a noble corage also, and very willinge to defende the state of GREECE. Now when the army of the GREECIANS came to be sette in order of battell, there fell a strife betwene the ATHENIANS and the TEGEATES, bicause the ATHENIANS would nedes (according to their old custome) haue the left wing of the battell, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had the right winge: and the TEGEATES on the contrary parte, would haue the preheminance before the ATHENIANS, alleging the famous acts and notable seruice of their auncesters in former warres, whereupon the ATHENIANS did mutine. But *Aristides* stept betwene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contend with the TEGEATES about their nobility and valliantnesse: and as for you, my Lords of SPARTA, sayed he, and you also my maisters of GREECE: we tell you, that the place neither geueth nor taketh vertue away, and we doe assure you that where soeuer you place vs, we will so defend and kepe it, as we will not impaire nor blemish the honor we haue wonne in former foughten battells, and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarrell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common enemies: not to bragge of our auncesters doings, but to shew our selues valliant in defence of al GREECE. For this battail will make good prooffe to all the GREECIANS, how much estimation euery city, euery Captaine, & particular person wil deferue for his parte. When *Aristides* had spoken, the Captaines & all other of the counsil concluded in fauor of the ATHENIANS, that they should haue one of the winges of the battell. But by this meanes, all GREECE stood in maruelous garboyle at that time, and the state of the ATHENIANS specially in great danger. For a number of the noblest citizens of ATHENS. And that brought great substance with them to the warres, being now at low state, & in poerty, their goods being spent & gone, & seeing the selues discourtenaced, not bearing that rule & authority in the common wealth they were wont to do, bicause other were called to authority, and preferred to the offices of the citie: they gathered together, and met at a house in the city of PLATÆES, & there conspyred to ouerthrow the authority of the people at ATHENS: and if they could not obtaine their purpose, then that they would rather loofe all, and betray their contry vnto the barbarous people. While these thinges were practiced in the campe, many beinge of the conspiacy, *Aristides* came to an Incklinge of it, and was maruelously afayed, bicause of the time: wherefore he beganne to be carefull of the matter, being of such importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vnderstand the whole conspiacy, litle knowing what a number might be drawn into this treason, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather respected that which was iust, then what was profitable for the time. So he caused eight persones only of the great number to be apprehended, and of these eight, the two first whome they would haue indited as principall, and were most to be burdened for the conspiacy, *AEgibines* of the towne of LAMPRA, and *Egefus* of the towne of ACHARNA, they founde meanes to flie out of the campe, and to saue themselves. And for the other, *Aristides* set them at liberty, and gaue them occasion that were not discouered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: saying, that the battell should be their iudge, where they should purge them selues of all accusations layed against them, and shew the world also, that they neuer had any other intencion but honest, and good, towards their contry. *Mardonius*, to proue the corage of the GREECIANS, had sent all his horsemen, (wherein he was farre stronger then the GREECIANS) to skirmish with the WHO were lodged at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, in strong places and full of stones, sauing the three thousand MEGARIANS, that camped in the plaine: by reason whereof, they were fore troubled and hurt, by the horsemen of the barbarous people that sette vpon them on euery side, for they might charge them where they would. Insomuch, in the ende, perceiving they alone could no longer resist the force of so great a multitude of the barbarous people: they sent with all speede possible to *Paufanias*, to pray him to send them present aide. *Paufanias* hearing this newes, and seeing in his owne sight the campe of the MEGARIANS almost all couered with shot and darts which the barbarous people threw at them, & that they were compelled to stand close together in a litle corner: he

Strife betwene
the Athenians
& Tegelates.

Aristides
wisely pacifies
the muti-
nie.

The conspi-
cy of slavish
nobles men
of Athens.

Mount Ci-
thæron.

wit not what to do. For, to go thither in person with the Lacedæmonians that were footmen heavy armed, he thought that was no way to help them. So he proued to put some ambitious desire and enuy of honor, among the priuate Captaines and generalls of the army of the other Grecians, which were then about him: to see if he coule moue any mans courage and desire, to offer him selfe willingly to goe aide the Megarians. Howbeit they had all deafe eares, but *Aristides*: who promised to go in the name of the Athenians, and brought *Olympiodorus* into the fildes, (one of the valliantest Captaines that serued vnder him) with his company of three hundred chosen men, and certaine shot mingled amongst them. These fouldiers were ready in a moment, and marched straight in battell ray, a great pace towards the barbarous people. *Masissius*, that was generall of the horsemen of the Persians, a goodly tall man, perceiuing their comming towards him: turned his horse, and gallopped to them. The Athenians taried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very hot, because both the one and the other side did the best they could at this first onser to put the rest of the battell in ieopardy: and they fought so long, that *Masissius* horse was shot through the body with an arrow, that put him to such paine, as he neuer lin flinging, till he cast his mailer on the ground, armed as he was at all peces. So being on the ground, he could not rise againe, as well for the waight of his armor, as for that the Athenians came so sodainly vpon him. And notwithstanding there were many about him to help him in peces, yet they could find no way how to kill him, he was so thoroughly armed and loden with gold, copper, & iron, not only vpon his body and his heade, but also on his legges and armes: vntill at the length there was one that thrust the head of his dart through his beuer, and so killed him. The Persians perceiving that, fled immediatly, & forsooke the body of their generall. Shortly after it appeared to the Grecians that they had sped well at this skirmish, not because they had slaine many enemies, but for the great lamentacion the barbarous people made for the losse of *Masissius*. For his death did so grieve them, that they powled themselves, they clipped of their horse and moyle heares, & filled besides all the field therabouts with pitifull cries & threeces, as those that had lost the valliantest and chieftest man of authority of all their campe, next vnto *Mardonius* the kings Lieutenant. After this first skirmish, both the one and the other side kept their campe, and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the Soothsayers did promise both sides the victory, as much the Persians, as the Grecians, so they did but onely defend: and contrarywise, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowen, that did assault. But *Mardonius* finding vittells waxed scant, and that they were stored but for few dayes, and moreover how the Grecians daily grewe stronger by continuall repaire to their campe, the longer he delayed in the end he resolu'd to tary no lenger, but to passe the riuer of *Asopus* the next morning by breake of the day, & sodainly to set apon the Grecians. So he gaue the Captaines warning the night before what they should do, because euery man should be redy: but about midnight there came a horseman without any noyse at all, so neere to the Grecians campe, that he spake to the watche, and told them he would speake with *Aristides*, generall of the Athenians. *Aristides* was called for straight, and when he came to him, the horseman said vnto *Aristides*, I am *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who for the loue and great good will beare you, haue put my self in the greatest danger that may be, to come at this present time to E aduertise you, that to morrow morning *Mardonius* will giue you battell: because your enemies sodaine comming apon you, should not make you afraide, being sodainly charged, and should not hinder also your valliant fightinge. For it is no new hope that is come to *Mardonius*, that makes him to fight: but only scarcety of vittells that forceth him to do it, considering that the prognosticators are all against it that he should geue you battell, both by reason of the ill tokens of their sacrifices, as also by the aunswers of their oracles, which hath put all the armie in maruelous feare, and stande in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to putte all at aduerture, or else if he will needes lye still, to be starued to death for very famine. After king *Alexander* hadde imparted this secreet to *Aristides*, he prayed him to keepe it to him selfe, and to remember it in time to come. *Aristides* answered him then, that it was no reason he should keepe a matter of so great importance as that, from *Pausanias*, who was their Lieutenant generall of the whole armie: notwithstanding, he promised him he would tell it

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Masissius generall of the horsemen of the Persians.

Masissius slaine by the Athenians.

Alexander kinge of *Macedon*, reuclaeth the Persians secreet counsell vnto *Aristides*.

A no man else before the battell, and that if the goddess gaue the Grecians the victorie, he did assure him, they should all acknowledge his great fauor and good will thewed vnto them. After they hadde talked thus together, kinge *Alexander* left him, and returned backe againe: and *Aristides* also went immediatly to *Pausanias* tent, and tolde him the talke kinge *Alexander* and he hadde together. Thereupon the priuate Captaines were sent for straight to counsaill, and there order was geuen, that euery manne shoulde haue his bandes ready, for they shoulde fight in the morninge. So *Pausanias* at that time (as *Herodotus* wryteth) layed vnto *Aristides*, that he would remoue the Athenians from the left to the right winge, because they shoulde haue the Persians them selues right before them, and that they shoulde fight so much the lustier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also because they hadde ouercommmed them before in the first encounter: and that him selfe would take the left winge of the battell, where he shoulde encounter with the Grecians that fought on the Persians side. But when all the other priuate Captaines of the Athenians vnderstoode it, they were maruelous angrie with *Pausanias*, and layed he did them wronge, and hadde no reason to lette all the other Grecians keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, and onely to remoue them, as if they were slaues, to be appointed at his pleasure, now of one side, then of the other, and to sette them to fight with the valliantest fouldiers they had of all their enemies. Then layed *Aristides* to them, that they knewe not what they sayed, and how before they misliked, and did strue with the *Tegeates*, onely for hauing the left wing of the battell, and when it was graunted, they thought them selues greatly honored that they were preferred before them, by order of the Captaines: and now where the Lacedæmonians were willing of them selues to geue them the place of the right winge, and did in manner offer them the prehemience of the whole armie: they do not thankfully take the honor offered them, nor yet doe reckon of the vantage and benefite geuen them to fight against the Persians selues, their auncient enemies, and not against their natural contry men anciently descended of them. When *Aristides* had vsed all these perswasions vnto them, they were very well contented to change place with the Lacedæmonians: and then all the talke amonge them was to encourage one an other, and to tell them that the Persians that came against them, had no better hartes nor weapons, then those whom they before hadde ouercome, in the plaine of *Marathon*. For layed they, they haue the same bowes, the same riche imbrodered gownes, the same golden chaines and carcanettes of womanish persone, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint hartes: where we haue also the same weapons and bodies we hadde, and our hartes more liuely and coragious then before, through the sundrie victories we haue since gotten of them. Further, we haue this aduantage more. That we doe not fight as our other confederates the Grecians do, for our city and contry onely, but also to continue the fame and renowne of our former noble seruice, which we wanne at the iorneyes of *Marathon* and of *Salamina*: to the ende the worlde shoulde not thinke that the glory of these triumphes and victories was due vnto *Atilades* onely, or vnto fortune, but vnto the corage and worthinesse of the Athenians. Thus were the Grecians thoroughly occupied to change the order of their battell in haft. The Thebans on the other side that tooke parte with *Mardonius*, receiuing intelligence of the alteringe of their battell, by traytors that ranne betwene both campes: they straight tolde *Mardonius* of it. He thereupon did sodainly also change the order of his battell, and placed the Persians from the right winge to the left winge of his enemies: either because he was afraied of the Athenians, or else for greater glorie that he hadde a desire to fight with the Lacedæmonians, and commaunded the Grecians that tooke his parte, that they shoulde fight against the Athenians. This alteration was so openly done, that euery manne might see it: whereupon *Pausanias* remoued the Lacedæmonians againe, and sette them in the right winge. *Mardonius* seeinge that, remoued the Persians againe from the left winge, and brought them to the right winge (where they were before) against the Lacedæmonians: and thus they continued all that day in changinge their men to and fro. So the Captaines of the Grecians saie in counsaill at night, and there they agreed, that they must needs remoue their campe, and lodge in some other place where they might haue water at commaundement: because their ene-

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The treason of the Thebans.

mies did continually trouble and spoyle that water they had about them, with their horses. Now when night came, the Captaines would haue marched away with their men, to go to the lodginge they had appointed: but the people went very ill willinge to it, and they hadde much a do to keepe them together. For they were no sooner out of the trenches and fortification of their campe, but the most parte of them ranne to the cite of PLATÆES, and were maruelously out of order, dispersing them selues here and there, and set vp their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that taried behinde, but the LACEDÆMONIANS onely, and that was against their willes. For one of their Captaines called *Amompharetus*, a maruelous hardie man, that feared no daunger, and longed fore for battell: he was in such a rage with these trifling delays, that he cried it out in the campe, that this remouinge was a goodly runninge away, and sware he would not from thence, but would there tary *Mardonius* comming with his companie. *Pausanias* went to him, and tolde him he must doe that the other GREECIANS hadde consented to in counsell, by most voyces. But *Amompharetus* tooke a great stone in his handes, and threw it downe at *Pausanias* feette, and tolde him there is the signe I geue to conclude battell, and I passe not for all your cowardly conclusions. *Amompharetus* stubbornesse did so amaze *Pausanias*, that he was at his wittes ende. So he sent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwarde on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might goe together: and therewithall made the rest of his menne to marche towards the cite of PLATÆES, supposinge thereby to haue drawn *Amompharetus* to haue followed him, or else he ment to remaine alone behinde. But in trifling thus, the day brake: and *Mardonius* vnderstandinge that the GREECIANS did forsake their first lodging, he made his army presently marche in battell ray to sette upon the LACEDÆMONIANS. So the barbarous people made great howtes and cries, not thinking to goe fight, but to goe sacke and spoyle the GREECIANS flyinge away, as in deede they did little better. For, *Pausanias* seeinge the countenance of his enemies, made his ensignes to stay, and commaunded euery man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to geue the GREECIANS the signall of the battell, either for the anger he tooke against *Amompharetus*, or for the sodayne onser of the enemies, which made them that they came not in ftraight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begonne, but straggling in small companies, some here, and some there. In the meane time, *Pausanias* was buile in sacrificinge to the goddess, and seeinge that the first sacrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothsayers obseruations they made: he commaunded the SPARTANS to throwe their targettes at their feette, and not to sturre out of their places, but onely to doe as he bad them, without resistinge their enemies. When he hadde geuen this straight order, he went againe and did sacrifice, when the horsemen of the enemies were at hande, and that their arrowes fiewe amongst the thickest of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did hurte diuerse of them, and specially poore *Callierates* amonge the rest, that was one of the goodliest menne in all the GREECIANS hoste and armie. He hauing his deatnes wounde with an arrow, before he gaue vpp the ghost, sayed his death did not grieve him, bicause he came out of his contrie to dye for the defence of GRECE: but it grieved him to dye so cowardly, hauinge geuen the enemye neuer a blowe. His death was maruelous lamentable, and the constancy of the SPARTANS wonderfull: for they neuer stirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to defende them selues against their enemies that came upon them, but suffred them selues to be thrust through with arrowes, and slaine in the field, lookinge for the houre the goddess would appoint them, and that their Captaine would commaunde them to fight. Some wyte also, that as *Pausanias* was at his prayers, and doing sacrifice vnto the goddess a litle behinde the battell, certeine of the LYDIANS came upon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his sacrifice: and how *Pausanias*, and those that were about him, (hauinge no other weapons in their handes) draue them awaye with force of staues and whippes. In memorie whereof, they saye there is a solemne procession kept at SPARTA on that daye, which they call the LYDIANS procession, where they whippe and beate younge boyes about the aulter. Then was *Pausanias* in great distresse, to see the Priestes offer sacrifice vpon sacrifice, and that not one of them pleased the goddess: at the last he turned his eyes to the temple of *Iuno*, and wept, and holdinge vp his handes, besought *Iuno Citharon*, and

The stubbornnes of *Amompharetus* Captaine of the Lacedæmonians.

The battell of the Grecians, with the Persians, at the city of Platææ.

Callierates slaine without fighting.

The obedience of the Spartans: foulders vnto death.

and all the other goddesses, (patrones and protectors of the contry of the PLATÆIANS) that if it were not the will of the goddess the GREECIANS should haue the victorie, yet that the conquerors at the least should buie their deatnes dearly, and that they should finde they fought against valliant men and worthy souldiers. *Pausanias* had no sooner ended his prayer, but the sacrifices fell out very fauorable, insomuch the Priestes and Soothsayers came to promise him victory. Thereupon, he straight gaue commaundement to march toward the enemy, which flew from man to man incontinently how they should march. So as he that hadde seene the Squadrō of the LACEDÆMONIANS, would haue said it had bene like the body of a fierce beast raising vp his bristles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people saw they should haue a hotte battell, and that they should mete with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they couered their bodies with great targets after the PERSIAN facion, & bestowed their arrowes lustly upon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But they keeping close together, and coueringe them selues with their shields, marched on stil upon them, vntill they came to ioyne with the enemy so lustly, that they made their targets fle out of their handes, with the terrible thrustes and blowes of their pikes & speares upon their breastes, and ouerthwart their faces, that they flew many of them, and layed them on the grounde. For all that, they dyed not cowardly, but tooke the LACEDÆMONIANS pikes and speares in their bare handes, and brake them in two by strength of their armes: and then they quickly pluckt out their cimeters and axes, and lustly layed about them, and wrong the LACEDÆMONIANS shields out of their handes by force, and fought it out with the great while hand to hand. Now, whilst the LACEDÆMONIANS were busily fighting with the barbarous people, the ATHENIANS stood still imbattell farre off, & kept their ground. But when they saw the LACEDÆMONIANS tary so long, & that they came not, and heard a maruelous noyle of men as though they were fighting, and besides that there came a speedy messenger vnto them sent from *Pausanias*, to let the vnderstand they were fighting: then they marched with all speede they could to help them. But as they were comming on a great pace ouer the playne, vnto that parte where they heard the noyle: the GREECIANS that were on *Mardonius* side came against them. *Aristides* seeing them coming towards them, went a good way before his company, & cried out as loude as he could for life, and coniuired the GREECIANS in the name of the gods, the protectors of GRECE, to leaue of these warrs, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to helpe the that ventured their liues; to defend the common wealth & safety of all GRECE. But when he saw they would nedes fight for any request and coniuiration he could vse, and that they came still upon him, bending them selues to giue charge: then he stayed his going to relieue the LACEDÆMONIANS, & was compelled to make head against those that set upon him and his company, they beinge about fifty thousand men, of the which, the most parte notwithstanding went their waies, and left the army, specially when they vnderstood the PERSIANS were ouerthrowen and fled. The fury of the battell, and cruellest fight (as they say) was where the THEBANS were: bicause the nobility & chiefeft men of the contry fought very earnestly for the PERSIANS, but the people refused, being led by a smal number of the nobility that commaunded the. So they fought that day in two places, the LACEDÆMONIANS being the first that ouerthrew the PERSIANS, & made the flee: & they slue *Mardonius* the kings lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one *Arminesus* a SPARTAN gaue him upon his head, rightly as the oracle of *Amphiarauus* had prophecied before vnto him. For *Mardonius* before the battell had sent thither a LYDIAN, & a CARIAN, vnto the oracle of *Trophonius*, of the which, the prophet made answere vnto the CARIAN, in the CARIAN tonge: & the man of LYDIA lay within the sanctuary of *Amphiarauus*, where he thought in his dreame that one of the priestes of the tēple willed him to go out of the place he was in, and he denying it, the Priest tooke vp a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was slaine with the blow. And thus it is writte: And furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS did chase the PERSIANS flying, into their fortificatio they had in a wodde: & the ATHENIANS also shortly after ouerthrew the THEBANS wherof they slue in the field, a newes hundred of the noblest & chiefeft of them. For euen as the THEBANS began to turne tayle, there came vnto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had intrenched them selues within their forte and strength in the wodde, where the LACEDÆMONIANS did besiege them. The ATHENIANS suffered the GREECIANS

Battell betwixt the Grecians & Persians.

The Grecians victorie of the Persians at Platææ.

Mardonius slaine of *Arminesus* a Spartan, with a blow of a stone.

that fled to saue them selues, and they went to help the LACEDÆMONIANS, to take the soma of the barbarous people: who went before but slenderly about it, bicause they had no experience to make an assault, nor force vpon a walle. But so soone as the ATHENIANS came into them, they straight tooke it by assault, and made great slaughter of the PERSIANS and barbarous people. For of three hundred thousand fighting men that *Mardonius* had in his campe, there were slaued only but forty thousand led vnder *Artabazus*: and of the GREECIANS side, there were not slaine about thirtene hundred and three score in all, amongst which also there were two and fifty ATHENIANS, all of the tribe of *AEantides*, the which had done more valiantly that day, then any other tribe, as *Clidemus* writeth. And this is the cause why the *AEantides* made a solemne sacrifice vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, at the common charge, according to the order geuen them by the oracle of *Apollo*, to geue them thanks for this victorie. Of the LACEDÆMONIANS there dyed four score and eleuen: and of the TEGEATES, sixteene. But *I maruell Herodotus* sayth, that none but these people onely fought in that iorney against the barbarous nation, and no other GREECIANS besides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graues also do shewe, that it was a generall victorie and exployte of all the GREECIANS together. And Moreouer, if there had bene but these three people onely that hadde fought against them, and that all the rest had stood and looked on, and done nothinge: sure there had bene no such epigramme as this, engrauen upon the alter or tombe that was set vp in the place of the battell.

*When the victorious Greekes, had driven out of their lande,
the Persians by force of armes, which long had them vnrithstande,
they built to mighty Ioue, this holy altier here,
and made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appeare.
in Guerdon of the good, which he did them restore,
in Guerdon of their liberty, which liked them euermore.*

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS call Boedromion, that is, about the moneth of Iuly, or after the BOEOTIANS accompt, the six & twenty of the moneth, they call Panemus, on which day there is yet kept a common assembly of the estates of GREECE, in the cities of PLATÆES, where the PLATÆIANS make a solemne sacrifice vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, to geue him thanks alwayes for this victorie. It is no maruail that there was such difference then betwixt the monethes and dayes, considering that euen now when astronomie is more perfectly vnderstanded, then it was then: some do yet beginne and ende their monethes at one day, and some at another. After this great battell and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there rose great strife betwixt the ATHENIANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS, touching the reward and honor of the victorie. For the ATHENIANS would not geue place vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor suffer them to set vp any tokens or signes of triumphe. Whereupon the GREECIANS running to armes in mutinie together, by this occasion they had almost spoyled one another: had not *Aristides* through his wisdom and wise perswasions, stayed, and quieted the other Captaines his companions, and specially one *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, whom he wanne with such discrete and gentle words, that they were contented to referre it wholly vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the other people of GREECE. So the GREECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to decide their controuersie. In this counsell holden there, *Theopiton* a Capitaine of the MEGARIANS, sayd for his opinion, that to auoide the ciuill warre might growe betwene the GREECIANS upon this quarrell: he thought it very requisite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor of this victorie, vnto some other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him rose vp *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN, seeming to euery man there that he woulde haue requested this honor for the citie of CORINTH, beinge in dede the thirde citie in estimation of all GREECE, next vnto SPARTA and ATHENS: howbeit he made an oration in commendation of the PLATÆIANS, which was maruelously liked, & well thought of of euery man. For his opinion went flatly with the PLATÆIANS, that to ende this strife, they should geue the honor of this victorie vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and so woulde neither of both parties be angrie that they should be honored. Upon his wordes, *Aristides* first agreed on the ATHENIANS behalfe,

and

And then *Paulani* as for the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the PLATÆIANS should haue the reward. Now they both beinge agreed, before the spoyle was deuided betwene them, they sette aside foure score talentes that were geuen to the PLATÆIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto *Minerua*, and gaue her an image, and sett out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACEDÆMONIANS notwithstanding, did set vp their tokens of victorie by them selues, and the ATHENIANS theirs also by them selues. So, they sending vnto the oracle of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they should do sacrifice: *Apollo* answered them that they should build vp an altier vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, howbeit that they should put no sacrifice vpon it, vntill they had first put out all the fier through the whole contrie, bicause it had bene polluted and defiled by the barbarous people: and then, that they should sethe pure and cleane fyre at the common altier, whereon they doe sacrifice vnto *Apollo Pythias*, in the city of DELPHES. This answer beinge deliuered, the great Lords and officers of GREECE went through all the contrie, to put out the fyre euery where. And there was a man of the same city of PLATÆES at that time called *Euchidas*, that came and offered him selfe, and promised he woulde bringe them fyre from the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, with all possible speede that might be. So when he came to the city of DELPHES, after he hadde sprinkled and purified his body with cleane water, he put a crowne of lawrell upon his heade, and went in that manner to take fyre from the altier of *Apollo*. When he had done, he hyed him againe as fast as he coule runne for life, vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and came thither before the sunne was set, hauing commen and gone that day a thousand furlonges. But after he hadd saluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fyre he brought: he fell downe dead at their feete, and gaue vp the ghost. The PLATÆIANS lift him vp starke deade, and buried him in the temple of *Diana Euclia*, to say, of good renomme: and caused afterwards this Epitaph following to be grauen vpon his tombe.

*Engraued here doth lye, Euchidas speedy man,
who in one day both to and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne.
Euen from this selfe same place, vvhich thou dost here behold,
such hast, post hast, he swiftly made, thereof thou mayest be bolde.*

Many thinke that this goddesse *Euclia* is *Diana*, and so they call her. But other holde opinion that she was the daughter of *Hercules*, and of *Myrto* the *Nympe Menestius* daughter, and *Pandrocus* sister, that dyed a virgine, and was honored afterwarde as a goddesse, of the BOEOTIANS, & of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they finde an altier and image dedicated vnto her: and all that are married, doe sacrifice to her upon that altier. Afterwards there was a generall counsell holden by all the GREECIANS, in the which *Aristides* made a motion, that all the cities of GREECE should yearly sende their deputies at a certeine day appointed, vnto the city of PLATÆES, there to make their prayers & sacrifices vnto the goddes: and that from five yeares, to five yeares, they should celebrate common games, that should be called the games of liberty: and that they should also leauy through all the prouinces of GREECE, for maintenance of the warres against the PERSIANS and barbarous people, tenne thousand footemen, a thousand horsemen, and a flete of a hundred sayle. Item that the PLATÆIANS thenceforth should be taken also for deuoute and holy men, and that no man should so hardy hurt or offend them, and that they should onely tende the sacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and prosperitie of GREECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and maner aforesayd, and the PLATÆIANS bounde them selues yearly to kepe solemne sacrifices and anniuersaries for the soules of the GREECIANS that were slaine in their territories, fightinge for defence of the libertie of the GREECIANS. And this they obserue yet vnto this daye in this sorte. The sixteenth day of the moneth of Marmacterion (which the BOEOTIANS call Alalcomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuary) they goe a procession, and before the procession there goeth a trompetor that foundeth the alarom. Then there follow certeine charrettes loden with branches of fyre tree, and with nosegayes and garlandes of triumphe: then a blacke bul, & certeine young gentlemen noble men fonnies, that carry great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, such as they vse to powre upon the graues of deade men for propitiatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne,

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Two hundred
and three
score thousand
Persians
slain.
A thousand
three hundred
or three score
Greeci-
ans
slain.

Strife betwixt
the Athenians
and Lacedæ-
monians for
honor of the
victory.

Corinthe the
third city of
estimation in
Greece.
Spota.
Athens.
Corinthe.
The Greeci-
ans giueth the
honor of the vi-
ctory vnto the
Platæians.

The wonder-
full speede of
Euchidas the
Platæian, a
foote.

*Diana Eu-
clia.*

Euchidas
death.

A generall
counsell hold-
en at the ci-
ty of Platæe.

Solemn se-
rifices and
funerals kept
by the Pla-
tæians yearly
for the Gree-
ciens that
were slaine at
the battell of
Platæe.

that cary oyles, perfumes, and other sweete odours in vyoll glasses. For no seruauit or bonde A man may lawfully be admitted to haue any office about this mistery, for that they whose memory they honor, dyed all fighting for defence of the liberty of GREECE. After all this shew, followeth the prouoist of the PLATONIANS for that time being, last of all: who may not all the rest of the year besides so much as touch any iron, nor wear any other coloured gowne but white. Howebeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall poine in one of his handes, which he taketh in the towne house, and a naked sworde in the other hande, and so goeth through the citie in this sorte after all the pompe aforesayed, vnto the church yarde where all their graues be that were laine at that battell. So when he cometh thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the same he washeth the fouresquare pillars and images that stand upon those tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles, and sweete sauors: afterwarde, he facificeth a bulle, and layeth him upon a heape of wodde hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine praies and petitions vnto *Iupiter*, and *Mercurie*, goddesses of the earth, he doth solemnely inuite the soules of those valliant men that dyed, fightinge for the liberty of GREECE, vnto the feast of this funerall facifice. Then he taketh a cuppe full of wine in his hande, and spilling it all vpon their tombes, he speaketh these wordes aloud: I drinke to the worthy and valliant men, that dyed sometime in defence of the liberty of GREECE. This solemne ceremony and anniuersarie, the PLATONIANS doe duly obserue vnto this present day. Nowe when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, *Aristides* perceiuing the people were bent to stablish a popular state, where the people might beare the whole rule and authoritie, iudging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noble seruice and valiant courage they had shewed in this warre: & considering also that they would hardly be brought to like of any other gouernment, being yet in armes, and very flowte, by reason of the famous victories they had obteyned: he caused a law to be made, that all authority of gouernment should runne in equality among the citizens, and that thenceforth all burgesies (as well poore as rich) should be chosen by voyces of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreover, when *Themistocles* tolde in open assembly, that he had a thing in his heade woulde be greatly to the profit and commodity of the state, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for diuerse respects: the people willed him to tell it vnto *Aristides* onely, and to take his aduise in it, to knowe whether it was meete to be done or not. Then *Themistocles* tolde him secretly betwene them, that he thought to sette the arceanall afyre, where all the GREECIANS ships lay: alleaging, that by this means the ATHENIANS should be the greatest men of power in all GREECE. *Aristides* hearing that, without any more, came presently to the people againe, and tolde the whole counsell openly: that nothinge could be more profitable in deede for the whole common wealth, and withal more wicked and vniust, then that *Themistocles* thought good to do. When the people heard *Aristides* aunswere, they willed *Themistocles* to lette his deuise alone whatsoever it were: so great iustifiers were the ATHENIANS, and so much did they trust *Aristides* wisedom and equite besides. So they made *Aristides* afterwards generall of the army of the ATHENIANS together with *Cimon*, & sent them to make warre against the barbarous people. *Aristides* at his comming thither, seeing *Pausanias*, & the other Captaines that were generall ouer the whole army, dealing hardly, and churlishly with people their confederates: he on the contrary side, spake gently vnto them, and shewed him selfe as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and iust to euery body, not oppressing some to ease other, in defraying the charges of the warres. *Aristides* takinge this course, it was not noted howe by litle and litle he cutte of the rule and authoritie of the LACEDÆMONIANS in GREECE, not by force of armes, nor by shippes, nor by numbers of hores, but onely by his graue and wise gouernment. For if the iustice and vertue of *Aristides*, and the myldenies and curtesy of *Cimon* made the gouernment of the ATHENIANS to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of GREECE: the couetousnes, pride, and fiercenesse of *Pausanias*, made it much more to be desired. For *Pausanias* neuer spake vnto the other Captaynes of the people, allies, and confederates, but it was euer in choller, and he was to sharpe with them: and for the poore priuate souldiers, he woulde cause them to be cruelly whipped for

Aristides preferreth the popular state.

Aristides de- nist of *Themistocles*.

Aristides sentence upon *Themistocles* deuise.

The iustice of the Athenians.

Aristides and *Cimon* generall of the Athenians against the barbarous people.

Aristides iustice and curtesy toke from the Lacedæmonians all their rule and authority in Greece. *Pausanias* proud and couetous.

A for every small offence, or else to make them stande a whole day together on their feete, laying a heauy iron ancker upon their shoulders. No man durst goe forrage, neither for strawe nor reedes to make them couches of, nor durst water their horse before the SPARTANS: for he had sette skowtes for them to whippe them home, that went out before them. And one day when *Aristides* thought to haue spoken to him, and to haue tolde him some thinge: he frowned upon him, and sayed he hadde no leasure to speake with him now, and so would not heare him. Whereupon the Captaines of the other GREECIANS, & specially those of CHIO, of SAMOS, and of LESBOS, did afterwarde follow *Aristides*, and perswaded him to take upon him the charge and authority to commaunde the other people of GREECE, and to take into his protection the allies and confederates of the same, who long sithence wished to reuolt from the gouernment of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and onely to submitte them selues vnto the ATHENIANS. *Aristides* aunswered them thus: that they had not only reason to doe that they sayd, but that they were also constrained to do it. Notwithstanding, because the ATHENIANS might haue good grounde and assurance of their vndoubted fidelitie and good seruice, they shoulde deliuer them manifest testimony and assurance thereof, by some famous act attempted against the LACEDÆMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durst neuer fall from the league of the ATHENIANS. *Phidias* SAMIAN, and *Antagoras* of CHIO hearing him say so, both Captaines of galleys confedered together: they went one day to set upon the admirall galley of *Pausanias*, hard by BIZANTIUM, the one of the one side of her, and the other on the other side, as she was rowing before all the fleet. *Pausanias* seeinge them, stood vpe straight in a marvelous rage against them, and threatened them that before it were longe he woulde make them knowe they had bene better to haue assaulted their owne naturall contrie, then to haue set vpon him as they had done. But they aunswered him, and bad him get him away quickly and he were wise, and let him thanke fortune hardly, that graunted the GREECIANS victory at the battell of PLATES vnder his leading: and that it was nothinge else but the onely reuerence and respect of the fame, that had made the GREECIANS hold their hands till now, from geuing him that iust punishment his pride and arrogancy had deserued. So the end was, they left the LACEDÆMONIANS, & sticke vnto the ATHENIANS: wherein was easily discerned the great corage, and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACEDÆMONIANS. For when they sawe their Captaines were marred and corrupted, through the ouergreat authority, & liberty they had, they willingly gaue vp their commaundement ouer the other GREECIANS, and did no more sende their Captaines to be generalls of the whole army of GREECE: thinking it better for their citizens, that they should be obedient, and in euery point obserue the discipline and law of their contrie, then if they had bene otherwise the only rulers and Lords ouer the whole contrie. Now at what time the LACEDÆMONIANS did commaunde all GREECE, as Lordes: the cities and people of GREECE did pay a certaine summe of money, towards defrayinge of the charges of the warres against the barbarous people. But after that their feignorie and rule was taken from them, the GREECIANS were contented a taxe should be leauied, and that euery city should be reasonably fessed, accordinge to their wealth and abilitie: because euery cite might know what they shoulde pay. And for this purpose, they prayed the ATHENIANS they would appoint *Aristides* to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power and authority to taxe and lesse euery cite indifferently, considering the greatnes of the territory, and the reuenues of the same, as euery one was reasonably able to beare it. But if *Aristides* were poore when he entred into that great charge and office of authoritie, wherein all GREECE in manner did refferre them selues vnto his discretion: he came out of that office more poore, and had made this assessement and taxacion not only iustly and truly, but also so indifferently accordinge vnto euery mans abilitie, that there was no man coulde finde fault with his doings. And like as the auncient men in olde time did celebrate, and sing out the blessednes of those that liued vnder the raigne of SATVRNE, which they called the golden age: euen so did the people and confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwarde honor the assessement made by *Aristides*, calling it the fortunate & blessed time of GREECE, and specially, when shortly after it did double, and treble on the sodaine. For the taxe *Aristides* made, came to about foure hundred & three score talents: and *Pericles* raised it almost vnto a third parte. For *Thucydides*

Pausanias cruel punishment of his souldiers.

Aristides finally of voyces.

The bellousness of *Phidias* and *Antagoras* against *Pausanias*.

The remembrance of the Lacedæmonians.

Aristides did fesse the cities of Greece.

Aristides a true censor.

wryeth, that at the beginnigne of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the ATHENIANS leaued a fixe hundred talentes yearly vpon their confederates. And after the death of *Pericles*, the orators and counsellors for matters of state did raise it vp higher by litle and litle, vntill it mounted vnto the summe of thirteene hundred talentes. And this was not, bicause the warres did rise to so great a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the losses the ATHENIANS had receiued: but for that they did accustom the people to make distributions of money by hand vnto euery citizen, to make them let vp games, and make goodly images, and to build sumptuous temples. Thus was *Aristides* therefore iustly honored, praised, and esteemed above all other, for this iust imposition of taxes, sauing onely of *Themistocles*: who went vp and downe flatering at the matter, sayinge it was no mete praise for an honest man, but rather: for a cofer well barred with iron, where a man might safely lay vp his gold and siluer. This he spake to be euen with *Aristides*, which was nothing like the sharpe girde *Aristides* gaue him openly, when *Themistocles* talking with him, tolde him it was an excellent thing for a Capitaine to be able to know, and to prevent the counsellis and doings of the enemies: and so is it, sayd *Aristides* againe, not onely a needefull, but an honest thinge, and mete for a worthy general of an army, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So *Aristides* made all the other people of GREECE to sweare, that they would truly keepe the articles of the allyance, and he him selfe as general of the ATHENIANS, did take their othes in the name of the ATHENIANS: and so pronouncing execrations & curses against them that should breake the league and othe taken, he threw iron wedges red horte into the sea, and prayed the gods to destroy them euen so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstandinge, afterwards (in my opinion) when there fell out great alteration in the state, and that the ATHENIANS were forced to rule more straightly then before: *Aristides* then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the daunger and burden of periury and execration, and that they should not let feare thereof to do any thing whatsoeuer they thought mete or necessary. To conclude, *Theraprostus* wryeth, that *Aristides* was not only a perfect an honest, and iust man, in priuate matters betwixt party & party: but in matters of state, and concerning the common weale, he did many thinges oftentimes according to the necessitie of the time, and troubles of the cite, wherein violence and iniustice was to be voided. As when the question was asked in open counsell, to know whether they might take away the gold & siluer that was left in the Ile of DELOS safely layed vp in the temple of *Apollo*, to beare out the charges of the warres against the barbarous people, and to bring it from thence vnto ATHENS, upon the motion of the SAMIANS, although it was directly against the articles of the allyance, made and sworne amonge all the GREECIANS. *Aristides* opinion beinge asked in the same, he answered: it was not ill, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding *Aristides* had brought his cite, to rule and commaund many thousandes of people: yet was he still poore for all that, and vntill his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his pouertie, then for all the famous victories and battells he had wonne: and that plainly appeareth thus. *Callias* *Ceres* torche beaerer, was his neere kinsman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stood in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Iudges, his accusers very faintly, and to litle purpose, vttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other byematters, left the chiefeist matter, & spake thus to the Iudges. My Lords, you al know *Aristides* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and you are not ignorant also that his vertue hath made him more esteemed, then any man else is, or can be, in all GREECE. Howe thinke ye doth he liue at home? when you see him abroad vpe and downe the city, in a threde bare gowne all to rattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, who we al see quake for very colde, beinge so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet *M. Callias* here his cousin germaine the richest citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable: that notwithstandinge *Aristides* hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authoritie among you, he suffereth him, and his poore wife and children readie to begge, to starue for any helpe he geueth him. *Callias* perceivinge the Iudges more angier with him for that, then for any matter else he was accused of: he prayed *Aristides* might be sent for, and willed him to tel truly whether he had not offered him good rounde summes of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take

Themistocles bewrayeth *Themistocles* and *Aristides*.

Aristides professed necessity of time, before law & reason.

Aristides gloried in his poverty.

A take it, which he euer refused, and answered him alwayes, that he could better boast of his pouerty, then him selfe coulde of his riches: (which he sayd many did vile ill, and few coulde vte them wel) and that it was a hard thing to finde one man of a noble minde, that could away with pouertie, and that such onely might be ashamed of pouerty, as were poore against their willes. So *Aristides* confirmed all he spake to be true: and euery man that was at the hearinge of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as *Aristides*, then rich as *Callias*. This tale is written thus by *Aeschines* the Socratic Philosopher: and *Plato* reporteth of him also, that notwithstandinge there were many other famous and notable men of ATHENS, yet he gaue *Aristides* praise about them all. For others, sayd he, (as *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*) haue beautified the cite with stately porches, and sumptuous buildinges of golde and siluer, and with stone of other fine superfluous deuises: but *Aristides* was only he, that vertuously disposed him selfe and all his doings, to the furtherance of the state and common weale. His iustice and good nature appeared plainly, in his doings and behauiour towardes *Themistocles*. For though *Themistocles* was euer against *Aristides* in all thinges, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practise he was banished from ATHENS: yet when *Themistocles* was accused of treason to the state, hauing diuerse sharpe enemies against him: as *Cimon*, *Alcmaeon*, with diuerse other: *Aristides* sought not reuenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither spake nor did any thinge against him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioyce to see his enemy in misery, no more then if he had neuer eniued him in his prosperity. And touching *Aristides* death, some write he dyed in the realme of PONTVS, being sent thither about matters of the state: & other thinke he dyed an old man in the cite of ATHENS, greatly honored and beloued of all the citizens. But *Craterus* the MACEDONIAN wryeth of his death in this sorte. After that *Themistocles* (sayeth he) was fled, the people of ATHENS became very stubborne and insolent: whereupon, many lewde men grew to be common appeachers and accusers of the noble men and chiefeist citizens, and to stirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people against them, who were waxen proude by reason of their prosperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Amonge the rest, *Aristides* was condemned for extortion and ill behauiour in the common wealth, upon one *Diophantes* accusation, of the village of AMPHITROPE: who burdened him, that he tooke money of the IONIANS, to make the annuell tribute cease which they payed vnto ATHENS: and so *Craterus* sayeth, that bicause *Aristides* was not able to pay the fine they set upon his heade (which was fise Minas) he was driuen to forsake ATHENS, and to gette him into IONIA where he dyed. Yet doth not *Craterus* bring forth any probable matter to proue this true he wryeth: as his pleading, his sentence and condemnation, or any decree passed against him, although he vied great diligence else in collectinge all such matters, and vowching his authors. Furthermore, all other wryters that haue specially noted the fautes and offences, committed by the people of ATHENS in former times against their Captaines and gouernors: they do declare *Themistocles* exile, *Miltiades* captiuitie that dyed in prison, *Pericles* fine wherein he was condemned, and *Paches* death that slue him selfe in the pulpit for orations, when he sawe he was condemned: and tell diuerse such stories, addinge to also *Aristides* banishment: but yet they make no manner of mention of the condemnation which *Craterus* speaketh of. Moreover, *Aristides* tombe is to be seene at this day apop the hauen of Phalerus, which was set vp for him at the charge of the common wealth, as it is reported, bicause he dyed so poore a manne, as they founde nothing in his house to bury him with. Other go further, and say that his daughters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the common wealth, and that the cite gaue euery one of them three thousande Drachmas: and his sonne *Lysimachus*, a hundred Minas of siluer, and a hundred Iugera, and at *Alcibiades* request, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him foure Drachmas a day besides, of ordinarie allowance. Furthermore, when this *Lysimachus* dyed, he left aloue one onely daughter called *Polycrite*, whom the people appointed, as *Callisthenes* wryeth, as much prouisio to liue withall, as they gaue to any that wanne the Olympian games. And fithence, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Hieronymus* RHODIAN, *Aristoxenus* the musitian, and *Aristotle* the Philosopher, at the least if the booke intituled of Nobilitie be any of *Aristotles* workes: all these agree together, that one *Aristotle*,

A hard thing to away with pouerty. *Plato* may be ashamed of pouerty.

Aristides commended of *Plato*.

Aristides: to prouance *Themistocles*.

Aristides death.

Aristides condemned for extortion.

Aristides tombe.

The Athenians thankes *Polycrite* *Aristides* children.

Aristo, Aristides daughters daughter, was married vnto Socrates.

Aristides daughters daughter, was married vnto Socrates, who tooke her to his wife (ha- uing a wife already) because she was a poore widdow, & could not be married for her pouerty, hauing much a do to liue. Yet Panetius doth wryte against them, in his booke of Socrates life. But Demetrius PHALERIAN wryteth in his booke he intituled Socrates, that he could remem- ber very well he had seene one Lysimachus, Aristides sonnes sonne, or his daughters sonne, that was very poore, and liued of that he could get to interpret dreames; by certaine tables, when in was wrytten the arte to interpret the signification of dreames: and that he kept commonly about the temple of Bacchus called Iacchion, vnto whom, together with his mother and his sister, he sayd he had caused the people to geue them a Triobolum a peece, euery day towards their liuinge. It is very true that the selfe same Demetrius PHALERIAN, when he reformed the state of ATHENS, ordained that his mother and sister should haue ech of them a Drachma by the day to finde them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, nor straunge thing, that the people of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe, and to relieue, the wo- men that dwelt in the citie: considering that in times past, Aristogiton hauing a litle daughter in the Ile of LEMNOS, in very hard and poore state, and that could not be bestowed in mari- age for her pouerty, they caused her to be brought to ATHENS, and married her in one of the noblest houses of the city, and made her a ioynter besides in the village of POTAMOS. Which great curtesy & humanity of theirs, hath euer deserued great fame and commendacion, & yet cōtinueth euen vntil this day, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery man there.

The Atheni- ans commen- ded for their liberality.

THE LIFE OF Marcus Cato the Censor.



*M*arcus Cato and his auncesters, were (as they say) of the city of TUSCULUM: but before he went vnto the warres, and delt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt & liued in the contry of the SABYNES, vpon certeine land his father left him. And though to many, his aun- cesters were known to haue bene obscure: yet he him selfe did high- ly commende his father Marcus, by bearing his name, and saying he was a souldier, and had serued valliantly in the fieldes. And he telleth also of an other Cato that was his great grandfather, who for his val- liant seruice had bene oft rewarded of the generals, with such hono- rable

A table giftes, as the ROMAINES did vse to geue vnto them, that had done some famous act in any battell: and how that he hauing lost fine horses of seruice in the warres, the value of the same were restored to him againe in money of the common treasure, because he had shewed himselfe trusty and valliant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speeche at ROMA to call them vpslartes, that were no gentlemen borne, but did rise by vertue: it for- tuned Cato to be called one of them. And for his parte, he did confesse it, that he was of the first of the house that euer had honor, and office of state: but by reason of the noble actes and good seruice of his auncestors, he maintained he was very auncient. He was called at the be- ginning after his third name, *Priscus*: but afterwards by reason of his great wisdom and ex- perience, he was surnamed *Cato*, because the ROMAINES call a wise man, and him that hath seene much, *Cato*. He was somewhat geuen to be redde faced, and had a payer of staring eyes in his heade, as this man telleth vs, that for ill will wrote these verses of him after his death.

Cato called an vpslart.

The definition of this words Cato.

Pluto (the god) vvhich rules the furies infernall, will not receiue the damned ghost, of Porcius in his hall: his saucy coppered nose, and fiery staring eyes, his common laundrous tales, vvhich he did in this vvorlde denife, made Pluto stande in dread that he vvwould brauile in hell, although his bones vvere drie and dead, on earth he vvas so fell.

Furthermore, touchinge the disposition of his body, he was maruelous stronge and lusty, and all because he did vse to labor and toyle euen from his youth, and to liue sparingly, as one that was euer brought vp in the warres from his youth: so that he was of a very good consti- tution, both for strength of body, as for health also. As for vtterance, he esteemed it as a se- conde body, and most necessaric gift, not onely to make men honest, but also as a thinge very requisite for a man that should beare sway and authoritie in the common wealth. He practi- sed to speake well in litle villages neere home, whether he went many times to plead menes causes in courtes iudiciall, that would retaine him of counsell: so as in thortime he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in processe of time became an excellent orator. After he was thus well knowne, they that were familiar with him, began to perceiue a graue manner and behaiour in his life, and a certaine noble minde in him, worthe to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not onely refuse to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he maintained: but furthermore made no reckening of the estimation he wanne by that manner and practise, as though that was not the onely marke he shot at. But his desire reached further, rather to winne him selfe fame by seruice in the warres, and by valliant fightinge with his enemye: then with such a quiet and pleasing manner of life. Insomuch as when he was but a younge striplinge in manner, he had many cuttes upon his brest, which he had receiued in diuerse battells and en- counters against the enemies. For he him selfe wryteth, that he was but seuentene yeare old, when he went first vnto the warres, which was about the time of Hanniballs chiefe prosperi- tie, when he spoyled and destroyed all ITALIE. So when he came to fight, he would strike lus- tely, and neuer sturre foote nor geue backe, and would looke cruelly vpon his enemye, and threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voyce, which heuid him selfe, and wisely taught o- ther also to vse the like: for such countenances, sayd he, many times doe feare the enemies more, then the sworde ye offer them. When he went any iorney, he euer marched a foote, and caried his armour upon his backe, and had a man waytinge on him that caried his vittells with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they say) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or supper, but did helpe to dresse it him selfe for the most parte, if he had any leasure, when he had done the duty of a priuate souldier in fortifying the campe, or such other nede- full businesse. All the while he was abroad in seruice in the warres, he neuer dranke other then cleane water, vnlesse it were when he founde he was not well, and then he would rake a litle vineger: but if he saw he were weake, he would then drinke a litle wine. Now it fortun- ed, that *Manius Curius* the ROMAYNE, who had triumphed thrise, hadde a pretty house and lande hard by Cato, where he kept in times past, which Cato for a walke would visite oft. And he considering how litle lande he had to his house, and what a litle house he had withall, and

Cato: manly and life.

Cato an excel- lens orator.

Cato a souldier at 17. yeares of age.

A grime look, growth terror to the enemy.

This Manius Curius over- threw kinge Pyrrus beinge generall of the Twines.

Cato the elder, wondered at the virtues of Minus Curius.

The moderation of Minus Curius.

Nearchus the Pythagorian Philosopher, Cato's school-master. Platoes opinion of pleasure.

Cato learned the Greeke tongue in his old age. Cato professed iust by Demosthenes eloquence. Valerius Flaccus a great wise man.

Cato's strange life.

Cato goeth to Rome by Valerius Flaccus persuasion.

Cato chosen Tribune militum. Cato's office in the Senate. Cato followed Fabius Maximus.

how poorly it was built, wondered with him selfe what maner of man *Curius* had bene, that hauing bene the greatest man of *ROME* in his time, and hauing subdued the mightiest nations and people of all *ITALIE*, and driuen kinge *Pyrrhus* also out of the same: yet him selfe with his owne handes did manure that litle patche of grounde, and dwel in so poore and small a farme. Whether notwithstanding after his three triumphes, the *SANNYTES* sent their Ambassadors to visite him, who founde him by the fyers side seething of perleeneapes, and presented him a maruelous deale of golde from their state and communalty. But *Curius* returned them againe with their gold, and told them, that such as were contented with that supper, had no neede of gold nor siluer: and that for his parte, he thought it greater honor to commaunde them than had gold, then to haue it him selfe. *Cato* remembering these thinges to him selfe, went home againe, and beganne to thinke vpon his house, of his liuinge, of his family and seruantes, and also of his expences: and to cut of all superfluous charges, and fell him selfe to labor with his owne handes, more then euer he hadde done before. Furthermore, when *Fabius Maximus* tooke the city of *TARENTVM* againe, *Cato* serued vnder him being very younge, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with *Nearchus* the *Pythagorian* philosopher, in whom he tooke maruelous delight to heare him talke of Philosophy. Which *Nearchus* held the same opinion of pleasure, that *Plato* did, by callinge it the sweete poyson and chiefe bayte to allure men to ill: and saying that the body was the first plague vnto the soule, and that her onely health, remedy, and purgation stode apon rules of reason, good examples and contemplations, that drie sinful thoughts and carnall pleasures of the body, farre off from her. *Cato* moreouer gaue him selfe much to sobriety and temperance, and framed him selfe to be contented with litle. They say he fell in his very olde age to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited somewhat by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demosthenes*, to frame his matter, and also to be eloquent. Which plainly appeareth, in all his bookes and writings, full of authorities, examples, & stories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his sentences and moralls, his adages & quicke answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a noble man of *ROME* at that time, one of great authoritie, and a deepe wise man besides, who coule easily discern buddes of vertue sprouting out of any towards youth, who was of a good and honorable disposition to helpe forward, and to aduance such. His name was *Valerius Flaccus*, a neere neighbour vnto *Cato*, who was informed by his seruants of *Cato's* strange life, how he would be doing in his ground with his owne hands: and how he would be gone euery day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleade mens causes that prayed his counsaill, & that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but cast a litle coate on his shoulders, and being sommer he would go out bare, naked to the waft, to worke in his ground among his seruants and other workemen: & would besides, sit and eate with them together at one borde, and drinke as they did. Moreover, they told him also a word of such maners & facions which he vsed, that he wed to be a maruelous plaine man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they tolde him what notable wise sayings and graue sentences they heard him speake. *Valerius Flaccus* hearing this reporte of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with *Cato*, and perceiuing he was of a very good nature, and wel giuen, & that he was a good griffe to be set in a better ground: he perswaded him to come to *ROME*, and to practise there in the assembly of the people, in the common causes and affayres of the common weale. *Cato* followed his counsaill, who hauing bene no long practiser among them, did grow straight into great estimation, and wanne him many friends, by reason of the causes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken also, by meanes of the speciall fauour and countenance *Valerius Flaccus* gaue him. For first of all, by voyce of the people he was chosen Tribune of the souldiers, (to say, colonell of a thousand footemen) & afterwards was made treasurer: and so went forwards, and grew to so great credit & authority, as he became *Valerius Flaccus* copanion in the chiefe offices of state, being chosen Consul with him, & then Censor. But to begin withal, *Cato* made choise of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, about all the Senators of *ROME*, & gaue him selfe to follow him altogether: & not so much for the credit & estimation *Fabius Maximus* was of, (who therein exceeded all the *ROMAINES* of that time)

A time) as for the modesty and discrete government he sawe in him, whome he determined to followe, as a worthy myrror and example. At which time *Cato* passed not for the malice and euill will of *Scipio* the great, who did strue at that present being but a young man, with the authoritie and greatnesse of *Fabius Maximus*, as one that seemed to enuy his risinge and greatnesse. For *Cato* being sent treasurer with *Scipio*, when he vndertooke the iorney into *AFRIKE*, and perceiuing *Scipio's* bountifull nature and disposition to large giftes without meane to the souldiers: he tolde him plainly one day, that he did not so much hurte the common weale in walking their treasure, as he did great harme in chaunging the auncient maner of their ancestors: who vsed their souldiers to be contented with litle, but he taught them to spende their superfluous money (all necessaries provided for) in vaine toyes and trifles, to serue their pleasures. *Scipio* made him answer, he woulde haue no treasurer (shoulde controll him in that sorte, nor that should looke so narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the wars, with full sayles as it were, and that he woulde (and did also determine to) make the state priue to all his doinges, but not to the money he spent. *Cato* hearing this answer, returned with speede out of *SICILE* vnto *ROME*, crying out with *Fabius Maximus* in open Senate, that *Scipio* spent infinitely, and that he tended playes, commedies, and wrellinges, as if he had not bene sent to make warres, inuasions, and attemptes apon their enemies. Apon this complaint the Senate appointed certeine Tribunes of the people, to goe and see if their informations were true: and finding them so, that they should bring him backe againe to *ROME*. But *Scipio* thewed farre otherwise to the commisioners that came thither, and made them see apparaunt victorye, through the necessary preparation and prouision he had made for the warres: and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great businesse, and was at any leasure, he would be priuately merry with his friends: and though he was liberal to his souldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duty and charge in any matter of importance. So *Scipio* took that shippinge, and sayled towards *AFRIKE*, whether he was sent to make warre. Now to returne to *Cato*. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, so that diuerse called him the *Demosthenes* of *ROME*: howbeit the maner of his life was in more estimation, then his eloquence. For all the youth of *ROME* did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendation of wordes, and one enuied an other which of them should come nearest: but few of them would fyle their handes with any labor as their forefathers did, and make a light supper and dinner, without fire or prouision, or would be content with a meane gowne, and a poore lodging, & finally woulde thinke it more honorable to desye fanfies & pleasures, then to haue and enioy them. Bicause the state was waxen now of such power & wealth, as it could no more retaine the auncient discipline, and former austeritie and straitnes of life it vsed: but by reason of the largenes of their dominion and feignorie, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their subiects, it was euen forced to receiue a medley of sundry contrary facions, examples, and maners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at *Cato's* vertue, when they sawe other straight wearied with paines and labor, tenderly brought vp like pulers: and *Cato* on the other side neuer ouercommen, either with the one or with the other, nor not in his youth, when he most couered honor, nor in his age also when he was gray headed and balde, after his Consulship and triumphe, but like a conqueror that had gotten the maistry, he would neuer geue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he writeth him selfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backe that cost him aboue a hundred pence, & that his hyndes and worke men alwayes dronke no worse wine, when he was Consul and general of the armie, then he did him selfe: and that his cater neuer bestowed in meate for his supper, aboue thirty Asses of *ROMAINE* money, and yet he sayed it was; bicause he might be the stronger, and apter to do seruice in the warres for his contrie and the common weale. He sayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his friends that dyed, he had a peece of tapestry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the babilonian border, and he caused it straight to be solde: and that of all his houses he had abroade in the contrie, he had not one wth plattered, nor rough cast. Moreover he would say, he neuer bought bondeman or slaue dearer, then a thowfande five hundred pence, as one that sought not for fine made men, and goodly personages, but strong fellowes that could away with paynes, as carters, horsekeepers,

Cato's emulation of Scipio the great.

Cato beinge treasurer vnder Scipio Africanus, reproved him for his wastfull expences.

Cato accuseth Scipio of riot.

Cato's eloquence, his continent life, and extreme paynes.

Cato's wonderful thrift.

neatheardes, and such like : and againe he woulde sell them when they were olde , bicause he would not keepe them when they coulde do no seruice. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a manne bought any thing deere, that was for litle purpose: yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it to much to bestow so litle, for that which needed not. He woulde haue men purchase houses, that hadde more store of erable lande and pasture, then of fine orteyardes or gardens. Some saye, he hidde thus, for very miserie and couetousnesse: other thinke, and tooke it that he liued so sparingly, to moue others by his example to cutte off all superfluitie and wast. Neuerthelesse, to sell slaues in that sorte, or to turne them out of doores when you haue hadde the seruice of all their youth, and that they are growen olde, as you vse brute beastes that haue serued whilist they may for age: me thinkes that must needs proceede of to seuaire and greedie nature, that hath no longer regard or consideration of humanitie, then whilist one is able to doe an other good. For we see, gentleness goeth further then iustice. For nature teacheth vs to vse iustice onely vnto menne, but gentleness sometimes is shewed vnto brute beastes: and that cometh from the very fountaine and springe of all curtesie and humanitie, which shoulde neuer drye vp in any manne liuinge. For to saye truely, to keepe cast horses spoyled in our seruice, and dogges also not onely when they are whelpes, but when they be olde: be euen tokens of loue and kindenesse. As the ATHENIANS made a lawe, when they builded their temple called Hecatompedon: that they shoulde suffer the moyles and mulettes that did seruice in their cariages about the buildinge of the same, to graze euerie where, without lette or trouble of any manne. And they say, there was one of those moyles thus turned at libertie, that came of her selfe to the place to labour, goinge before all the other draught beastes, that drewe vpp cartes loden towards the castell, and kept them companie, as though she seemed to encorage the rest to drawe: which the people liked so well in the poore beast, that they appointed she shoulde be kept whilist sheliued, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this present are the graues of Cimon mares to be seene, that wanne him thrife together the game of the horse race at the games Olympian, and they are harde by the graue of Cimon him selfe. We heare of diuerse also that hadde buried their dogges they brought vpp in their house, or that wayted on them: as amonge other olde Xanthippus buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit till this day. For when the people of ATHENS did forsake their cite at the comminge downe of Xerxes the kinge, this dogge followed his master, swimminge in the sea by his gallies side, D from the firme lande, vnto the Ile of SALAMINA. And there is no reason, to vse liuinge and sensible thinges, as we woulde vse an olde shoore or a ragge: to cast it out upon the dongehill when we haue worne it, and can serue vs no longer. For if it were for no respectels, but to vse vs alwayes to humanitie: we must euer shewe our felues kinde and gentle, euen in such small poyntes of pitie. And as for me, I coulde neuer finde in my hart to sell my draught Ox that hadde plowed my lande a long time, bicause he coulde plowe no longer for age: and much lesse my slaue to sell him for a litle money, out of the contrie where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his olde trade of life wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shalbe as vnprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller. But Cato on the other side gloried, that he left his horse in SPAYNE he had serued on in the warres duringe his E Consulship, bicause he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing of him home by sea into ITALIE. Now a question might be made of this, and probable reason of either side, whether this was nobles, or a niggardlines in him: but otherwise to say truely, he was a man of a wonderful abstinence. For when he was general of the army, he neuer tooke allowance but after three bushells wheat a moneth of the common wealth, for him selfe and his whole family: and but a bushell and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horse and other beastes for his cariage. On a time when he was Prætor, the government of the Ile of SARDINIA fell to his lot. And where the other Prætors before him hadde put the contry to exceeding great charge, to furnish them with tents, bedding, clothes, and such like stufte, and burdened them also with a maruelous traine of seruants and their friends that waited on them, putting them to great expence of feasting and banquetting of them: Cato in contrary maner brought downe all that excess and superfluitie, vnto a maruelousnece and vncredible sauinge. For when

Cato's sheep-
me.Gentleness
goeth further
then iustice.
Gentleness is
be used vnto
brute beastes.A gentle lawe
made by the
Athenians in
fauour of their
labouring
moyles.Xanthippus
buried his
dogge, then
found by his
gallies side
from Athens
to Salamina,
and dyed whil
he landed.Cato's straight
life.
Cato, Prætor
in Sardinia.

A he went to visite the cities, he came a foote to them, & did not put them to a penny charge for him selfe: and had onely one officer or bailife of the state, that waited on him, and caried his gowne and a cuppe with him, to offer vp wine to the goddes in his sacrifices. But though he came thus simply to the subiects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed him selfe seuer and bitter to them in matters concerning iustice: and spared no man, in any commaundment or seruice for the state and common wealth. For he was therein so precise, that he would not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS vnder his government, both to loue and feare the Empire of ROME, more then euer they did before. For his grace both in speakinge and wrytinge did rightly shewe him selfe: bicause it was pleasant, and yet graue: sweete and fearfull: merry and seuaire: sententious, and yet familiar: such as is meeete to be spoken. And he was to be compared, as Plato sayed, vnto Socrates: who at the first sight seemed a plaine simple manne to them that knew him not outwardly, or else a pleasant tawnter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him thoroughly, they sawe he was full of graue sentences, goodly examples, and wise perswasions, that he coulde make men water their plantes that hearde him, and leade them as he would by the eare. Therefore I can not see any reason that moues men to saye, Cato hadde Lysias grace and vterance. Notwithstandinge, lette vs referre it to their iudgements that make profession to discern orators graces and styles: for my parte I shall content my selfe to write at this present, onely certaine of his notable sayings and sentences, perswadinge my selfe that mennes manners are better discerned by their wordes, then by their lookes, and so doe many thinke.

C On a time he seeking to disswade the people of ROME, which woulde needes make a thankfull distribution of corne vnto euerie citizen, to no purpose: beganne to make an oration with this preface. It is a harde thinge (my Lordes of ROME) to bringe the bellie by perswasion to reason, that hath no eares. And another time, reprouinge the ill government of the cite of ROME, he sayed: it was a hard thinge to keepe vpp that state, where a litle fishe was folde dearer then an Ox. He sayed also that the ROMAINS were like a flocke of sheepe. For sayeth he, as euery weather when he is alone, doth not obey the sheepeheard, but when they are all together they one followe an other for loue of the foremost: euen so are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be ledde by the noses by such, whose counsell not a man alone of you woulde vse in any priuate cause of your owne. And talkinge an other time D of the authoritie the women of ROME had ouer their husbandes. He sayed: other men commaunde their wiues, and we commaunde men, and our wiues commaund vs. But this last of all, he borrowed of Themistocles pleasant sayings. For his sonne making him do many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day. The ATHENIANS commaund al GREECE, sayinge. I commaunde the ATHENIANS, you commaunde me, and your sonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him vse the libertie he hath with some better discretion, foole and asse as he is, sithence he can doe more by that power and authority, then all the GREECIANS besides. He sayed also that the people of ROME did not onely delight in diuerse sortes of purple, but likewise in diuerse sortes of exercises. For sayd he, as diuerse commonly dye that cullour they see best esteemed, and is most pleasant to the eye: euen for the lusty youthe of ROME doe frame them selues to such exercise, as they see your felues most like, and best esteeme. He continually aduised the ROMAINS, that if their power & greatnes came by their vertue and temperance, they shoulde take hede they became no chaungelings, nor waxe worse: & if they came to that greatnes by vice and violence, that then they shoulde change to better, for by that meanes he knew very wel they had attained to great honor & dignity. Again he told the, that such as sued ambitiously to beare office in the common wealth, & were common suters for them: did seme to be afraid to lose their way, & therefore would be sure to haue vthers & sergeants before the, to shew them the way. Least they shoulde lose themselves in the city. He did reprove them also; that often chose one man, to continue one office fill: for it seemeth, saith he, either that you passe not much for your officers, or that you haue not many choicemē you thinke worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that ledde a maruelous wicked and an abominable life, F of whome he was wont to say, that when his mother prayed vnto the goddes that she might leaue her sonne behinde her, she did not thinke to pray, but to curse: meaninge to haue him.

Cato's meere-
ness in his cir-
cuise.Cato's seueri-
ty.Cato's speech
and writinge.The praise of
Socrates.Cato's sym-
ing.Themistocles
sayings.Honor men-
their wits.Cato, against
offices of per-
petuity.

liue for a plague to the world. And to another also that had vntrifely folde his lands which his father had left him, lying vpon the sea side: he pointed vnto them with his finger, & made as though he wondered how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger then the sea. For that which the sea hardly consumeth, and eateth into, by litle and litle a long time: he had consumed it all at a clappe. An other time when king *Eumenes* was come to *Rome*, the Senate entertained him maruelous honorably, and the noblest citizens did strue, enuying one another, who should welcome him best. But *Cato* in contrary manner shewed plainly, that he did suspect all this feasting and entertainment, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar frendes tolde him, I maruell why you flee from king *Eumenes* companie, that is so good a Prince, and loues the *ROMAINES* so well. Yea, sayd he, let it be so, but for all that, a king is no better then a raueing beast that liues of the pray: neither was there euer any king so happie, that defereed to be compared to *Eparinondas*, to *Pericles*, to *Themistocles*, nor to *Manius Curius*, or to *Hamylcar*, furnished *Barca*. They say his enemies did malice him, because he vsed commonly to rise before day, & did forget his owne busines to folow matters of state. And he affirmed, that he had rather loofe the rewarde of his well doing, then not to be punished for doing of euill: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorantly, but not with him selfe. The *ROMAINES* hauing chofen on a time three Ambassadors to send into the realme of *Bithynia*, one of them hauing the gowte in his feete, the other his heade full of cuttes and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: *Cato* laughing, sayd the *ROMAINES* sent an Ambassade that had neither feete, heade, nor hart. *Scipio* liued once to *Cato* at *Polybius* request, about those that were banished from *Achaia*. The matter was argued afterwards in the Senate, and there fell out diuers opinions about it. Some would haue had them restored to their contrie and goodes againe: other were wholly against it. So *Cato* rising vp at the last, sayd vnto them. It seemes we haue lide else to do, when we stand beating of our braines all day, disputing about these olde *GREECIANS*, whether the *ROMAINES*, or the *ACHAIANS*, shall bury them. In the end, the Senate tooke order, they should be restored vnto their contrie againe. Wherevpon *Polybius* thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the banished men whom they hadde restored by their order, might enioy their former estates and honors in *Achaia*, they had at the time of their banishment: but before he would moue the sute vnto the Senate, he would feece *Catoes* opinion first, what he thought of it. Who answered him, smyling: me thinkes *Polybius* thou art like *Vlyses*, that when he had escaped out of *D* *Cyclops* caue the gyant, he would nedes go thither againe, to fetch his hatte and girdell he had left behinde him there. He sayd also, that wife men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wife men. For wife men sayd he, do see the faults fooles commit, and can wisely auoide them: but fooles neuer study to follow the example of wife mens doings. He sayd also that he euer liked young men better that blushed, then those that looked euer whitely: and that he would not haue him for a souldier, that waggis his hande as he goeth, remoues his feete when he sighteth, and rowteth and snorteth lowder in his sleepe, then when he crieth out to his enemy. An other time when he would taunt a maruelous fatte man: see, sayd he, what good can such a body do to the common wealth, that from his chinne to his codpeece is nothing but belly? And to an other man that was geuen to pleasure, and desired to be great with him: my frende, sayd *Cato*, as refusinge his acquaintance: I can not liue with him that hath better iudgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his hart. This was also his sayings, that the soule of a louer, liued in an others body: and that in all his life time he repented him of three things. The first was, if that he euer tolde secret to any woman: the seconde, that euer he went by water, when he might haue gone by lande: the thirde, that he had bene idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious olde man, he would say, to reprove him: O gray bearde, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not besides with your vice. And to a seditious Tribune of the people that was suspected to be a paysoner, and would nedes passe some wicked law by voyce of the people, he would say: o young man, I know not which of these two be worfe, to drinke the drugges thou geuest, or to receiue the lawes thou offerest. An other time, being reuiled by one that ledde a lewde, and naughty life go thy way, sayd he, I am no man to scold with thee. For thou art so vsed to reuile, and to be reuiled,

Cato would punish him selfe for offending.

That is to say undisciplined. For they judged that the seat of reason was placed in the hart: following Aristotle's opinion.

Blushing in young men is a better token then paleness.

A lover liueth in an other body.

A reuiled, that it is not daynty to thee: But for my selfe, I neuer vse to heare scolding, and much lesse delite to scold. These be his wife sayings we finde written of him, whereby we may the easilier coniecture his maners and nature. Now, when he was chofen Consul with his frend *Valerius Flaccus*, the gouernment of *SPAYNE* fell to his lot, that is on this side of the riuer of *BETIS*. So, *Cato* hauing subdued many people by force of armes, and wonne others also by friendly meanes: sodainly there came a maruelous great army of the barbarous people against him, & had enuironed him so, as he was in maruelous daunger, either shamefully to be taken prisoner, or to be slaine in the fildes. Wherefore, he sent presently vnto the *CELTIBERIANES*, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours vnto the marches where he was. These *CELTIBERIANES* did aske him two hundred talentes to come & help him: but the *ROMAINES* that were about him, coule not abide to hyer the barbarous people to defende them. Then *Cato* tolde them straight, there was no hurt in it, nor any dishonor vnto them. For sayd he, if the fildes be ours, then we shall pay their wages we promised, with the spoyle and money of our enemies: and if we loofe it, then our selues and they lye by it, beinge left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the ende he wanne the battel, after a fore conflict, and after that time he hadde maruelous good fortune. For *Polybius* wryteth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this side the riuer of *BETIS*, were by his commaundement rased all in one day, which were many, and full of good souldiers. Him selfe wryteth, that he tooke moe cities in *SPAYNE*, then he remained there dayes: and it is no vaine boast, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of the. Now, though the souldiers vnder him had gotten well in this iorney, and were riche, yet he caused a pounce weight of siluer to be geuen to e- uery souldier besides: sayinge, he liked it better that many should retume home with siluer in their purses, then a few of them with golde only. But for him selfe, he affirmed: that of all the spoyle gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thing, sauinge that which he tooke in meate and drinke. And yet, sayth he, I speake it not to reprove them that grow riche by such spoiles: but because I would contende in vertue rather with the best, then in money with the richest, or in couetousnes with the most vertuous. For, not only he him selfe was cleare from bribes and extortion, but his officers also vnder him kept the same course. In this Spanish iorney, he had siue of his seruantes with him, whereof one of them called *Paullus*, bought three younge boyes that were taken in the warres, when the spoile was sold to them that would geue most. So *Cato* knew it. But *Paullus* being afrayed to come neere his maister, hong him selfe: and then *Cato* solde the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treasury chestes of fau- ing at *Rome*. Now while *Cato* was in *SPAYNE*, *Scipio* the great that was his enemy, & fought to hinder the course of his prosperitie, and to haue the honor of conqueringe all the rest of *SPAYNE*: he made all the frendes he coule to the people, to be chofen in *Catoes* place. He was no sooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible speede he coule to be gone, that he might make *Catoes* authority cease the sooner. *Cato* hearing of his hasty comming, tooke only iue enignes of footemen, and siue hundred horsemen to attende vpon him home: with the which, in his iorney homeward, he ouercame a people in *SPAYNE* called the *LACETANIANES*, and tooke siue hundred traitors also that were fled from the *ROMAINES* campe to their enemies, and did put to death euery mothers childe of them. *Scipio* storming at that, sayd *Cato* did him wrong. But *Cato* to mocke him finely, sayd: it was the right way to bringe *Rome* to flourish, when noble borne citizens would not suffer in meane borne men, and vplift as him selfe was, to go before them in honor: and on the other side when meane borne men would contende in vertue, with those that were of noblest race, and farre about them in calling. For all that, when *Cato* came to *Rome*, the Senate commaunded that nothing shoulde be chaunged nor altered otherwise, then *Cato* had appointed it, whilst he was in his office. So that the gouernment for which *Scipio* made such earnest sute in *SPAYNE*, was a greater disgrace vnto him, then it was vnto *Cato*: because he passed all his time & office in peace, trauing no occasion offered him to doe any notable seruice worthy memory. Furthermore, *Cato* after he had bene Consul, and hadde graunted to him the honor to triumphe: did not as many others doe, that seeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honor and dignity. Who, when they haue bene called to the highest offices of state, as to be Consuls, and haue also graunted them the honor

Cato, and Valerius Flaccus Consul. Catoes doings in Spayne.

Catoes abstinen- ce, from spoyle and bribery.

Disorde betweene Cato & Scipio.

Cato ouercame the Lacetanians.

Cato after
after his con-
full triumphe.

The power of
Antiochus
the great.

Cato mocked
Posthumus
Albinus at Ro-
maine, for
writing a story
in the Greeke
tongue.

King Antiochus
army.

Catoe daings
against king
Antiochus.

to triumphe: do then leaue to deale any more in matters of state, & dispose them selues to liue a
merely and quietly at home, and not to trouble them selues any more. Now *Cato*, farre other-
wife behaued him selfe. For he would neuer leaue to exercise vertue, but beganne a frethe, as
if he had bene but a young nouelle in the world, and as one greedy of honor and reputation,
and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleasure his friends or any o-
ther citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their causes for them that requi-
red his counsell, and go with his frendes also into the warres. As he went with *Tiberius Sem-
pronius* the Consul, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conquest of the contry of *Thrace*,
and vnto the prouinces adioyning to the riuier of *Danvye* upon those marches. After that,
he was in *Greece* also, Collonell of a thousande footemen, vnder *Manius Aquilius*, against
king *Antiochus* the great, who made the *Romaines* as much afrayed of him, as
quier they were of enemy but *Hannibal*. For, when he had conquered all the regions and pro-
uinces of *Asia*, which *Seleucus Nicanor* enjoyed before, & had subdued many barbarous and
warlike nations: he was so proude harted, as he would nedes haue wars with the *Romaines*,
whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some
honest shew and pretence of warres, saying: it was to set the *Greeks* at liberty, who had
no cause thereof, considering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered
from the bondage of king *Philip*, and of the *Macedonians*, through the goodnesse of the
Romaines. Notwithstanding, he came out of *Asia* into *Greece* with a maruelous great
army, and all *Greece* was straight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, bicause of the great
promises and large hopes the gouernours of diuerse cities (whome the kinge had wonne and
corrupted with money) did make vnto them. Whereupon *Manius* dispatched Ambassadors
vnto the cities, and sent *Titus Quintus Flaminius* amongst others, who kept the greatest parte
of the people from rebelling (that were easily drawn to geue eare to this innouation) as we
haue expresse more amply in his life: and *Cato* beinge sent Ambassador also, perswaded the
Corinthians, those of *Patras*, and the *Argians*, and made them stickle still to the *Ro-
maines*, and continued a long time at *Athens*. Some say they finde an oration of his wy-
ten in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the *Athenians*, in commendacion of
their ancestors: wherein he sayd, he tooke great pleasure to see *Athens*, for the beauty and
stateliness of the city. But this is false. For he spake vnto the *Athenians* by an interpreter,
though he could haue vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had bene disposed: but
he did like the lawes and customes of his owne contrie, and the *Romaine* tongue so well,
that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once
mocke *Posthumus Albinus*, who wrote an history in the Greeke tongue, praying the readers in
his preface to beare with him, if they founde any imperfection in the tongue: may, sayd *Cato*,
he had deserued pardon in deede, if he hadde bene forced to haue written his story in the
Greeke tongue, by order of the states of *Greece*, called the counsell of the *Amphictyons*. They
say the *Athenians* wondered to heare his redy tongue. For what he had vttered quickly in
few words vnto the interpreter: the interpreter was driuen to deliuer them againe with great
circumstances, & many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the *Greeks* words
lay all in their lippes, and the *Romaines* wordes in their heades. Now kinge *Antiochus* kept
all the straights and narrow passages of the mountaines called *Thermopyles*, (beinge the
ordinary way and entry into *Greece*) and had fortified them as well with his army that camp-
ed at the foote of the mountaine, as also with walles and trenches he had made by hande, be-
sides the naturall strength & fortification of the mount it selfe in sundry places: and so he de-
termined to remaine there, trusting to his owne strength and fortifications aforesayd, and to
turne the force of the warres some other way. The *Romaines* also, they dispatched vnto
they should be able any way to charge him before. But *Cato* remembreing with him selfe the
compasse the *Persians* hadde fetched about before time likewise to enter into *Greece*: he
departed one night from the campe with parte of the army: to proue if he could finde the ve-
ry compasse about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed vp the moun-
taine, their guide that was one of the prisoners taken in the contrie, lost his way, and made
them wander vp and downe in maruelous steepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore
souldiers

A souldiers were in maruelous ill taking. *Cato* seeing the daunger they were brought into by this
lewde guide, commanded all his souldiers not to sturre a foote from thence, and to tary him
there: and in the meane time he went him selfe alone, and *Lucius Manlius* with him (a lustie
man, and nimble to chuse upon the rockes) and so went forwarde at aduenture, takinge ex-
treme and vncredible paine, & in as much daunger of his life: grubbing all night in the darke
without moone light, through wilde Olyue trees, and high rockes (that let them they could
not see before them, neither could tell whether they went) vntill they stumbled at the length
vpon a litle pathe way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine,
where the campe of the enemies lay. So they set vpon certaine markes and tokens, vpon the
highest toppes of the rockes they coulde chooſe, by view of eye to be discerned furthest of v-
pon the mountaine called *Callidromus*. And when they had done that, they returned backe
again to fetch the souldiers, whom they led towards their markes they had set vp: vntill at
the length they founde their pathe waye againe, where they putte their souldiers in order to
marche. Now they went not farre in this pathe they founde, but the way failed them straight,
and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worle case then before, and in greater
feare, not knowinge they were so neere their enemies, as in deede they were. The day began
to breake a litle, and one of them that marched foremost, thought he hearde a noyse, and that
he saw the *Greeks* campe at the foote of the rockes, and certaine souldiers that kept watch
there. Whereupon *Cato* made them stay, & willed only the *Firmanians* to come vnto him,
and none but them, bicause he had founde them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his
commandement. They were with him at a trife to know his pleasure: so *Cato* said vnto them.
My fellows, I must haue some of our enemies taken prisoners, that I may know of them who
they be that keepe that passage, what number they be, what order they keepe, howe they are
camped and armed, and after what sorte they determine to fight with vs. The way to worke
this feate, standeth upon swiftnesse, and hardines to runne upon them sodainly, as Lyons doe,
which beinge naked feare not to runne into the midst of any hearde of fearful beastes. He
had no sooner spoken these wordes, but the *Firmanian* souldiers beganne to runne downe
the mountaine, as they were, upon those that kept the watch: and so settinge upon them, they
beinge out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man prisoner. When they had him,
they straight brought him vnto *Cato*, who by othe of the prisoner was aduertised, howe that
the strength of their enemies armie was lodged about the persone of the kinge, within the
straight and valley of the said mountaine: and that the souldiers they saw, were fixe hundred
Etolians, all braue souldiers, whome they had chosen and appointed to keepe the toppe
of the rockes ouer king *Antiochus* campe. When *Cato* had heard him, makinge small accompt
of the matter, as well for their final number, as also for the ill order they kept: he made the
trompets founde straight, and his souldiers to marche in battell with great cries, him selfe be-
ing the foremost man of all his troupe, with a sword drawn in his hand. But when the *Et-
olians* saw them comming downe the rockes towards them, they beganne to flie for life vn-
to their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all disorder. Now *Manlius*
at the same present also, gaue an assault vnto the walles and fortifications the king had made,
E ouerthrow the vallies and straightes of the mountaines: at which assault, king *Antiochus* selfe
had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake some of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for
very paine & anguish he felt, he turned his horse backe, and got him behinde the prease. And
then there were none of his armie that made any more resistance, or that coulde abide the
fiercenesse of the *Romaines*. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, bi-
cause it was vnpossible for them to scatter and straggle, beinge holden in with high rockes on
the one side of them, and with bogges and deepe marishes on the other side, which they must
needes fall into if their feete slipped, or were thrust forwarde by any: yet they fell one upon an-
other in the straights, and ranne so in heapes together, that they cast them selues away, for
feare of the *Romaines* swordes that lighted vpon them in euery corner. And there *Mar-
cus Cato*, that neuer made ceremony or nifenes to praise him selfe openly, nor reckened it any
shame to do it: did take a present occasion for it, as fallerth out upon all victory and famous ex-
ploites. And so did set it out with all the ostentacion and braue wordes he could geue. For he

Mount Cal-
lidromus.

Catoe oration
to his sould-
iers.

The boldnes
and valiant
attempts of
Catoe souldiers.
Catoe aduer-
tised of the
strength of king
Antiochus
campe.

Catoe took the
straight of
Thermopyles.

King Antiochus
has in the face with
a stone.

Catoe with-
out of kinge
Antiochus.

Cato would
praise his
owne doings.

Manius sen-
deth Cato to
Rome to carry
newes of the
victory.

Cato an ac-
cuser of men.

Cato fifty
times accus-
ed.

The dignity
and office of
the Censor.

wrote with his owne handes, that such as saw him chafe and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driuen to say, that Cato was not bound to the ROMAINES, but the ROMAINES bound vnto Cato. And then Manius the Consull selfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced Cato a great while, that was alio horre with chafing of the enemy: and spake alowde with great ioy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of Rome could recompence Cato for his valliant seruice that day. After this battell, the Consull Manius sent Cato to Rome, to be the messenger him selfe to reporte the newes of the victory. So he imbarked incontinently, and had such a fayer winde, that he passed ouer the sea to BRINDES without any daunger, and went from thence vnto TARENTVM in one day, and from TARENTVM in foure dayes more to Rome. And so he came to Rome in fise dayes after his landing in ITALIE, and made such speede, that him selfe was in deede the first messenger that brought newes of the victorie. Whereupon he filled all Rome with ioy and sacrifices, and made the ROMAINES so proude, that euer after they thought them selues able men to conquer the worlde both by sea and lande. And these be all the martiall deedes and noble actes Cato did. But for his doings in ciuill policie and state, he firmed to be of this opinion. That to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thinge an honest man and good gouernour of the common wealth coulde employ him selfe vnto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be shorthe, he did alwayes stirre vp some accuser, as he did *Petilius* against *Scipio*. But *Scipio*, by reason of his nobility, the greatnes of his house, and the magnanimity of his minde, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all feare, they shoulde be able to condemne him. And so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he ioynd with other that accused *Lucius Scipio*, his owne brother, and followed the matter foore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the comon wealth: who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people reuoked his condemnation. It is sayd that Cato comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a younge manne by the way that had ouerthrowen his aduersary in sute, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame and foyle before the people: he embraced him with a good countenance, and sayd vnto him. Oh my sonne, sacrifices that good children shoulde offer to their fathers soule, be not lammes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free him selfe from daunger in administration of the comon wealth. For if they could katch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost a fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of foure score yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thinge to geue vp an accompt of his life before men in any other world, then in this among whom he liued. And yet was not this the last sute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was foure score and tenne yeares of age, he accused *Seruius Galba*. And thus he liued as *Nesfor*, in maner three ages of man, alwayes in continual sute and action. For when he wrestled with the first *Scipio* the AFRICAN about matters of state and common wealth: he went on vnto the time of the seconde, that was adopted by the first *Scipios* sonne, the naturall sonne of *Paulus Aemilius*, who ouercame *Perseus*, king of MACEDON. Furthennore, *Marcus Cato*, tenne yeares after his Consullship, sued to be Censor, which was in Rome the greatest office of dignity that any citizen of Rome could attaine vnto: and as a man may say, the roome of all glory and honor of their common wealth. For among other authorities the Censor had power to examine mens liues & maners, and to punish euery of fendor. For the ROMAINES were of that minde, that they woulde not haue men marry, geue children, liue priuately by them selues, and make feastes and banquettes at their pleasure, but that they shoulde stande in feare to be reprovnd and inquired of by the magistrate: and that it was not good to geue euery body liberty, to doe what they would, following his owne lust and fanisie. And they iudging that mens naturall dispositions doe appeare more in such things, then in all other things: that are openly done at none dayes, and in the sight of the worlde: vied to chooe two Censors, that were two Surueyors of maners, to see that euery man behaued him selfe vertuouly, and gaue not them selues to pleasure, nor to breake the lawes and customes of

A of the common wealth. These officers were called in their tongue, *Censores*, and alwayes of custome one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a commoner. These two had power and authority to disgrace a knight by taking away his horse, & to put any of the Senate, whom they saw liue dissolutely and disorderly. It was their office also, to cease and rate euery citizen according to the estimation of their goodes, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of euery man, and to keepe bookes of them, besides many other prerogatiues they had belonging to their office. Therefore when Cato came to sue for this office among other, the chiefeest Senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very enuy, thinkinge it shame and dishonor to the nobility, to suffer menne that were meanly borne, and vpsitares (the first of their house and name, that euer came to beare office in the state) to be called & preferred vnto the highest offices of state in all their common wealth. Other also that were ill liuers, & knowing that they had offended the lawes of their contry: they feared his cruelty to much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, hauing the law in his owne hands. So when they had consulted together about it, they did set vp seuen competitors against him, who flattered the people with many fayer wordes and promises, as though they had neede of magistrates to vse them gently, and to doe things for to please them. But Cato contrariwise, shewing no countenance that he would vse them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit fororations, threatening those that had liued naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they must reforme their citie, and perwaded the people not to chooe the gentlest, but the sharpest phisitions: and that him selfe was such a one as they needed, & among the PATRICIANS C. *Valerius Flaccus* an other, in whose company he hoped (they two beinge chosen Censors) to do great good vnto the common wealth, by burninge and cutting of (like *Hydras* heades) all vanity and voluptuous pleasures, that were crept in amongest them: and that he sawe well enough, how all the other suters sought the office by dishonest meanes, fearing such officers as they knew would deale iustly & vprightly. Then did the people of Rome shew them selues nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refused not the lower nesse or feuerity of Cato, but reiected these meale mouthed men, that seemed ready to please the people in all things: and thereupon chose *Marcus Cato* Censor, and *Valerius Flaccus* to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he hadde bene present officer, and no suter for the office, being in themselves to giue it to whom they thought good. The first thing he did after he was stalled in his Censorship, was that he named *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, his friend and fellow Censor with him, prince of the Senate: & among many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate, he put *Lucius Quintus Flaminius* of the Senate, that had bene Consull seuen yeares before, and was brother also vnto *Titus Quintus Flaminius* that ouercame *Philip* king of MACEDON in battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Consull. But the cause why he put him of the Senate, was this. This *Lucius Quintus* caried euer with him a younge boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenance and credit vnto, as to any of his best familiar frendes he had about him. It fortuned on a time whilest *Lucius Quintus* was Consull and gouernour of a prouince, that he made a feast, and this boy being set at his table hard by him, as his maner was, he beganne to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was prettily mery: & soothing him, told him he loued him so dearly, that vpon his departing from Rome, when the Swordeplaiers were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebaten swordes to shew the people pastime, he came his way, and left the sight of that he neuer saw, that was very desirous to haue seene a man killed. Then this *Lucius Quintus*, to make him see the like, sayd: care not for the sight thou hast lost, boy, for I will let thee see as much. And when he had spoken these wordes, he commaunded a prisoner condemned to dye, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith done according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if he would straight fee the man killed: yea, sir, sayd the boy: and with that he had the hangman strike of his head. Most wryters reporte this matter thus. And *Cicero* to confirme it also, wrote in his booke de Senectute that the same was written in an oration Cato made before the people of Rome. Now *Lucius Quintus* beinge thus shamefully put of the Senate by Cato, his brother *Titus* beinge offended withall, coulde not tell what to doe, but besought the people they woulde commaunde Cato

How the Cen-
sors were cho-
sen.

The Senators
and nobility
bent all a-
gainst Cato's
sute.

Cato chosen
Censor.

Catoes affir-
in his censorship.
Cato put Lu-
cius Quintus
Flaminius of
the Senate.

The cause
why Cato put
Quintus of
the Senate.

Lucius Quintus
Flaminius
wickednesse &
cruelty.

to declare the cause, why he brought such shame vnto his house. Whereupon *Cato* openly before the people, made recital of all this feat. And when *Lucius* denied it, affirming it was not so: *Cato* would haue had him sworne before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But *Lucius* prayed them to pardon him, who sayed he would not sweare. Whereupon the people iudged it straight that he deserued well that shame. So not longe after, certaine games beinge shewed in the Theater, *Lucius* came thither, and passinge beyonde the ordinary place that was appointed for those that had bene Consuls, he went to sit aloofe of amongest the multitude. The people tooke pity on him, and made such a do about him, as they forced him to rise, and to go sit among the other Senators that had bene Consuls: falsing the best they could, the shame and dishonor happened vnto so noble a house. *Cato* put out of the Senate also, one *Manilius*, who was in great towardnes to haue bene made Consul the next yere following, only because he kissed his wife to louingly in the day time, & before his daughter: and reprouing him for it, he tolde him, his wife neuer kissed him, but when it thundered. So when he was disposed to be merry, he would say it was happy with him when *Iupiter* thundered. He tooke away *Lucius Scipios* horse from him, that had triumphed for the victories he had won against the great king *Antiochus*: which wan him much ill wil, because it appeared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did beare *Scipio* the AFRICAN, that was dead. But the most thing that greued the people of all other extremities he vsed, was his putting downe of all feastes and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly seene in it, it was vnpossible, because it was so common a thinge, and euery man was giuen to it. Therefore *Cato* to fetch it about indirectly, did praise euery citizens goodes, and rated their apparell, their coches, their litters, their wiues chaines and iuels, and all other mouables and household stuffe, that had cost about a thousand five hundred Drachmes a peece: at tenne times as much as they were worth: to the end that such as had bestowed their money in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer he ordained for euery thousand *Ales* that those trifling things were praised at, the owners of them should pay three thousand *Ales* to the common treasury: to the ende that they who were greued with this taxe, and sawe rather pay lesse subsidy (that were as much worth as them selues, by liuing without such toys) might call home them selues againe, and lay a side such foolish brauery and fineneffe. Notwithstandinge, *Cato* was enuied euery way. First, of them that were contented to pay the taxe imposed, rather then they would leaue their vanity: and next, of them also, that would rather reforme them selues, then pay the taxe. And some thinke that this law was deuised rather to take away their goodes, then to let them to make shew of them: and they haue a sonde opinion besides, that their riches is better scene in superfluous things, then in necessary. Wherein they say *Aristotle* the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And *Scopas* the THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar frends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, & to make him graunt it the sooner, tolde him it was a thinge he might well spare, and did him no good: many sayeth he, all the goodes I haue, are in such toys as do me no good. So this couetous desire we haue to be rich, consisteth of no necessary desire in nature, but is bred in vs by a false opinion from the common sorte. Now, *Cato* caringe least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grew to be more straight and seuer. For he cut of the pipes and quilles priuate men had made to conuey water into their houses & gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their common conduite heades, and did plucke downe also mens porches that were made before their doores into the strete, & brought downe the prizes of common workes in the city, and moreouer raised the common farmes and customes of the city, as high as he could: all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of most men. Wherefore, *Titus Flaminius*, and certaine other beinge bent against him in open Senate, caused all *Catoes* couenauntes and bargaines made, with the master worke man for repaying & mending of the common buildings & holy places, to be made void, as things greatly preiudiciall to the common wealth. And they did also stirre vp the boldest and rashest of the Tribunes of the people against him, because they

should

should accuse him vnto the people, and make request he might be condemned in the summe of two talentes. They did maruelously hinder also the buildinge of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate house: which pallace was finished notwithstanding, & called after his name, Basilica Porcia: as who would say, the pallace Porcius the Censor built. Howebeit it seemed the people of Rome did greatly like and commend his gouernment in the Censorshippe. For they set vp a statue of him in the temple of the goddesse of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumphe, but only ingraued this inscription word for worde, to this effect by translation: For the honor of *Marcus Cato* the Censor: because he reformed the discipline of the common wealth of Rome (that was farre out of order, and giuen to licentious life) by his wife preceptes, good maners, and holy institutions. In deede, before this image was set vp for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were desirous of such things: saying, they did not consider how they bragged in founders, painters, and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for him selfe, the people did alwayes carfully images of him in their hartes, meaninge the memory of his life & doings. When some wondered why diuerse meane men and vnknown perones had images set vp of them, and there were none of him: he gaue them this answer. I had rather men should aske why *Cato* had no Image set vp for him, then why he had any. In the ende, he would haue no honest man abide to be praised, onles his praise turned to the benefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would most praise him selfe. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awry, and that men had gone about to reprove them: he would say they were not to be blamed, for they were no *Catoes* that did offend. And such as counterfeited to follow any of his doings, and came thorte of his maner, he called them leu-banded *Catoes*. He would say, that in most dangerous times the Senate vsed to cast their eyes vpon him, as passengers on the sea do looke vpon the master of the shippe in a storme: & that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance, until he might come amonge them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other, as by him selfe. His authority was great in matters of state, for his wisdom, his eloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendacion, they praised him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, & a good fauer for his profit: for he was neuer careless of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore me thinke I must nedes tell you by the way, some parte D of his well doinge, to followe our declaration of him. First of all, he married a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both should make her proude & stout enough: but yet he euer thought the nobler borne, would be the more ashamed of dishonesty, then the meaner borne: and therefore that they would be more obedient to their husbandes, in all honest manner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he sayd: that he that bet his wife or his child, did commit as great a sacrilege, as if he polluted or spoiled the holiest things of the world: and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good husband, then a good Senator. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of olde *Socrates*, then his patience, in vifing his wife well, that was such a shrew, and his children that were so harebrained. After *Catoes* wife had brought him a sonne, he could not haue so earnest busines in hande, if it E had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his house, about the time his wife did vnswadell the younge boy to washe and shift him: for the gaue it sucke with her owne brestes, and many times would let the slaues children sucke of her also, because they might haue a naturall loue towards her sonne, hauinge sucked one milke, and bene brought vp together. When his sonne was come to age of discretion, and that he was able to learne any thinge, *Cato* him selfe did teache him, notwithstanding he had a slaue in his house called *Chilo* (a very honest man, & a good grammarian) who did also teach many others: but as he sayed him selfe, he did not like, a slaue should rebuke his sonne, nor pull him by the eares, when peraduenture he was not apt to take very sodainly that was taught him: neither would he haue his sonne bounde to a slaue for so great a matter as that, as to haue his learning, f of him. Wherefore he him selfe taught him his grammar, the law, and to exercise his body, not only to throw a dart, to play at the sword, to vawt, to ride a horse, and to handle all sortes of weapons, but also to fight with filtes, to abide colde and heate, and to swimme ouer a swift

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Manilius one of the Senators for kissing his wife before his daughter. Mery with married men when *Iupiter* thundereth.

Bandeing of fables put downe by *Cato*.

Catoes commiseration reforming excesses at Rome.

Superfluous things reckoned for riches.

Scopas greener were all in toys, that did him no good.

Basilica Porcia built by *Cato*.

Catoes image set up in the temple of the goddesse of health.

Honor chaungeth conditions.

Some should abide to be praised for the common wealth.

What *Cato* was as he was in his house, and rewarded his wife and children, casting the noble borne gentlewoman the best wives.

Socrates patience commended bearing with the forwardnes of his wife. *Catoes* wife was neuer to her owne child.

Cato taught his sonne. *Chilo* a grammarian.

What *Cato* brought up his sonne in.

runninge riuer. He sayed moreover, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with his owne hande, because his sonne might learne in his fathers house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excell them. He sayed also, that he tooke as great heede of speaking any fowle or vncomely wordes before his sonne, as he would haue done if he had bene before the Vestall Nunnes. He neuer was in the whotte house with his sonne: for it was a common vse with the ROMAINES at that time, that the sonnes in law did not bathe them selues with their fathers in law, but were ashamed to see one an other naked. But afterwarde they hauinge learned of the GREEKES to wash them selues naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe euen with their wives. There lacked no towardlines, nor good disposition in *Catoes* sonne, to frame him selfe vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed him selfe willing to followe whatsoeuer his father had taught him. Howebeit he was such a weake pulinge, that he could not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his father was contented not to binde him to that straight and painful full life, which him selfe had kept. Yet he became valliant in the warres. For he fought maruelously stowtly in the battell, in which *Perseus* the kinge of MACEDON was ouerthrowen by *Paulus Aemilius*: where his sword being striken out of his hand with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweaty besides, he fell into a great fury, and prayed of his frendes about him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vpon the enemies in that place where his sword fell out of his hande, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being vnder such a heape of dead bodies and other weapons, as well ROMAINES as MACEDONIANS, C one lying on an other. *Paulus Aemilius* the Generall hearing of this act of his, did highly comende the younge man. And at this day there is a letter extant from *Cato* to his sonne, in the which he praisth this worthy fact and toyle of his, for the recouering of his sword againe. Afterwarde, this *Cato* the yonger married *Tertia*, one of *Paulus Aemilius* daughters, and sister vnto *Scipio* the seconde, and so was matched in this noble house, not onely for his owne vertues sake, but for respect of his fathers dignity & authority: whereby the great care, paines, and study that *Cato* the father tooke in bringing vp his sonne in vertue and learninge, was honorably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his sonne. He euer had a great number of yong lide slaues which he bought, when any would sell their prisoners in the warres. He did chooe them thus yonge, because they were apt yet to learne any thinge he would traine them vnto, and that a man might breake them, like yonge coltes, or lide whelpes. But none of them all, how many soeuer he had, did euer goe to any mans house, but when him selfe or his wife did sende them. If any man asked them what *Cato* did: they answered, they could not tell. And when they were within, either they must needes be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleepe: for he loued them well that were sleepey, holdinge opinion that slaues that loued sleepe were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would set them to, then those that were waking. And because he thought that nothing more did prouoke slaues to mischief and naughtines, then lust and desire of women: he was contented his slaues might company with his bondewomen in his house, for a peece of money he appointed them to pay, but with straight commaundement besides, that none of them should deale with any other woman a broode. At the first when he gaue him selfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his seruantes did about his persone: saying it was a fowle thing for a gentleman or noble man, to fall out with his seruantes for his belly. Afterwarde, as he rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his frendes and familiars, they were no sooner gone, but he would scourge them with whippes and leather thonges, that had not waited as they should haue done at the borde, or had forgotten any thing he would haue had done. He would euer craftily make one of them fall out with an other: for he could not abide they should be frendes, beinge euer iecalous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to dye, he would put him to death before them all. Howebeit in his latter time he grew greedy, and gaue vp his tillage, sayinge it was rather pleasaunt, then profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his money surely, and bring a certaine reuenue

Catoes sonne was valiant.

Cato the younger married Tertia Paulus Aemilius daughter. Scipio the second was Aemilius natural sonne. Catoes discipline to his slaues.

Catoes opinion for sleepey mil.

Note how Cato altered his manner and opinion by wealth.

Catoes good husbandry for increasing his wealth.

A to his purpose, he bestowed it vpon ponds, naturall hotte bathes, places fit for fullers craft, vpon meadowes and pastures, vpon copises and yonge wodde: and of all these he made a great and a more quiet reuenue yearly, which he would say, *Iupiter* him selfe could not diminish. Furthermore, he was a great vsurer, both by land and by sea: and the vsury he tooke by sea was most extreme of all other, for he vsed it in this sorte. He would haue them to whome he lent his money vnto, that trafficked by sea, to haue many parteners, and to the number of fifty: and that they should haue so many shippes. Then he would venter among them for a parte onely, whereof *Quintius* his slaue whom he had manumised, was made his factor, and vsed to sayle, and trafficked with the marchaunts, to whom he had lent his money out to vsury. And thus he did not venter all the money he lent, but alide peece only for his parte, and gotte maruelous riches by his vsury. Moreover he lent money to any of his slaues, that would therewith buy other yonge slaues, whom they taught and brought vp to do seruice, at *Catoes* charge and cost: and then they sold them againe at the yeares ende, and some of them *Cato* kept for his owne seruice, and gaue his slaues as much for them, as any other offered. Therefore to allure his sonne in like manner to make profite of his money: he tolde him it was no wife mans parte to diminish his substance, but rather the parte of a widowe. Yet this was a token of a most greedy couetous minde, that he durst affirme him to be diuine, and worthy immortal praife, that increased his wealth and patrimony more, then his father left him. Furthermore, when *Cato* was grown very olde, *Carneades* the ACADEMICKE, and *Diogenes* the STOICKE, were sent from ATHENS as Ambassadors to ROME, to sue for a release of fyue hundred talentes C which they had imposed on the ATHENIANS apon a condemnation passed against them, for a contempt of appearaunce, by the sentence of the SICYONIANS, at the sute of the OROPIANS. Immediately when these two Philosophers were arriued in the cite of ROME, the younge gentlemen that were geuen to their bookes, did visite and welcome them, and gaue great reuerence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to *Carneades*: whose grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse, then the same ranne vpon him, and specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppress his praife. ROME straight was full, as if a winde had blown this rumor into euery mans eare: that there was a GREEKIAN arriued, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence would leade a man as he lust. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had so inflamed the younge gentlemen mindes with loue and desire to be learned: that all other pleasures and delightes were set a side, and they disposed them selues to no other exercise, but to the study of Philosophy, as if some secrete and diuine inspiration from aboue had procured them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of ROME were glad, and reioyced much to see their youth so well geuen to knowledge, and to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to delite in the company of these two great and excellent learned men. But *Marcus Cato*, euen from the beginning that yonge men beganne to study the Greeke tongue, and that it grew in estimation in ROME, did dislike of it: fearing least the youth of ROME that were desirous of learninge and eloquence, would vtterly giue ouer the honor and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he sawe the estimation and fame of these two personages did increase more and more, E and in such sorte that *Caius Aquilius*, one of the chiefe of the Senate, made sute to be their interpreter: he determined then to conuey them out of the cite by some honest meane and coulour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambassadors were long there, and had no dispatche: considering also they were cunninge men, and coulde easily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this onely might perswade them to determine some answer for them, and so to send them home againe to their schooles, to teach their children of GREECE, and to let alone the children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any priuate ill will or malice he bare to *Carneades*, as some men thought: but because he generally hated Philosophy, and of an ambition despised the muses, & knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had sayd, the auncient *Socrates* was but a busie man, and a flutrer vp of sedition, and fought by all meanes possible to vsurpe tyranny, and rule in his contrie: by peruertering and chaunging the manners and customes of the same, and:

Cato a great vsurer. Heooke extreme vsury by sea.

Carneades, & Diogenes Philosophers sent Ambassadors to Rome.

Cato disliked the Greeke tongue.

alluringe the subiectes thereof to a disliking of their lawes and auncient customes. And he laughed at *Socrates* schoole, that taught the arte of eloquence: saying, his schollers waxed old, and were still so long a learning, that they ment to vfe their eloquence and pleade causes in an other worlde, before *Minos*, when they were dead. Therefore, to plucke his sonne from the study of the Greeke tongue, he sayd to him with a strayned voyce, and in a bigger found then he was wont to doe: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecy or inspiration) that so longe as the *ROMAINES* disposed them selues to study the Greeke tongue, so longe would they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proued his vaine wordes false and vnturc. For the cite of *ROME* did neuer florish so much, nor the *ROMAINE* Empire was euer so great, as at that time, when learninge and the Greeke tongue most flourished. Howbeit *Cato* did not only hate the Philosophers of *GREECE*, but did dislike them also, that professed phisicke in *ROME*. For he had either hearde or red the aunswere *Hippocrates* made, when the king of *PERSIA* sent for him, and offered him a great summe of golde and siluer, if he would come and serue him: who sware he would neuer serue the barbarous people, that were naturall enemies to the *GREECIANS*. So *Cato* affirmed, it was an othe that al other phisitions sware euer after: wherefore he commaunded his sonne to fle from them all alike, and sayed he hadde wrytten a litle booke of phisicke, with the which he did heale those of his house when they were sicke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He neuer forbad them to eate, but did alwayes bringe them vppon with erbes, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringedoues, and hares: for such meates, sayd he, are good for the sicke, and light of digestion, sauing that they make them dreame and snore that eate them. He boasted also how with this C manner of phisicke, he did alwayes keepe him selfe in health, and his family from sickenes. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife, and his sonne also. But he him selfe was of a stronge nature, and a lusty body, full of strength, and health, and liued long without sickenesse: so that when he was a very olde man and past marriage, he loued women well, and married a yonge maiden for that cause onely. After his first wife was dead, he married his sonne vnto *Paulus Aemilius* daughter, the sister of *Scipio*, the seconde *AFRICAN*. *Cato* him selfe beinge a widower, tooke paines with a prety yonge maide that waited in his house, and came by felth to his chamber: howbeit this haunt could not long continue secret in his house, and specially where there was a yonge gentlewoman married, but needes must be spied. So, one day when this yonge maide went somewhat boldly by the chamber of yonge *Cato*, to go into his father, the yonge man sayd neuer a word at it: yet his father perceiued that he was somewhat ashamed, and gaue the maide no good countenance. Wherefore findinge that his sonne and daughter in lawe were angry with the matter, sayinge nothinge to them of it, nor shewinge them any ill countenance: he went one morninge to the market place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongst whome was one *Salonius*, that had bene his cleark, and wayted vpon him as the rest did. *Cato* calling him out alowde by his name, asked him if he hadde not yet bestowed his daughter. *Salonius* answered him, he had not yet bestowed her, nor would not, before he made him priue to it. Then *Cato* tolde him againe: I haue founde out a husbande for her, and a sonne in lawe for thee, and it will be no ill matche for her, vnlesse the milke the age of the man, be for in deede he is very olde, but otherwise there is no faulte in him. *Salonius* tolde him againe, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter also, prayinge him euen to make what matche he thought good for her: for he was his humble seruant, and relied wholly vpon him, standinge in neede of his fauor and furtheraunce. Then *Cato* beganne to discouer, and tolde him plainly he would willingly mary her him selfe. *Salonius* therewith was abashed, bicause he thought *Cato* was too olde to mary then, and him selfe was no fitt manne to matche in any honorable house, speciallie with a Confull and one that hadde triumphed: howbeit in the ende, when he sawe *Cato* ment good earnest, he was very glad of the matche, and so with this talke they went on together to the markette place, and agreed then vpon the marriage. Now while they went about this matter, *Cato* the sonne takinge some of his kinne and frendes with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thinge, that for spight he shoulde bringe him a steppe mother into his house.

Then

Cato's Phisicall booke.

Cato talketh with Salonius his cleark, about the marriage of his daughter.

A Then his father cried out, & sayd: O my sonne, I pray thee fay not so, I like well all thou doest, and I finde no cause to complaine of thee: but I do it, bicause I desire to haue many children, and to leaue many such like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some say that *Pisistratus* the tyrant of *ATHENS*, made such alike aunswere vnto the children of his first wife, which were men growen, when he married his seconde wife *Timonassa*, of the towne of *ARCOSS*, of whom he had (as it is reported) *Iophon*, and *Thesalus*. But to retorne againe to *Cato*, he had a sonne by his second wife, whom he named after her name, *Cato SALONIAN*: and his eldest sonne died in his office beinge *Prætor*, of whome he often speaketh in diuerse of his bookes, commendinge him for a very honest man. And they say, he tooke the death of him very patiently, and like a graue wise man, not leauing therefore to do any seruice or businesse for the state, otherwise then he did before. And therein he did not, as *Lucius Lucullus*, & *Metellus* surnamed *Pius*, did afterwards: who gaue vp meddling any more with matters of government and state, after they were waxen olde. For he thought it a charge and duty, whereunto euer honest man whilest he liued, was bounde in all piety. Nor as *Scipio AFRICAN* hadde done before him, who perceiuing that the glory & fame of his doings did purchase him the ill will of the citizens, he chaunged the rest of his life into quietnes, and forooke the cite and al dealings in common wealth, and went & dwelt in the contry. But as there was one that told *Dionysius*, the tyrant of *SYRACUSA*, as it is wrytten, that he could not die more honorably, then to be buried in the tyranny: euen so did *Cato* thinke, that he could not waxe more honestlie, olde, then in seruing of the common wealth, vnto his dying day. So at vacant times, when *Cato* was desirous a litle to recreate and refresh him selfe, he passed his time away in makinge of bookes, and lookinge vpon his husbandry in the contry. This is the cause why he wrote so many kindes of bookes and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the contry, he did tende and followe all in his youth, for his profit. For he sayed he had but two sortes of reuenue, tillage, and sparinge: but in age, whatsoever he did in the contry, it was all for pleasure, and to leame some thinge euer of nature. For he hath wrytten a booke of the contry life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth howe to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe frutes. He would needes shew such singularity and skill in all thinges: when he was in his house in the contry, he fared a litle better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and such as had lande lying about him, to come and suppe with him, and he would be merry with them: so that his company was not onely pleasaunt, and likinge to olde folkes as him selfe, but also to the younger sorte. For he had seene much, and had experience in many thinges, and vsed much pleasaunt talke, profitable for the hearers. He thought the bord one of the chiefeest meanes to breede loue amongst men, and at his owne table would alwayes praise good men and vertuous citizens, but would suffer no talke of euill men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable acte and seruice he did in the common wealth, was the ouerthrow of *CARTHAGE*: for in deede he that wannet it, and rased it vnterly, was *Scipio* the seconde, but it was chiefly through *Catoes* counsell and aduise, that the last warre was taken in hand against the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and it chaunced upon this occasion. *Cato* was sent into *AFRICA* to vnderstande the cause and controuersie that was betwene the *CARTHAGINIANS* and *Masiniissa*, kinge of *NUMIDIA*, which were at great warres together. And he was sent thither, bicause king *Masiniissa* had euer bene a frend vnto the *ROMAINES*, and for that the *CARTHAGINIANS* were become their confederates since the last warres, in the which they were ouerthrowen by *Scipio* the first, who tooke for a syne of them; a great parte of their Empire, and imposed upon them besides, a great yearely tribute. Now when he was come into that contrie, he founde not the cite of *CARTHAGE* in miserie, beggerie, and out of harte, as the *ROMAINES* supposed: but full of lusty youtnes very riche and wealthie, and great store of armour and munition in it for the warres, so that by reason of the wealth thereof, *CARTHAGE* caried a high sayle, and stowped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the *ROMAINES* to leaue to vnderstande the controuersies betwene the *CARTHAGINIANS* and *Masiniissa*, and rather to provide betimes to destroye *CARTHAGE*, that hadde bene euer an auncient enimie to the *ROMAINES*, and euer fought to be reuenged of that they hadde suffered at their handes before, and that they

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Cato's answer to his sonne, of his seconde marriage.

Cato married Salonius daughter, being a very old man, and had a sonne by her. How Cato passed his age.

Cato's writings and monuments. Cato's reuerence.

Cato's company pleasaunt both to old & young. The table a good meane to procure loue, and how table talk should be vsed. Cato author of the last warres against the Carthaginians.

were now grown to that greatnes and corage in so shorte time, as in manner it was incredible: so as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the ROMAINES, as they euer did before. Therefore so soone as he returned to ROME, he plainly tolde the Senate, that the losses and harmes the CARTHAGINIANS had receiued by the last warres they had with them, had not so much diminished their power & strength, as the same had shewed their owne folly & lacke of wisdom: for it was to be feared much, least their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them for the warres. And that they made warres nowe with the NUMIDIANS, to exercise them onely, meaning afterwards to warre with them selues: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission & stay of warres, only expecting time and opportunity to breake with them againe. They say moreouer, that besides the persuasions he vied, he brought with him of purpose, AFRICKE figges in his long sleeues, which he shooke out amongst them in the Senate. When the Senators maruailed to see so goodly fayer greene figges, he sayed: the contry that beareth them, is not about three dayes sailing from ROME. But yet this is more straunge which they reporte of him besides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was euer the one ende of his tale: me thinketh still CARTHAGE would be vtterly destroyed. *Publius Scipio Nasica*, vied euer in like manner the contrary speech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE should stand. This

Scipio Nasica, against Cato, for the destroying of Carthage.

Publius Scipio saw, in my opinion, that the ROMAINES through their pride and insolency were full of absurdities, and carried them selues very high, by reason of their happy successe and victories, and were so lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reason of their great authoritie, they imagined they might bringe their citie to what height they would. Therefore he spake it, that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwayes continue as a bridle, to raigne in the insolency of the people of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no sufficient power to make warres with the ROMAINES, nor yet to overcome them: and euen so were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be feared at all. *Cato* still replied to the contrary, that therein consisted the greatest danger of all: that a citie which was euer of great force and power, and had bene punished by former warres and misery, would alwayes haue an eye of reuenge to their enemies, and be much like a horse that had broken his halter, that being vnbridled, would runne vpon his rider. And therefore he thought it not good, nor sounde aduise, so to suffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their strength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward daunger, and the feare they stood in to loose their conquest: and specially, when they left meanes within the city selfe to fall still againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose *Cato* was the occasion, of the thirde and last warre the ROMAINES had against the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the warre was begonne, *Cato* died, and before his death he prophesied, as a man would say, who it should be that should ende those warres. And it was *Scipio* the second, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a Colonell ouer a thousand footemen: but in all battells, and wheresoeuer there was warres, he shewed him selfe euer valliant and wise. Inso-much as newes being brought thereof continually vnto ROME, and *Cato* hearinge them, spake as they say, these two verses of *Homer*:

*This only man right wise, reputed is to be,
all other seeme but shadowes yet, by such wise men as he.*

Which prophecy, *Scipio* soone after confirmed true by his doings. Moreouer, the issue *Cato* left behinde him, was a sonne he had by his seconde wife: who was called (as we sayd before) *Cato SALONIAN*, by reason of his mother, and a little boy of his eldest sonne that died before him. This *Cato SALONIAN* died being Prætor, but he left a sonne behinde him that came to be Consul, and was grandfather vnto *Cato* the Philosopher, one of the most vertuous men of his time.

Cato's posterity.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF

Aristides with Marcus Cato.



NOW that we haue sette downe in wrytinge, these notable and worthwhile things of memory: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhappes the difference betwene the one and the other will not easily be discerned, seeinge there be so many similitudes and resemblances one of an other. But if we come to compare them in euery particularity, as we would doe Poets workes, or pictures drawn in tables: first, in this we shall finde them much alike, that hauing had nothing else to preferre and commend them, but their onely vertue & wisdom, they haue bene both gouernours in their common wealth, and haue thereby atchieued to great honor and estimation. But me thinkes when *Aristides* came to deale in matters of state, the common wealth and seigniory of ATHENS was then of no great power, and therefore it was easie for him to set him selfe in preafe. Besides, the other gouernours and captaines that were of his time, & competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authority. For the taxe of the richest persones then at ATHENS in reuenue, was but at five hundred bushells of corne, and vpwards, and therefore were such called Pentacomedimni. The second taxe was but at three hundred bushells, and they were called knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushells, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where *Marcus Cato* comminge out of a litle village, from a rude contry life, went at the first dash (as it were) to plunge him selfe into a bottomles sea of government in the comon wealth of ROME: which was not ruled then by such gouernours and captaines, as *Curius*, *Fabricius*, and *Ostilius* were in old time. For the people of ROME did no more bestow their offices vpon such meane laboring men, as came but lately from the plough and the marlocke: but they would looke now vpon the nobility of their houses, and vpon their riches, that gaue them most money, or sued earnestly to them for the offices. And by reason of their great power and authority, they would be waited vpon, and sued vnto, by those that fought to beare the honorable offices of the state and common wealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to haue *Themistocles* an aduersary and competitor, being neither of noble houle, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goodes his father left him, were not worth aboute foure or fise hundred talentes, when he beganne to deale in state) in respect as to contende for the chiefe place of honor and authority against *Scipio AFRICAN*, *Seruilus Galba*, or *Quintus Flaminius*, hauing no other maintenance, nor helpe to trust vnto, but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all vprightnes. Moreouer, *Aristides* at the battells of MARATHON, and of PLATÆES, was but one of the tenne captaines of the ATHENIANS: where *Cato* was chosen one of the two Consuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Censors, before seuen other that made fute for it, which were all men of great reputacion in the citie, and yet was *Cato* preferred be-

Aristides and Cato access to the common wealth.

Cato in mar-
shall affairs
excelled Ari-
stides.

Aristides and
Cato's dif-
ferences in the
common
wealth.

The power of
innocency &
eloquence.

Oeconomia,
house-rule.

fore them all. Furthermore, *Aristides* was neuer the chiefeft in any victory. For at the battell A of MARATHON, *Miltiades* was the generally, and at the battell of SALAMINA, *Themistocles* and at the iorney of PLATES, king *Paulaniades* Herodotus sayeth, who wryteth that he had a maruelous victory there. And there were that stituted with *Aristides* for the second place, *Sophanes*, *Amynias*, *Callimachus*, and *Cyngirius*, euery one of the which did notable valliant feruice at those battells. Now *Cato* was generally him selfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthines and counsell, during the warre he made in SPAYNE, while he was Confull. Afterwards also in the iorney where king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowen in the contry of THERMOPILES, *Cato* being but a Colonell of a thousand footemen, and seruenge vnder an other that was Confull, wanne the honor of the victory, when he did foudainly set vpon *Antiochus* behinde, whereas he looked only to defend him selfe before. And that victory, without all doubt was one of the B chiefeft actes that euer *Cato* did, who draue ASIA out of GRECE, and opened the way vnto *Lucius Scipio* to passe afterwarde into ASIA. So then for the warres, neither the one nor the other of them was euer overcome in battell: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, *Aristides* was supplanted by *Themistocles*, who by practise got him to be banished ATHENS for a time. Whereas *Cato* had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of ROME that were in his time, sworn enemies vnto him: and hauing alwayes contended with them euen to his last hower, he euer kept him selfe on founde grounde, like a stout champion, and neuer tooke fall nor foyle. For he hauing accused many before the people, and many also accusing him: him selfe was neuer once condemned, but alwayes his tongue was the buckeler and defence of his life and innocency. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could help himselfe C so in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cause why he neuer receiued dishonor, nor was vniustly condemned: rather then for any thing else he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truly, eloquence is a singular gift, as *Antipater* witnesseth, in that he wrote of *Aristotle* the Philosopher after his death: saying, that amongst many other singular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he coulde perswade what he listed. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a city: a parte whereof is Oeconomia, commonly called house-rule, considering that a city is no other, then an assembly of many householdes and houses together, & then is the city commonly strong & of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wise and wealthy. Therefore *Lycurgus* that banished golde and siluer from LACEDÆMON, and coyned them money of iron, that woulde be marred with fyre & vinegre when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not onely cut off all superfluous expences that commonly wayte vpon riches, but did also provide that his people should lacke nothing necessary to liue withall, fearing more to see a begger and nedy persone dwelling in his citie, and enioy the priuiledges of the same, then a proude man by reason of his riches. So methinks, *Cato* was as good a father to his householdes, as he was a good gouernor to the common wealth: for he did honestly increafe his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by sauing, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof, in his booke he wrote sundry good rules and precepts. *Aristides* contrariwise, made iustice odious & flanderous by his pouerty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans selfe that vsed iustice. And yet *Hesiodus* the Poet, that commendeth iustice so much, doth wishe vs withall to be good husbandes, reproouing sloth and idlenes, as the roote and originall of all iniustice. And therefore me thinks *Homer* spoke wisely when he sayed.

In times past, neither did I labor, carcke nor care
for busines, for family, for foode, nor yet for fare:
but rather did delight, with shippes the seas to saile,
to drinke a boere, to sing a dart in warres, and to preuaile.

The nature of
style.

As giuing vs to vnderstand, that iustice & husbandry are two relatives, & necessarily linked one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his owne thinges, nor house, doth liue F vniustly, and taketh from other men. For iustice is not like oyle, which Phisitians say is very hollose for mannes body, if it be applied outwardly: and in contrary maner very ill, if a man drinke

A drinke it: neither ought a iust man to profite strangers, and in the ende not to care for him selfe nor his. Therefore, me thinks this gouerning vertue of *Aristides* had a fault in this respect, if it be true that most authors wryte of him: that he had no care nor forecast with him to leaue so much, as to marry his daughters withall, nor therewith to bury him selfe. Where those of the house of *Cato*, continued Prætors and Confills of ROME, euen vnto the fourth dissent. For his sonnes sonnes, and yet lower, his sonnes sonnes sonnes came to the greatest offices of dignity in all ROME. And *Aristides*, who was in his time the chiefeft mā of GRECE, left his posterity in so great pouerty, that some were compelled to become Soothsayers (that interpret dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might B be sayd, pouerty of it selfe is neither ill nor dishonest: but where it groweth by idlenes, carelesse life, vanity, and folly, it is to be reprobued. For when it lighteth upon any man that is honest, and liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iust, valliant, wife, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great signe of a noble minde. For it is vnpossible that man should doe any great thinges, that had such a base minde, as to thinke alwayes vpon thriftless and that he should relieue the poore greatly, that lacketh him selfe reliefe in many thinges. And sure, riches is not necessary for an honest man that will deale truly in the common wealth, and gouernment, as is sufficiency: which beinge a contentacion in it selfe, and desirous of no superfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his businesse in the common wealth, that enioyeth the same. For God is he alone, who simply and absolutely C hath no neede of any thinge at all: wherefore the chiefeft vertue that can be in man, and that cometh nearest vnto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to haue neede of little thinges. For like as a lusty body, and well complexioned, hath no neede of superfluous fare and curious apparell: euen so a cleane life, and founde house, is kept with a litle charge, and so shoulde the goodes also be proportioned, according to vse and necessity. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no desire to spend much, then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he needeth: and if he do desire it, and dare not for niggardlines spende parte of that he laboreth for, then is he miserable. Now woulde I aske *Cato* with a goodwill, if riches be made but to vse them, why do you boast then you haue gotten much together, when a litle doth suffice you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in D troth it is) to be contented with the breade you finde, to drinke of the same tappe workemen and laborers do, not to care for purple dyed gownes, nor for houses with plattered walles: it followeth then that neither *Aristides*, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius*, haue forgotten any parte of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not vse nor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man that esteemed rootes and parsnippes to be one of the best dishes in the worlde, and that did seeth them him selfe in his chimney, whilest his wife did bake his bread, to talke so much of an Assie, and to take paines to wryte by what arte and industry a man might quickly enrich him selfe. For it is true, that sufficiency, and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thing: but it is be- cause it taketh from vs all desire of vnnecessary thinges, and maketh vs not to passe for them. E And therefore we finde that *Aristides* sayd, when riche *Callias* case was pleaded, that such as were poore against their willes, might wel be ashamed of their pouerty: but such as were willingly poore, had good cause, and might iustly reioyce at it. For it were a mad parte to thinke that *Aristides* pouerty proceeded of a base minde & slothfulness, since he might quickly haue made him selfe rich without any dishonesty at all, by taking only the spoyle of some one of the barbarous people whome he had overcome, or any one of their tentes. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victories and battells *Cato* had wonne, they did in manner lide helpe to increafe the Empire of ROME: for it was already so great, as it could almost be no greater. But *Aristides* victories are the greatest conquestes and noblest actes that the GRECIANS euer did in any warres: as the iorney of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, and the F battell of PLATES. And yet there is no reason to compare king *Antiochus* with king *Xerxes*, nor the walles of the citie of SPAYNE which *Cato* ouerthrewe and rased, vnto so many thousands of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrowen and put to the sword by the GRE-

No man wife,
that is not
wise as him
selfe.

Whether po-
uerty be an ill
thing.

Whether A-
ristides fallow
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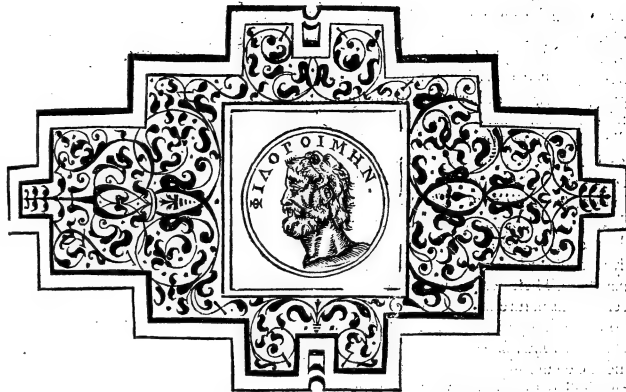
*Ambition, a
hatefull thing
in the common
wealth.*

*Cato reprobated
for his second
wife.*

CIA NS, as well by lande, as by sea. In all which seruices, *Aristides* was the chiefeft before all other, as touching his valliantnes in fighting: notwithstanding, he gaue other the glory of it, that desired it more then him selfe, as he did easily also leaue the gold & siluer vnto those, that had more neede of it then him selfe. Wherein he shewed him selfe of a nobler minde, then all they did. Furthermore, for my parte, I will not reprove *Catoes* manner, to commend and extoll him selfe so highly aboue all other, since he him selfe sayth in an oration he made, that to praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himselfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect, that desireth other should not praise him, then he that commonly doth vse to praise him selfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great shew of humanity, & necessary for him that will liue amongst men of gouernment: and euen so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuie vnto him, that is infected withall. Of the which *Aristides* was cleare, and *Cato* farre gone in it. For *Aristides* did help *Themistocles* his chiefeft enemy, in all his noblest actes, and did serue him (as a man would say) like a priuate souldier that garded his persone, when *Themistocles* was generally, beinge the onely instrument and meane of his glory: which was in deede the onely cause that the city of *ATHENS* was saued, and restored againe to her former good state. *Cato* contrariwise, crossing *Scipio* in all his enterprises, thought to hinder his voyage and iorney vnto *CARTHAGE*, in the which he ouercame *Hanniball*, who vntill that time was euer inuincible: and so in the ende, continuing him still in iecalouzy with the state, and euer accusinge of him, he neuer left him, till he had driuen him out of the city, and caused his brother *Lucius Scipio* to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behaiour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperaunce and modesty, which *Cato* did euer commend so highly: *Aristides* truly kept C them most sincerely. But *Catoes* seconde wife, who married a maide, (that was neither fit for his dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he can not be excused with honesty, that beinge a man past marriage, brought his sonne that was married, and his fayer daughter in lawe, a steppe mother into his house, and but a clearkes daughter, whose father did wryte for money, for any man that woulde hyer him. Take it *Cato* married her to satisfie his lust, or else for spite to be reuenged of his sonne, because his sonne could not abide his younge filth he had before: either of these turneth still to his shame, as wel the effect, as also the cause. Againe, the excuse he made to his sonne why he married, was also a lye. For if he had grounded his desire in deede, to haue gotten other children, as he sayd, that might be as honest men as his eldest sonne: then surely he had done well after the death of his first wife, if he had sought him an other wife soone after, that had bene of an honest house, and not to haue lien with a young harlotry filth, till his sonne had spied him, and then when he saw it was knownen, to goe and marry her, and to make alliance with him, not because it was honorable for him to do it, but was easiest to be obtained.

The ende of Marcus Catoes life the Censor.

THE LIFE OF *Philopamen.*



IN the city of *MANTINEA*, there was a citizen in old time called *Cassander*, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in gouernment there, as any man of his time whatsoeuer. Notwithstanding, fortune frowned on him in the ende, inso much as he was driuen out of his contry, and went to lye in the city of *MEGALOPOLIS*, only for the loue he bare vnto *Crausis*, *Philopamenes* father, a rare man, and nobly geuen in all thinges, and one that loued him also very well. Now so longe as *Crausis* liued, *Cassander* was so well vsed at his handes, that he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this worlde, *Cassander*, to requite the loue *Crausis* bare him in his life time, tooke his sonne into his charge, being an orphan, and taught him, as *Homer* sayd *Achilles* was brought vp by the olde *Phoenix*. So this childe *Philopamen* grew to haue noble conditions, and increased alwayes from good to better. Afterwardes, when he came to grow to mans state, *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, both *MEGALIPOLITANS*, tooke him into their gouernment. They were two Philosophers that had bene hearers of *Arcefilas*, in the schoole of *Academia*, and afterwardes employed all the Philosophy they had learned, upon the gouerning of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of state, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they deliuered their city from the tyranny of *Aristodemus*, who kept it in subiection, by corrupting those that killed him. And they did helpe *Aratus* also to driue the tyran *Nicicles*, out of *SEXTONIA*. At the request of the *CYRENIANS*, that were troubled with ciuil dissention & factions among them, they went vnto *CYRENA*, where they did reforme the state of the common wealth, and established good lawes for them. But for them selues, they reckened the education and bringing vp of *Philopamen*, the chiefeft acte that euer they did: ludging that they had procured an vnuerfall good vnto all *GREECE*, to bring vp a man of so noble a nature in the rules and precepts of Philosophy. And to say truly, *GREECE* did loue him passingly well, as the last valliant man she brought forth in her age, after so many great and famous aunient Captiues: and did alwayes increafe his power and authority, as his glory did also rise. Whereupon there was a *ROMAINE*, who to praise him the more, called him the last of the *GREECIANS*: meaning, that after him, *GREECE* neuer brought forth any worthy persone, deseruing the name of a *GREECIAN*. And now concerning his persone, he had no ill face, as many suppose he had

Crausis, Philopamenes father.

Cassander, Philopamenes foster-master.

Ecdemus and Demophanes, two Philosophers.

Philopamen the last famous man of Greece.

for his whole image is yet to be seene in the city of DELPHES, excellently well done, as if he were alive. And for that they report of his hostesse in the city of MEGARA, who tooke him for a serving man: that was by reason of his curtesie, not standing vpon his reputation, and bicause he went plainly besides. For the vnderstanding that the Generall of the ACHAIANS came to Inne there all night, he besturred her, and was very busie preparing for his supper, her husband peradventure being from home at that time: and in the meane season came Philopemen into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The simple woman seeinge him no better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and so prayed him to lende her his hande in the kitchen. He straight cast off his cloke, and beganne to fall to hewe wodde. So, as Philopemen was busie about it, in commeth her husband, and findinge him riuinge of wodde: ha ha ha, sayd he, my Lorde Philopemen, why what meaneth this? Truly nothing else, sayd he in his DORICAN tongue, but that I am punished, bicause I am neither fayer boy, nor goodly man. It is true that Titus Quintus Flaminius sayed one day vnto him, seeming to mocke him for his personage: O Philopemen, thou hast fayer handes, and good legges, but thou hast nobelly, for he was fine in the waite, and small bodied. Notwithstandinge, I take it this ieaftinge tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his body: bicause he had both good horsemen, and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. These geastes, schollers haue taken vppe in schooles, of Philopemen. But now to discend to his nature and conditions: it seemeth that the ambition and desire he had to winne honor in his doings, was not without some heate and wilfulness. For, bicause he would altogether followe Epaminondas steppes, he shewed his hardines to enterprise any thing, his wilde come to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt him: but in ciuill matters and controuersies, he could hardly otherwhiles keepe him selfe within the bondes of modesty, patience, and curtesie, but would often burst out into choller, and wilfulness. Wherefore it seemeth, that he was a better Captaine for warres, then a wise gouernor for peace. And in deede, euen from his youth he euer loued fouldiers, and armes, and delighted maruclously in all martiall exercises: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of horses gallantly, and in vawting nimble. And bicause he seemed to haue a naturall gift in wrestling, certaine of his frendes, and such as were carefull of him, did wishe him to geue him selfe most vnto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made such profession, would be no hinderance to their martiall exercises. Aunswere was made him againe, that the disposition of the persone, and manner of life that wrestlers vsed, and such as followed like exercises, was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a fouldier, and specially touching life and limme. For wrestlers studied altogether to keepe them selues in good plight, by much sleeping, eating, and drinking, by laboring, and taking their ease at certaine howers, by not murthering a iotte of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to loose the force and strength of their body, if they did surfit neuer so litle, or passed their ordinary course & rule of diet. Where fouldiers contrariwise are vsed to all change, and diuersitie of life, and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardnesse, and scarfity, and to watche in the night without sleepe. Philopemen hearing this, did not only forsake those exercises, and scorned them, but afterwards beinge Generall of an army, he fought by all infamous meanes he could to put downe all wrestling, and such kinde of exercise, which made mennes bodies vnmeet to take paines, and to become fouldiers for to fight in defence of their contry, that otherwise would haue bene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his booke and schoolemasters, and beganne to weare armor in inuasions the MANTINEANS vsed to make vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, to get some spoyle on a fodaine, or to destroy a parte of their contry: Philopemen then would euer be the foremost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leasure, he vsed much hunting in time of peace, all to acquainte his body with toyle and trauell, or else he would be digging of his groundes. For he had a fayne mannor, not passinge twenty furlonges out of the city, whether he would walke commonly after dinner or supper, and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lye vpon some ill fauored matresse, as the meanest laborer he had, and in the morninge by breake of the day, he went out with his vine men to labor in his vineyard, or else with his plough men to follow the plough, and

Philopemen
taken for a
serving man.

Philopemen,
hasty and wil-
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Philopemen
delighted in
warre & mar-
tiall exercises.

Philopemen
did reuise
wrestling.

A and sometimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his frendes and other officers of the same. Whatsoeuer he could spare and get in the warres, he spent it in buying of goodly horses, in makinge of fayer armors, or payinge his poore contry mens ranfome, that were taken prisoners in the warres: but for his goodes & reuenue, he sought only to increase them, by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed the iustest and best way of getting of goodes. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and study upon it, as one that thought it fit for euery noble man & gentleman so to trauaill, gouerne, and increase his owne, that he should haue no occasion to couet or vsurpe another mannes. He tooke no pleasure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to read all sortes of bookes of Philosophy: but thole onely that would teache him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to read Homers workes, sauinge those places onely that stirred vp mens hartes most vnto valliantnes. But of all other hories, he specially delighted to read Euangelus bookes, which treated of the discipline of warres, how to set battells, and declared the actes and geastes of Alexander the great, sayinge: that men shoulde euer bringe his wordes vnto deedes, onlesse men would take them for vaine stories, and things spoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes of the feates of warre, and how battells shoulde be ordered, he was not only contented to see them drawn and set out, in cartes and mappes: but would also put them in execution, in the places them selues as they were set out. And therefore, when the army marched in order of battell in the field, he would consider and study with him selfe, the fodaine vientes and approaches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they comming downe to the valley, or going out of a plaine, were to passe a riuer or a ditche, or through some straight: also when he shoulde spread out his army, or else gather it narrow: and this he did not only forecast by him selfe, but would also argue the same with the Captaines that were about him. For Philopemen doubtlesse was one of the odde men of the worlde, that most esteemed the discipline of warre, (and sometime peradventure more then he needed) as the most large field and most fruitfull ground that valliantnes could be exercised in: so that he despised & contemned all that were no fouldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, Cleomenes kinge of LACEDÆMON, came one night vpon the fodaine, and gaue an assault to the city of MEGALOPOLIS, so lustely, that he draue backe the watche and got into the market place, and wanne it. Philopemen hearinge of it, ranne immediatly to the rescue. Nevertheless, though he fought very valliantly, and did like a noble fouldier, yet he could not repulse the enemies, nor driue them out of the city. But by this meanes he got his citizens leasure, and some time to get them out of the towne to saue them selues, stayinge those that followed them: and made Cleomenes still waite vpon him, so that in the end he had much ado to saue him selfe beinge the last man, and very fore hurt, & his horse also slaine vnder him. Shortly after, Cleomenes beinge aduertised that the MEGALOPOLITANS were gotten into the city of MESSINA, sent vnto them to let them vnderstand, that he was ready to deliuer them their city, lands, & goods againe. But Philopemen seeinge his contrymen very glad of these newes, & that euery man prepared to returne againe in haste: he stayd them with these perswasions, shewing them that Cleomenes deulfe was not to redeliuer the city, but rather to take the together with their city: foreseeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked walles and empty houses, and that him selfe in the ende should be compelled to goe his way. This perswasion stayed the MEGALOPOLITANS, but withall it gaue Cleomenes occasion to burne and plucke downe a great parte of the city, and to carry away a great summe of money, and a great spoyle. Afterwardes, when kinge Antigonus was come to aide the ACHAIANS against Cleomenes, and that Cleomenes kept on the toppe of the mountaines of Sellasia, and kept all the passages and wayes vnto them out of all those quarters: kinge Antigonus set his army in battell hard by him, determining to set vpon him, and to driue him thence if he could possibly. Philopemen was at that time amongst the horsemen with his citizens, who had the LEUCANS on the side of them, beinge a great number of footemen & excellent good fouldiers, which did shut in the taile of all the army. So they were commaunded to stand still, and to keepe their place, vntill such time as they did shew them a redde coate of armes on the toppe of a pyke, or place, from the other wing of the battell, where the king him selfe stoode in person. Notwithstanding,

Philopemen
gaines
now they were
employed.
Philopemen
study and
care in tillage.

Philopemen
desire to
read Euange-
lus bookes of
the discipline
of warres.

Philopemen
sawd the
Megapoliti-
ans from Cle-
omenes king
of Sparta.
Philopemen
very iure
that.

King Anti-
gonus came to
aide the A-
chaians against
Cleomenes
King of Lacedæ-
mon.
Philopemen
was in the
middle of the
battle.
Against King
Cleomenes.

ding this straight commaundement, the Captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to see if they could force the LACEDÆMONIANS that kept on the top of the mountaines. The ACHAÏANS contrariwise, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded. *Eucledas*, *Cleomenes* brother, perceiving thus their enemies footemen were feuered from their horsemen, sodainly sent the lightest armed souldiers & lustiest fellows he had in his bands, to geue a charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behinde, to proue if they could make them turne their faces on them, because they had no horsemen for their garde. This was done, and these light armed men did maruelously trouble and disorder the ILLYRIANS. *Philopomen* perceiving that, and considering howe these light armed men would be easily broken and driuen backe, since occasion selfe enforced them to it: he went to tell the kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes. But when he saw he could not make them vnderstand it, and that they made no reckening of his reasons, but tooke him of no skill, because he had not yet attained any credit or estimation to be iudged a man, that could inuent or execute any stratageme of warre: he went thither him selfe, and tooke his citizens with him. And at his first comming, he troubled these light armed men, that he made them flee, and slue a number of them. Moreover, to encourage the better king *Antigonus* men, and to make them geue a lusty charge vpon the enemies, whilest they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horse, and marched a foote vpon hill and downe hill, in rough and stony wayes, full of springs and quauemyres, being heauely armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fightinge in this sorte very painefullly and vneasily, he had both his thighs past through with a dart, hauinge a leather thonge on the middle of it. And though the blow did not take much holde of the fleshe, yet was it a stronge blow, for it pierced both thighs through & through, that the iron was seene on thother side. Then was he so combered with this blow, as if he had bene shackled with irons on his feete, and knew not what to doe: for the leather fastened in the middle of the dart, did greue him maruelously, when they thought to haue pulled the darte out of the place where it entred in, so as neuer a man about him durst feele his hands to it. *Philopomen* on the other side, seeing the sight terrible on either side, and would soone be ended: it spited him to the guttes, he would so faime haue bene among them. So at the length he made such struggling, putting backe one thigh, and setting forward an other, that he knapped the staffe of the darte a funder, and made them pull out the two troncheons, the one on this side, and the other on the other side. Then when he saw he was at liberty againe, he tooke his sword in his hande, and ranne through the middle of them that fought, vnto the foremost ranckes, to meete with the enemy: so that he gaue his men a newe corage, and did set them on fyre with enuy, to followe his valliant deede. After the battell was wonne, *Antigonus* asked the MACEDONIAN Captaines, to proue them: who moued the horsemen to deuide them selues, and giue the charge, before the signe that was commaunded. They aunswered him, that they were forced to doe it against their willes, because a young MEGALOPOLITAN gentleman gaue a charge with his company, before the signe was giuen. Then *Antigonus* laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the part of a wife and valliant Captaine. This exployte, together with *Antigonus* testimony, gaue great reputation vnto *Philopomen*, as we may easily imagine. So king *Antigonus* maruelously intreated him he would serue with him, and offered him a bande of men at armes, and great entertainment, if he would go with him. But *Philopomen* refused his offer, and chiefly, because he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commaunded by any. Notwithstandinge, because he could not be idle, he tooke sea, and went into Creta, where he knewe there were warres, onely to continue him selfe in exercise thereof. So when he had serued long time with the CRETANS, which were valliant souldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of warre, and moreover were men of a moderate and spare dyet: he returned home againe to ACHAÏA, with so great credit and reputation of euery one, that he was presently chosen Generall of all the horsemen. So when he entred into his charge, he found de many horsemen very ill horsed, vpon litle lades, such as might be gotten cheapest, & how they vsed not to goe them selues in persone to the warres, but did sende other in their steade: and to be shorte, how they neither had hartes, nor experience of the warres, and all because the Generalls and Captaines of the people of the ACHAÏANS that serued before him, did take no heed

*Philopomen
buri in fight.*

*Antigonus
singing of Philo-
pomenes
skill of a souldier.*

*Philopomen
chosen Generall of the
horsemen of
the Achaïans.*

A to those matters, as feareinge to offend any, because they had the greatest authority in all these thinges, would leaue no parte of his charge and duty vndone, but went him selfe in persone to all the cities, to perswade and encourage the young gentlemen, to be well horsed, and well armed, that they might winne honor in the fildes, be able to defend them selues, and overthrow their enemies. And where perswasion could doe no good, there he would set fynes vpon their heades that so refused, and did vse to mulster them oft, and did acquaine them with tilting, turning, and barriers, and one to fight with an other, and at such times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to giue them the lookinge on: that in shorte space he made them very forward, proper, and ready horsemen, whose chieftest property, to keepe their order and ranckes in the battell. So as when necessitie serued for the whole company of horsemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or else euery man by him selfe: they were so thoroughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe set in battell ray, did seeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued so together, and withall so easily, and at all times, and so oft, as turne they would on the one side, or on the other. Now in a great battell the ACHAÏANS had with the ÆTOLIANS and the ELIANS, by the riuier of Larissus: *Demophantus*, Generall of the horsemen of the ÆTOLIANS, came from his company to fight with *Philopomen*, who also made towards him, and gaue him first such a blow with his speare, that he strake him starke deade. When *Demophantus* fell to the grounde, his souldiers fled by and by vpon it. This wanne *Philopomen* great honor, who gaue no place to the youngest men in fighting most valliantly with his owne handes: nor to the oldest men in wise dome, for the wise leading of his army. In deede the first man that made the people of ACHAÏA grow in power and greatnes, was *Aratus*: for before his time ACHAÏA was of small reckening, because the cities of the same stooode deuided betwene them selues, and *Aratus* was the first manne that made them ioyn together, and stablished amongst them an honest ciuill gouernment. Whereby it happened, that as we see in brookes and riuers where any litle thinge stoppeth and falleth to the bottome, which the course of the water bringeth downe the streame, there the rest that followeth doth vse to stay, and goe no further: euen so in the cities of GRECE that were in harde state, and fore weakened, by faction one against an other, the ACHAÏANS were the first that stayed themselves, and grewe in amity one with the other, and afterwards drew on the rest of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederats. Some by helpinge and deliueringe them from the oppression of tyrans, and winninge other also by their peaceable gouernment and good concord: they had a meaninge in this wise, to bringe all the contrie of PELOPONNESVS into one body and league. Neuertheless, while *Aratus* liued, they depended most upon the strength and power of the MACEDONIANS: first with stickinge vnto kinge *Ptolomie*, and then vnto *Antigonus*, and last to *Philip*, who ruled in manner all the state of GRECE. But when *Philopomen* came to gouerne, and to be the chieftest man, the ACHAÏANS beinge stronge enough to resist the strongest, would marche then no more vnder any other bodies ensigne, nor would suffer any more straunge gouernors or Captaines ouer them. For *Aratus* (as it seemed) was somewhat to soft and colde for the warres, and therefore the most thinges he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the kings frendshippes with whome he was great, as we haue at large declared in his life. But *Philopomen* beinge a manne of execution, hardy and valliant of persone, and of very good fortune, in the first battell that he euer made, did maruelously encrease the corage and hartes of the ACHAÏANS: because vnder his charge they euer foiled their enemies, and alwayes hadde the vpper hande ouer them. The first thinge *Philopomen* beganne withall at his comming, he chaunged the manner of settinge of their tables, and their facion of arminge them selues. For before they caried litle light targettes, which because they were thinne and narrowe, did not couer halfe their bodies, and vsed speares farre shorter then pykes, by reason whereof they were very light, and good to skirmishe and fight a farre off: but when they came to ioyn battell, their enemies then hadde great vantage of them. As for the order of their battelles, they knewe not what it ment, nor to cast them selues into a snail or ringe, but onely vnto the square battell, nor yet gaue it any such fronte where the

*Philopomen
slay Demophantus, Generall of the
horsemen of the Ætoli-
ans.
The praise of
Philopomen.
Aratus raised
Achaïa to
greatnes.*

*Philopomen
and Aratus
compar'd.
Aratus a soft
man in warre.*

*Philopomen
chaungeth the
Achaïans order
and discipline of warre.*

pykes of many rankes might puse together, and where the souldiers might stande so close, that their targettes should touch one another, as they do in the Squadron of the battell of the MACEDONIANS: by reason whereof, they were soone broken, and ouerthrowen. *Philopemen* reformed all this, perswading them to vie the pyke and shielde, in steade of their little target, speare, or borestaffe, and to put good moryrans or burganettes on their heades, corseletes on their bodies, and good rasses and greaues to couer their thighes and legges, that they might fight it out manfully, not geuinge a foote of ground, as light armed men that runne to and fro in a skirmishe. And thus hauinge perswaded and taught the younge men to arme them selues throughlie, first he made them the bolder and more coragious to fight, as if they had bene menne that coule not haue bene overcome: then he turned all their vaine superfluous charge, into necessarie and honest expences. But he coule not possibly bring them altogether from their vaine and riche apparell, they had of long time taken vp, the one to exceede another: nor from their sumptuous furniture of houles, as in beddes, hangings, curious seruice at the table, and delicate kinde of dihes. But to beginne to withdrawe this desire in them which they hadde, to be fine and delicate, in all superfluous and vnecessary things, and to like of things necessarie, and profitable: he wished them to looke more nely to their ordinarie charge about them selues, takinge order as well for their apparell, as also for their diet, and to spare in them, to come honorable armed to the felde, for defence of their contrie. Thereupon, if you had looked into the golde smithes (hoppes, ye should haue seene nothinge else in their handes, but breakinge and batteringe of pottes of golde and siluer, to be cast and molten downe againe, and then gildinge of armors and targettes, and fitting of bittes. In the shoue places for the runninge of horses, there was mannedging and breakinge of younge horses, and younge men exercisinge armes. Womens handes also were full of moryrans and heade peeces, whereto they tyed goodly braue plumes of feathers of sundry colours, and were also full of imbrodered arminge coates and callockes, with curious and very riche workes. The fight of which brauerie did heaue vpp their hartes, and made them gallant and liuely: so as enuy bred straight in them who shoulde doe best seruice, and no way spare for the warres. In deede, sumptuousnesse and brauerie in other sightes, doth secretly cary mens mindes away, and allure them to seeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womanlike perones: bicause this sweete ticklinge, and intinsing of the outwarde fence that is delighted therewith, doth straight melt and soften the strength and courage of the minde. But againe, the sumptuous cost bestowed upon warlike furniture, doth incourage and make great a noble harte. Euen as *Homer* sayeth it did *Achilles*, when his mother brought him newe armor and weapons, she hadde caused *Vulcan* to make for him, and layed them at his feete: who seeinge them, coule not tarie, but was straight sette on fyre with desire to occupie them. So when *Philopemen* hadde brought the youth of ACHAIA to this good passe, to come thus brauely armed and furnished into the felde, he beganne then to exercise them continuallie in armes: wherein they did not onely shewe them selues obedient to him, but did moreouer strue one to excell another, and to doe better then their fellows. For they liked maruelous well the orderinge of the battell he hadde taught them, bicause that standinge so close together as they did, they thought surely they coule hardly be ouerthrowen. Thus by continuance of time, beinge muche vsed to weare their armor, they founde them a great deale easier and lighter then before, besides the pleasure they tooke to see their armor so braue, and so riche: insomuch as they longed for some occasion to trye them straight vpon their enemies. Now the ACHAIA at that time were at warres with *Machanidas*, the tyranne of LACEDEMON, who fought by all deuise he coule with a great armie, to become chiefe Lorde of all the PELOPONNESIANS. When newes was brought that *Machanidas* was come into the contrie of the MANTINIANS, *Philopemen* straight marched towards him with his army: so they mett bothe not farre from the cite of MANTINEA, where by and by they put them selues in order of battell. They both hadde entertaigned in paye a great number of straungers to serue them, besides the whole force of their contrie: and when they came to ioyne battell, *Machanidas* with his straungers gaue such a lustie charge vpon certaine slingers and archers beinge the forlorne hope whome

Philopemen

A *Philopemen* had cast of before the battell of the ACHAIA to beginne the skirmishe, that he ouerthrow them, & made them flie withal. But where he should haue gone on directly against the ACHAIA that were ranged in battell ray, to haue proued if he coule haue broken them: he was very buisie, and earnest still, to follow the chafe of them that first fled, and so came hard by the ACHAIA that stood still in their battell, and kept their rankes. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIA were but cast away. But *Philopemen* made as though it had bene nothinge, and that he set light by it, and spying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the spurre, whom they had ouerthrowen, and straying so farre from the battell of their footemen, whome they had left naked, and the field open upon them: he did not make towards them to stay them, nor did strue to stop the that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered the to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his *man-marche* upon the LACEDEMONIANS, whose sides were naked, hauing no horsemen to gard them: and so did set vpon them on the one side, and ranne so hastily on them to winne one of their flankes, that he made them flie, and flue withall a great number of them. For it is said, there were foure thousand LACEDEMONIANS slaine in the field, bicause they had no man to leade them: and moreouer, they say they did not looke to fight, but supposed rather they had wonne the felde, when they saw *Machanidas* chasing still those vpon the spurre, whom he had ouerthrowen. After this, *Philopemen* retyred to mete *Machanidas*, who came backe from the chafe with his straungers. But by chaunce there was a great broade ditch betwene them, so as both of them rode vpon the bankes sides of the same, a great while together, one against another of them: thone side seeking some conuenient place to get ouer and flie, & the other side seeking meanes to kepe them from starting away. So, to see the one before the other in this sorte, it appeared as they had bene wild beastes brought to an extremity, to defend them selues by force, from so fierce a hunter as *Philopemen* was. But whilest they were strutting thus, the tyrans horse that was lusty and coragious, and felt the force of his masters spurs pricking in his sides, that the blood followed after, did venter to leape the ditch, comming to the bankes side, stood upon his hindmost legges, and aduanced forward with his foremost feete, to reach to the other side. Then *Simmias* and *Polyanus*, who were about *Philopemen* when he fought, ran thither straight to kepe him in with their bore staues that he should not leape the ditch. But *Philopemen* who was there before the, perceiuing that the tyrans horse by lifting vp his head so high, did couer all his maisters body: forooke by and by his horse, and tooke his speare in both his hands, and thrust at the tyran with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the ACHAIA that did highly esteeme this valliant acte of his, and his wisdom also in leadeing of the battell: did set vp his image in brasse, in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, in the forme he slue the tyran. They say, that at the assembly of the common games called *Nemea*, (which they solemnise in honor of *Hercules*, not farre from the cite of ARGOS) and not long after he had wonne this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the seconde time of the tribe of the ACHAIA, and beinge at good leasure also by reason of the feast: he first shewed all the GREECIANS that were comethither to see the games and pastimes, his army raunging in order of battell, and made them see how easily they removed their places euery way, as necessity and occasion of fight required, without troubling or confounding their rankes, and that with a maruelous force & redines. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the musitians play, and sing to their instrumentes, who should winne the best game, beinge accompanied with lusty young gentlemen apparelled in purple clothes, and in skarlet coates & callockes they ware upon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well giuen & disposed: who did greatly honor & reuerence their Captaine, & besides that, shewed the selues inwardly of noble hartes, beinge incouraged by many notable battells they had fought, in which they had euer attained the victory, & gotten the vpper hand of their enemies. And by chaunce, as they were entred into the Theater, *Pylades* the musitian, singinge certaine poemes of *Timophemus*, called the *Perfes*, fell into these verses.

O Greekes, it is euen he, whobich your prosperitie
Hath giuen to you: and therewithall a noble liberty.

LL iij

*Battell fought
betwene Philo-
pemen and
Machanidas.*

*Philopemen
ouercame
Machanidas
army, tyrant of
the Lacedemo-
nians.*

*Philopemen
slue Macha-
nidas.*

*Philopemen
turned all cu-
riosity and
dancye farre,
into honest &
riche armour.*

*Braue armour
incourageb
mens mindes
to serue nobly.*

*Philopemen
made warres
with Macha-
nidas tyrant of
Lacedemon.*

The onely
name of Phi-
lopoemen made
the Boeotians
flee for feare.

Nabis ty-
ran of Lace-
demon, wanted
the city of
Messina.

Nabis fresh
Philopoemen
delivered the
city of Mess-
ina from Na-
bis the tyrant
of Lacede-
mon. Philopo-
menes seconde
journey into
Creta discom-
mended.

When he had sweetely song out alowde these noble verses, passingly well made: the whole Assembly of the GREECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to see the games, cast all their eyes straight vpon *Philopoemen*, and clapped their hands one to an other for ioy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they shoulde soone recover their auncient reputation, and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy mindes of their auncesters. And as yonge horse that doe alwayes looke to be ridden by their ordinarie riders, if any straunger get vp on their backs, do straight waxe straunge to be handlede, and make great ado: euen so, when the ACHAIIANS came to any dangerous battell, their hartes were euen done, if they had any other Generall or leader then *Philopoemen*, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they sawe him euer, the whole army reioycied, and desired straight to be at it, they had such confidence in his valliantnesse and good fortune: and truly not without cause. For of all men, their enemies did feare him most, and durst not stand before him: because they were afraid to heare his name only, as it seemed by their doings. For *Philip* king of MACEDON, imagining that if he could finde meanes to dispatche *Philopoemen* out of the way, howsoever it were, the ACHAIIANS would straight take parte againe with him: sent men secretly into the city of ARGOS, to kill him by treason. Howbeit the practise was discovered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the GREECIANS generally, and taken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS layed siege to the city of MEGARA, and thought certainly to haue wonne it at the first assault: there rose a rumor fodainely amongst them, that *Philopoemen* came to aide the city, and was not farre from it with his army. But it was a false reporte. Notwithstandinge, the BOEOTIANS were so scared, that for feare they left their scaling ladders behinde them, which they had set against the walls to haue scaled the towne, and fled straight to saue them selues. An other time, when *Nabis* the tyrant of LACEDEMON, that succeeded *Machanidas*, had taken the city of MESSINA vpon the sodaine: *Philopoemen* being then a priuate man, and hauinge no charge of soldiers, went vnto *Lysippus*, General of the ACHAIIANS that yere, to perswade him that he would send present aide vnto them of MESSINA. *Lysippus* told him, it was to late now to goe thither, and that it was but a lost towne, not to be holpen: considering the enemies were in it already. *Philopoemen* perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither him selfe with the force of MESSINA only, not staying for the assembly of the MEGALOPOLITANS, that were in doubtfull about it, to giue him commission by voyces of the people to take them with him: but they all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthiest of all other to commaunde them. Now when he came neere vnto MESSINA, *Nabis* hearinge of his comminge, durst not tary him, though he had his army with in the city, but stole out at an other gate, and marched away in all the haste he could, thinking him selfe a happy man and he could so escape his handes, and retire with safety, as in dede he did. And thus was MESSINA, by his meanes, deliuered fro captiuitie. All that we haue written hitherto concerning *Philopoemen*, falleth out doubtlesse to his great honor and glory: but afterwards he was greatly dispraised for a iorney he made into Creta, at the request of the GORTYNIANS, who sent to pray him to be their Captaine, being sore troubled with warres at that time. Because *Philopoemen* went then to serue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyrant *Nabis* had greatest warres with the MEGALOPOLITANS, in their owne contry: they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flee the warres, or else that he sought honor out of season with foreine nations, when his poore citizens the MEGALOPOLITANS were in such distresse, that their contry being lost and destroyed, they were driuen to keepe them within their city, and to sell all their voide groundes and streetes in the same with corne, to susteine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almost hard at their towne gates. And the rather, because him selfe making warres with the CRETANS, and seruing straungers beyonde the sea in the meane time, gaue his enemies occasion to slander him that he fled, that he would not tary to fight for defence of his contry. Againe, there were that sayd, because the ACHAIIANS did choose other for their Generall, that he being a priuate man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had maruelously intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that coulde not abide to lie idlely, and that desired specially aboute

all

A all things to serue continually in the warres, and to put in practise his skil and discipline in the leading of an army. The wordes he spake one day of king *Polonius* doth witnesse as much. For when there were some that praised king *Polonius* highly, saying that he trained his army well, and that he still continued his persone in exercise of armes: It is not commendable for a king (sayd he) of his yeares, to delite in traininge his men to exercise armes, but to doe some acte him selfe in persone. Well, in the ende, the MEGALOPOLITANS tooke his absence in such euill parte, that they thought it a peece of treason, and would needs haue banished him, and put him from the freedome of the citie: had not the ACHAIIANS sent their Generall *Ariste-netus* vnto them, who would not suffer the sentence of banishment to passe against him, although otherwise there was euer contention betwene them about matters of the common wealth. Afterwards, *Philopoemen* perceiuing his contrymen made no more accompt of him, to spight them withall, he made diuerse small villages and cities rebell against them, & taught them to say, & to giue it out, that they were not their subiects, neither payed them tribute from the beginning: and he made them stande to it openly, and maintaine their sedition against the city of MEGALIPOLIS, before the councill of the ACHAIIANS. These things happened shortly after. But whilest he made warres in Creta for the GORTYNIANS, he shewed not himselfe a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine & open warres: but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vse their owne policies, fine deuises, & ambushes against them selues. And made them know also, that all their crafts, were but childish sportes as it were: in respect of those that were deuised, and put in execution, by a wise experienced Captaine, and skilfull to fight a battell. So, *Philopoemen* hauing wonne great fame by his actes done in Creta, returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, where he founde, that *Philip* king of MACEDON had bene ouercome in battell, by *Titus Quintus Flaminus*: and that the ACHAIIANS ioyning with the ROMAINES, did make warre against the tyrant *Nabis*, against whom he was made Generall immediatly vpon his returne, and gaue him battell by sea. In the which it seemed he fell into like misfortune, as *Epaminondas* did: the euent of this battell fallinge out much worse with him, then was looked for, in respect of his former corage and valliantnesse. But as for *Epaminondas*, some say he returned willingly out of ASIA, and the Iles, without any employe done, because he would not haue his contrymen fleshed with spoyle by sea, as fearing least of valliant souldiers by lande, they would by litle and litle (as *Plato* layd) become dissolute mariners by sea. But *Philopoemen* contrariwise, presuming vpon the skill he had to set the battell in good order by lande, would needs take vpon him to do the same by sea. But he was taught to his cost to knowe what exercise and experience ment, and howe stronge it maketh them that are practised in thinges. For he lost not onely the battell by sea, beinge vnskillfull of that seruice: but he committed besides a fowler error. For that he caused an old shippe to be rigged, which had bene very good of seruice before, but not occupied in forty yeares together, and imbarcked his contrymen into the same, which were all likely to perith, because the shippe had diuerse leakes, by fault of good calking. This ouerthrow made his enemies despise him vterly, who perswaded them selues he was fled for altogether, and had giuen them sea roome: whereupon they layed siege to the citie of GYTHIVM. *Philopoemen* beinge aduertised thereof, imbarcked his men fodainely, and set vpon his enemies ere they wist it, or had any thought of his comming: and founde them straggling vp and downe, without watch or garde, by reason of the victory they had lately wonne. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set fyre vpon his enemies campe, and burnt it euery whitte: and in this feare and hurly burly, slue a great number of them. Shortly after this stealing upon them, the tyrant *Nabis* also stole upon him againe vnwares, as he was to goe through a maruelous ill and dangerous way. Which made the ACHAIIANS amazed at the first, thinkinge it vnpossible for them that they could euer scape that daunger, considering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But *Philopoemen* bethinking him selfe, and considering the nature & scituacion of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainly then, that the chieft point of a good souldier, and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, accordinge to the time and scituacion of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and forced it accordinge to the scituacion of the place, wherein he was compassed: and by doinge this without

Philopoemen
made diuerse
cities to rebell
against the
Achaians.

The Cretans,
politike men
of warre.

Philopoemen
made Gene-
rall of the A-
chaianes a-
gainst *Nabis*.

Philopoemen
ouercome by
sea.

Nabis befre-
gheth the city
of Gythium.

Philopomen overcame Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, in battell.

Titus Quintus emulor Philopomen.

Nabis slaine by the Achaians.

Philopomen free from counterfeits.

Philopomenes wife counsell to the Lacedæmonians, howe they should be free from their giftes.

trouble or busines, he tooke away all feare of daunger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in A such fierce wise, that in a shorte time he put the all to flight. And when he perceived that they did not stie all in troups together towards the city, but scatteringwise, abroad in the fieldes in euery place: he caused the trompet to sound the retreat. Then he commaunded the chafe to be followed no further, for that all the contry thereabout was full of thicke woddes and groues, very ill for horsemen: and also because there were many brookes, vallies, and quagmyres which they should passe ouer, he encamped him selfe presently, being yett broade day. And so, fearinge least his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after another, and by couples: he sent a great number of ACHAÏANS, & laid them in ambush amongst the brookes and hilles neere about it, which made great slaughter of Nabis souldiers, because they came not altogether in troups, but scatteringly one after another as they fled, one here, an other there, and so fell into their enemies handes, as birdes into the fowlers net. These acts made *Philopomen* singularly beloued of the GREECIANS, and they did him great honor in all their Theaters and common assemblies. Whereat *Titus Quintus Flaminius*, of nature very ambitious, and couetous of honor: did much repine, and was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of ROME should haue place & honor amongst the ACHAÏANS, before a meane gentleman of ARCADIA. And he imagined he had deserued better of all GREECE, then *Philopomen* had: considering, howe by the onely proclamation of an heraulde, he had restored GREECE againe to her auncient liberty, which before his comming was subiect vnto kinge *Philip*, and vnto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwardes, *Titus Quintus* made peace with the tyrant *Nabis*. *Nabis* was shortly after very traitorously slaine by the ACHAÏANS. Whereupon the C itie of SPARTA grew to a tumult, and *Philopomen* straight taking the occasion, went thither with his army, and handeled the matter so wisely: that partly for loue, and partly by force, he wanne the city, & ioyned it vnto the tribe of the ACHAÏANS. So was he maruelously commended and esteemed of the ACHAÏANS for this notable victory, to haue wonne their tribe and communalty so famous a city, and of so great estimation. For the city of SPARTA was no smale increase of their power, and being ioyned as a member of ACHAÏA. Moreover he was by this meanes, the loue and good will of all the honest men of LACEDÆMON, of the hope they had to finde him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyrant *Nabis* house and goodes were solde, as forsitt to the state: they resolued in their counsell to make him a present of the money therof, which amounted to the summe of fixe score talents, D and sent Ambassadors purposely vnto him, to offer it him. Then *Philopomen* shewed himselfe plainly to be no counterfeate honest man, but a good man in deede. For first of all, there was not one of all the LACEDÆMONIANS that durst presume to offer him this money, but every man was asfraid to tell him of it: and euery body that was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for them selues. Notwithstandinge, in the ende they made one *Timolau* to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar frend, and also his hoste. And yett the same *Timolau* when he came vnto MEGALIPOLIS, & was lodged & entertained in *Philopomenes* house, did so much reuerence him for his wise talke and conseruation, for his moderate diet, and iust dealing with all men: that he sawe there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, B but founde some other occasion to excuse the cause of his comming vnto him. And beinge sent vnto him againe the second time, he did euen as much as at the first time. And making a third prooffe, he ventured at the last to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good will the city of SPARTA did beare him. *Philopomen* became a glad man to heare it: and when he had heard all he had to say to him, he went him selfe vnto the city of SPARTA. There he declared vnto the counsell, that it was not honest men, and their good frends, they should seeke to winne and corrupt with money, considering they might commaund their vertue vpon any occasion, without cost vnto them: but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by feditious orations in counsell did mutine, and put a whole cite in vtrope to the ende that hauing their mouthes stopped with giftes, they should trouble them the lesse in the common wealth. For, said he, it is more necessarie to stoppe your enemies mouthes, and to sowe vp their lippes from libertie of speaking: then it is to keepe your frendes from it.

So

A So noble a man was *Philopomen* against all couetousnesse of money. Shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS beginning to stirre againe, *Diophanes* (who was then General of the ACHAÏANS) beinge aduertised of it, beganne to prepare to punish them. The LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side preparing for the warres, did set all the contry of PHELOPONNESVS in armes. Hereupon *Philopomen* sought to pacifie *Diophanes* anger, declaring vnto him, that kinge *Antiochus*, and the ROMAINES, being at warres together at that present time, and they both hauing puissant armies one against an other in the midst of GREECE: it was meete for a good General and wise gouernour, to haue an eye to their doings, to be careful of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thinge within his contry at that instant, but then rather to dissemble it, and not to seeme to heare any fault whatsoever they did. *Diophanes* would not be perswaded, but entred the territories of LACEDÆMON with a great army, and *Titus Quintus Flaminius* with him: and they together marched directly towards the city of SPARTA. *Philopomen* was so madde with their doings, that he tooke upon him an enterprise not very lawfull, nor altogether iust: neuerthelesse, his attempt proceeded of a noble minde, and great corage. For he got into the cite of SPARTA, and beinge but a priuate person, kept out the General of the ACHAÏANS, & the Consul of the ROMAINES for entring the city: & when he had pacified all troubles and seditions in the same, he deliuered it vp againe as it was before, into the handes of the communalty of the ACHAÏANS. Neuerthelesse, him selfe being afterwards General of the ACHAÏANS, did compell the LACEDÆMONIANS to receive those home againe whom they had banished for certaine faultes, and did put foure score naturall C borne citizens of SPARTA vnto death, as *Polybius* writeth. Or three hundred and fifty, as *Arrian* saies: an other historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and rased them to the grounde, and tooke away the most parte of their territories, and gaue them to the MEGALOPOLITANS. All those whome the tyrannes had made free denizens of SPARTA, he compelled them to departe the contry of LACEDÆMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAÏA, three thousand only excepted, who would not obey his commaundement: all those he solde for slaues, and with the money he made of them (to spight them the more) he builta goodly fayre walke within the cite of MEGALIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACEDÆMONIANS all the mischief he coulede, and as it were, to treade them vnder the feete in their most grieuous misery: he did a most cruell and vniust acte towards them. For he compelled D them to leaue the discipline and maner of education of their children, which *Lycurgus* had of olde time instituted: and made them to follow the maner the ACHAÏANS vsed, in liue of their olde grounded contry custome, because he sawe they would neuer be humble minded, so long as they kept *Lycurgus* order and institution. Thus were they driuen to put the heades in the choller, by the miserable mishappe that befell them: and in all despight, to suffer *Philopomen* in this maner to cut a sunder (as it were) the sinewes of their common wealth. But afterwardes they made sure to the ROMAINES, that they might be suffered to enioy their auncient discipline againe, which being graunted them, they straight left the maner of the ACHAÏANS, and did set vp againe as much as was possible (after so great miserie and corruption of their maners) their olde auncient customes and orders of their contry. Now about the time the warres F beganne in GREECE, betwene the ROMAINES and kinge *Antiochus*, *Philopomen* was then a priuate man, and without any authority. He seeinge that kinge *Antiochus* lay still in the cite of CHALCIS, and did nothing but feast and loue, and had married a younge maide farre vnmeeete for his yeres: and perceiving that his SYRIAN souldiers wandered vp and downe the townes in great disorder, playing many lewde partes without guide of Captaines: he was very fory he was not at that time General of the ACHAÏANS, and tolde the ROMAINES, that he enuied their victory, hauing warres with enemies that were so easily to be overcome. For (sayd he) if fortune fauored me that I were General of the ACHAÏANS at this present, I woulde haue killed them euery man in the cellers and tipping houses. Now when the ROMAINES had overcome *Antiochus*, they beganne to haue surer footing in GREECE: and to compasse in the ACHAÏANS of all sides, and specially, by reason the heades and gouernors of the cities about them did yelde to the ROMAINES, to winne their fauor. And now their greatnesse grewe in half, by the fauor of the goddes, so as they were become the monarche of the whole worlde,

Diophanes & T. Quintus Flaminius do invade Lacedæmonia. Philopomenes noble act.

Philopomenes cruelty to the Spartans.

Philopomen made the Spartans forsake Lycurgus law.

Antiochus so laxe and marriage at Chalcis.

Philopomenes counsell against the Romanes.

who brought them nowe to the ende that fortune had determined. *Philopamen* in the meane A time did like a good pylor, bare hard against the billowes and roughnesse of their waues: and though for the time he was forced to giue place, and to let things passe, yet for all that he was against the ROMAINES, and did withstande them in the most parte of their proceedinges, by seeking euer to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquence & well doinge caried great authority among the ACHAÏANS. And when *Aristenetus* MEGALOPOLITAN, (a man of great authority among the ACHAÏANS, and one that euer bare great deuotion to the ROMAINES) sayd in open Senate among the ACHAÏANS, that they should deny the ROMAINES nothings, nor shew them selues vnthankfull to them: *Philopamen* hearing what he sayd, held his peace a while, and suffered him to speake (though it boyled in his hart, he was so angry with him) and in the ende, breaking all patience, and as one ouercome with choller, he sayd. O *Aristenetus*, why haue you such hast to see the vnfortunate ende of GREECE? An other time, when *Manius*, Consull of ROME (after he had conquered king *Antiochus*) did make request to the counsell of the ACHAÏANS, that such as were banished from LACEDÆMON, might retorne home into their contry againe, and that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* also did earnestly intreate them: *Philopamen* was against it, nor for any hatred he bare vnto the banished men, but because he would haue done it by his owne meane, and the only grace of the ACHAÏANS, to the ende they should not be beholding for so good a turne, neither vnto *Titus*, nor yet to the ROMAINES. Afterwardes he him selfe, being Generall of the ACHAÏANS, did restore them wholly to their owne againe. Thus was *Philopamen* sometime, a litle to bolde and quarrellous, by reason of his great stomake: and specially when any man of authority sought for to haue things. Lastly, C beinge three score and tenne yeares of age, he was the eight time chosen Generall of the ACHAÏANS, and hoped well, not only to passe the yeare of his chage in peace and quietnes, but also all the rest of his life without any sturre of new warres, he saw the affaires of GREECE take to good successe. For like as the force & strength of sickenes declineth, as the natural strength of the sickely body empaireth: so through all the cities and people of GREECE, enuy of quarrell and warres surceased, as their power diminished. Neuerthelesse, in the end of his yeares gouernment, the goddes diuine (who iustly punish all insolent wordes and deedes) threw him to the grounde, as they suffer a ryder vnfortunatly to take a fall of his horse, beinge come almost to the ende of his carriere. For they wryte, that he beinge in a place on a time amongst good companie, where one was maruelously praised for a good Captaine, sayd vnto them: D why, masters, can ye commend him that was contented to be taken prisoner aloue of his enemies? Shortly after came newes that *Diocrates* MESSENIAN (a priuate enemy of *Philopamenes* for certaine controuersies past betwene them, and a man generally hated besides, of all honorable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawn the city of MESSINA from the deuotion of the ACHAÏANS: and moreouer that he came with an army to take a towne called COLONIDE. *Philopamen* was at that time in the city of ARGOS, sicke of an agew, and yet hearing these newes, tooke his iorney toward MEGALIPOLIS, making all the hast he could possible, so that he came aboue foure hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence toward MESSINA, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at armes of the lustiest and wealtheft MEGALOPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of the city, and willingly offered them selues to goe with him for the goodwill they bare him, and for the desire they had to follow his vallianties. Thus went they on their way towards the city of MESSINA, and marched so longe, that they came nere vnto the hill of Euander, where they met with *Diocrates* & his cōpany, & gaue so fierce an onset on them, that they made them all turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a reliefe of foue hidred men to *Diocrates*, which he had left to keepe the contry of MESSINA. The flying men that were scattered here & there, seeing this supply, gathered them selues againe together, and shewed vpon the hills. *Philopamen* feareinge to be enuironned, and beinge desirous to bring his men safe home againe, who most of loue had followed him: beganne to marche away through narrow bulshy places, him selfe being in the rewerd, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, & skirmished with them, only to driue them away from followinge of the rest of his company, and not a man that durst once set upon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him.

How-

A Howebeit *Philopamen* sundry times venturinge farre from his company, to geue these young noble men leasure to faue them selues one after another: tooke no hede to him selfe that he was alone, enuironned on euery side with a great number of ennemles. Notwithstandinge, of all his enemies there was not a man that durst come to hande strokes with him, but still flinging and shooting at him a farre of, they draue him in the end amongst stony places betwene hewen rocks, where he had much a doe to guide his horse, although he had spurred him that he was all of a gore blood. And as for his age, that did not lette him but he might haue saved him selfe, for he was strong and lusty by the continuall exercise he tooke: but by cursed happe, his body beinge weake with sickenes, and weary with the long iorney he had made that day, he founde him selfe very heauy and ill disposed, that his horse stumbling with him, threwe him to the grounde. His fall was very great, and brused all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and neuer sturred nor spake: so that his enemies thinkinge he had bene dead, came to turne his body to strippe him. But when they saw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once upon him, and tooke him, and bounde both his hands behinde him, and did all the villany and mischief they could vnto him, and such as one would litle haue thought *Diocrates* would haue vied in that sorte, or that he could haue had such an ill thought towards him. So, they that taried behinde in the city of MESSINA, were maruelous glad when they heard these newes, and ranne all to the gates of the city to see him brought in. When they saw him thus shamefully bounde, and pinnioned, against the dignity of so many honors as he had receiued, and of so many triumphes and victories as he had passed: the most parte of them wept for pitie, to consider the mishappe and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is so litle certainty, as in manner it is nothing. Then beganne there some curious speeche to runne in the mouthes of the people by litle and litle, that they should remember the great good he had done vnto them in times past, and the liberty he had restored them vnto, when he expulsd the tyrant *Nabis* out of MESSINA. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to please *Diocrates*, sayd they should hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a dangerous enemy, and that would neuer forgieue man that had once offended him: and the rather, because he would be more terrible to *Diocrates*, then euer he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiuing such open shame by him. Neuertheles, in the end they caried him into a certain dungeon vnder the ground, called the treasury, (which had neither light nor ayre at all into it, nor dore, nor half dore, but a great stone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and so they did let him downe the same, and stopped the hole againe with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when these younge noble ACHAÏAN horsemen had fled vpon the spurte a great way from the enemy, they remembered them selues, & looked round about for *Philopamen*: & finding him not in sight, they supposed straight he had bene slaine. Thereupon they stayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he answered not, they beganne to say among them selues, they were beastes and cowards to flie in that sorte: and how they were dishonored for euer so to haue forsaken their Captaine, to faue them selues, who had not spared his owne life, to deliuer them from danger. Hereupon ryding on their way, and enquiring still for him: they were in the end aduertised how he was taken. And then they went & caried those newes through all the towne and cities of ACHAÏA, which were very sory for him, and tooke it as a signe of great ill fortune toward them. Whereupon they agreed to send Ambassadors forthwith to the MESSENIANS, to demaunde him: and in the meane time every man should prepare to arme them selues, to go thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the ACHAÏANS had thus sent, *Diocrates* feared nothing so much, as that delay of time might saue *Philopamenes* life: wherefore to prevent it, as soone as night came, and that the people were at rest, he straight caused the stone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to *Philopamen* with a cuppe of poison to offer him, who was commaunded also not to goe from him, vnill he had dronke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found *Philopamen* layed on the grounde upon a litle cloke, hauinge no list to sleepe; he was so grievously troubled in his minde. Who when he sawe light, and the man standing by him, holding a cuppe in his hande with this poison, he sat vp right vpon his cōwch, howbeit with great paine he was so weake:

Philopamen
chosen the
eights time
Generall of
the Achaians
being 70 yeres
olde.

Philopamen
his iorney a-
gainst *Di-*
ocrates.

Mon. Enu-
der.

Philopamen
was misfor-
tune.
Philopamen
taken.

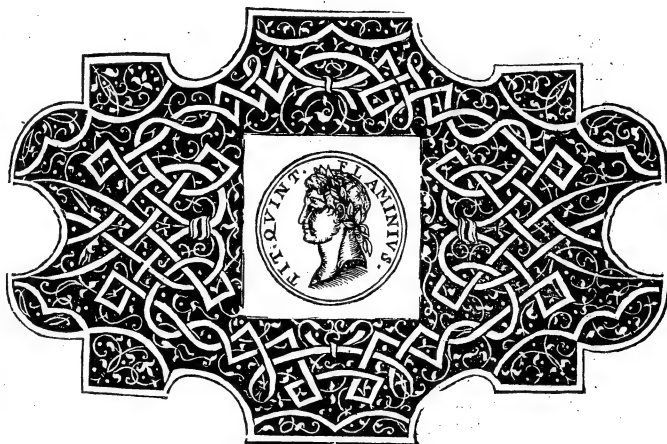
Philopamen
poisoned by
Diocrates.

and taking the cuppe in his hande, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horsemen that came with him, and specially of *Lycortas*. The hangman made him answer, that the most of them were faued. Then he cast his handes a litle ouer his head, and looking merely on him he sayd: it is well, seeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith speaking no moe wordes, nor makinge other a doe, he droncke vp all the poison, and layed him downe as before. So nature straued not much withall, his body being brought so lowe, and thereupon the poison wrought his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The newes of his death ran presently through all *ACHAIA*, which generally from high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the *ACHAIA* youth and counsellors of their cities and townes, assembled them selues in the city of *MEGALIPOLIS*, where they all agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made *Lycortas* their Generall, vnder whose conduct they invaded the *MESSENIANS*, with force and violence, puttinge all to the fire and sword: so as the *MESSENIANS* were so feared with this mercilesse fury, that they yielded them selues, and wholly consented to receiue the *ACHAIANS* into their city. But *Dinocrates* would not giue them leasure to execute him by iustice, for he killed him selfe: and so did all the rest make them selues away, who gaue aduise that *Philopomen* should be put to death. But those that would haue had *Philopomen* hanged on a gibbet, *Lycortas* caused the to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kind of tormets. That done, they burnt *Philopomenes* body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from *MESSINA*, not in disorder, one upon an others necke as euery man list: but in such an order and ray, that in the midst of these funeralls they did make a triumphe of victorie. For the souldiers were all crowned with garlandes of lawrell in token of victorie, notwithstanding, the teares ranne downe their cheekes in token of sorowe, and they led their enemies prisoners, shackled and chained. The funerall pot in the which were *Philopomenes* ashes, was so couered with garlandes of flowers, nosegayes, and laces, that it could scant be seene or discerned, and was caried by one *Polybius* a young man, the sonne of *Lycortas*, that was Generall at that time to the *ACHAIANS*: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefeest of the *ACHAIANS*, and after them also followed all the souldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not so sorowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which haue great cause of sorow: nor yet so ioyfull, as those that came conquerors from so great a victorie. Those of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they past, came and presented them selues vnto them, to touche the funerall pot of his ashes, euen as they were wont to take him by the hande, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany his conuoy vnto the city of *MEGALIPOLIS*. At the gates whereof, were olde men, women, and children, which thrustinge them selues amongst the souldiers, did renewe the teares, sorowes, and lamentacions of all the miserable and vnfortunate city: who tooke it that they had lost with their citizen, the first and chiefeest place of honor among the *ACHAIANS*. So he was buried very honorably as appertained vnto him: and the other prisoners of *MESSINA*, were all stoned to death, about his sepulchre. All the other cities of *ACHAIA*, besides many other honors they did vnto him, did set vp statues, and as like to him, as could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the vnfortunate time of *GREECE*, when the city of *CORINTHE* was burnt and destroyed by the *ROMAINES*, there was a malicious *ROMAINE* that did what he could to haue the same pulled downe againe, by burdening & accusing *Philopomen* (as if he had bene alie) that he was alwaies enemy to the *ROMAINES*, and enuied much their prosperity and victories. But after *Polybius* had answered him: neither the Consul *Mummius*, nor his counsellors, nor lieutenants, would suffer them to deface & take away the honors done in memory of so famous & worthy a man, although he had many waies done much hurt vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, vnto *Manius*. So, these good men then made a difference betwene duety & profit: & did thinke honesty & profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason and iustice. Moreover they were perswaded, that like as men receiue curtesie and goodnes of any, so are they bound to requite them againe, with kindenes and duety. And as men vie to acknowledge the same: euen so ought men to honor and reuerence vertue. And thus much for the life of *Philopomen*.

The end of *Philopomenes* life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Titus Quintius Flaminius*.



It is easie to see *Titus Quintius Flaminius* forme, and stature, by *Philopomenes* statue of brasie, to whome we compare him: the which is now set vpp at *ROME*, nere to great *Apollo* that was brought from *CARTHAGE*, and is placed right against the comming in to the show place, vnder which there is an inscription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they say of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men againe. For, if he did punish any man that had angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continew with him. He did good also to many, and euer loved them whom he had once pleased, as if they had done him some pleasure: & was ready to do for them still whom he founde thankfull, because he would euer make them beholding to him, and thought that as honorable a thinge, as he could purchase to him selfe. Bicause he greatly sought honor about all things, when any notable seruice was to be done, he would do it him selfe, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with those that could helpe him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to exercise his vertue with: the other, he tooke them as his fellows and followers of honor with him. He came to mansstate, when the citie of *ROME* had greatest warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of *ROME*, which were of age to cary weapon, were sent to the warres to learne to traile the pyke, and how to become good Captaines. Thus was he entred into marshall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against *Hanniball* of *CARTHAGE*, where he was made Colonell of a thousande footemen, vnder *Marcellus* the consull: who being slaine by an ambuish *Hanniball* had layed for him betwene the cities of *BANOTA*, and *VENUSIA*; then they did choole *Titus Quintius Flaminius* gouernor of the prouince and city of *TARENTVM*, which was now taken againe the seconde time. In this gouernment of his, he warne the reputation as much of a good and iust man, as he did of an expert and skillfull Captaine. By reason whereof, when the *ROMAINES* were requested to send men to inhabite the cities of *NARNIA* & *COSIA*, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them, which chiefly gaue him hart and corage to aspire at the first to the Consullshippe, passinge

M M

Note the humanity of the *Romaines*, keepinge their enemies monuments from defacing.

Titus Quintius charge in warre.

Degrees of
officers before
one came to
be Consul.

ouer all other meane offices, as to be *Ædile*, Tribune, or Prator, by which (as by degrees) other younge men were wont to attaine the Consulshippe. Therefore when the time came that the Consuls should be elected, he did present him selfe amonge other, accompanied with a great number of those he hadde brought with him, to inhabit the two newe towne, who did make earnest sute for him. But the two Tribunes *Fulvius*, and *Manlius*, spake against him, and sayed: it was out of all reason, that so younge a man should in such manner preaseto haue the office of the highest dignitie, against the vie and custome of ROME, before he hadde passed through the inferior offices of the common wealth. Neuerthelesse, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voyces of the people: who presently pronounced him Consul openly, with *Sextius Ælius*, although he was not yet thirtie yeare olde. Afterwards, *Ælius* and he deuidinge the offices of the state by lotte: it fell apou *T. Quintius* to make warre with *Philip* kinge of MACEDON. In the which me thinks fortune greatly fauored the ROMAINES affaires, that made such a man Generall of these warres: for, to haue pointed a Generall that by force and violence would haue fought all thinges at the MACEDONIANS handes, that were a people to be wonne rather by gentleness and perswasions, then by force & compulsion: it was all against them selues. *Philip*, to maintaine the bront of a battell against the ROMAINES, had power enough of his owne in his realme of MACEDON: but to make warre any long time, to furnish him selfe with money and vittales, to haue a place and cities to retire vnto, and lastly, to haue all other necessaries for his men and army: it stoode him apou to get the force of GREECE. And had not the force of GREECE bene politickly cut from him, the warres against him had not bene ended with one battell. Moreover, GREECE (which neuer before bare the ROMAINES any great goodwill) would not haue delt then so inwardly in frendshippe with them, had not their Generall bene (as he was) a gentle persone, lowly, and tractable, that wanne them more by his wisdom, then by his force, & could both eloquently vter his minde to them, and curiously also heare them speake, that had to doe with him, and chiefly, ministred iustice and equity to euery man a like. For it is not to be thought that GREECE would otherwise so soone haue withdrawn them selues from the rule of those, with whome they were acquainted, and gouerned: and haue put them selues vnder the rule of strangers, but that they saw great iustice and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appeare, by declaring of his actes. *Titus* was informed, that the Generalls before him sent to the warre in MACEDON (as *Sulpitius*, and *Publius Iulius*) vsed to come thither about the later end of the yeare, and made but cold warres, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in an other against *Philip*, and all to take some strait, or to cut of vittells: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarying at home, consumed the most of their Consulshippe at ROME, in matters of gouernment, and so enioyed the honor of their office. Afterwards in the end of their yeare, they would set out to the warres, of intent to get an other yeare ouer their heades in their office, that spending one yeare in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the warres abroad. But *Titus* not minding to trifle out the halfe of his Consulshippe at ROME, and the other abroad in the warres: did willingly leaue all his honors and dignities he might haue enioyed by his office at ROME, and besought the Senate that they would appoint his brother *Lucius Quintius* Lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he tooke with him selfe about three thousande olde souldiers of those that had first ouerthrowen *Asdrubal* in SPAYNE, & *Hannibal* afterwards in AFRICK, vnder the conduct of *Scipio*, which yet were able to serue, and were very willinge to goe with him in this iorney, to be the strength of his army. With this companie he passed the seas without daunger, and landed in EPIRVS, where he found *Publius Iulius* encamped with his army before kinge *Philip*, who of long time had lien in campe about the mouth of the riuer of Apfus, to kepe the straight and passage which is the entry into EPIRVS. So that *Publius Iulius* had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the naturall force and hardnes of the place. Then *Titus* tooke the army of him, and sent him to ROME. Afterwards, him selfe went in persone to view and consider the nature of the contry, which was in this sorte. It is a longe valley f wallied on either side with great high mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe in THESSEALIE. Howbeit it had no such goodly woods, nor grene forrests, nor fayer meadows,

not

T. Q. Flaminius, Sextius Ælius Consul, T. Q. Flaminius maketh warre with Philip king of Macedon.

Titus came to the Grecians more than his force.

T. Q. landed in Epirus. Apfus flu.

The description of the contry of Epirus.

A nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had: but it was a great deepe mariishe or quauemyre, through the midst whereof the riuer called Apfus did runne, being in greatnes and swiftnes of streame, very like to the riuer of Peneus. The riuer did occupie all the ground at the feete of the mountaines, fauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow straight pathe by the waters side, very vnhandesome for an army to passe that way, though they could not a man to keepe the passage. There were some in the army that counselled *Titus* to fetch a great compasse about by the contry of DASSARETIDE, and by the city of LYNCVS, where the contry is very plaine, and the way maruelous easie. Howbeit he stood in great feare he should lacke vittells, if he stayed farre from the sea, and happily if he fell into any barren or leane contry, (*Philip* refusing the battell, and purposing to sie) he should be constrained in the end to returne againe towards the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the mountaines to set vpon his enemy, and to proue if he could winne the passage by force. Now *Philip* kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the ROMAINES forced to get vp the hilles, they were received with darts, slings, and shot, that lighted amongst them here & there: in so much as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slayne and hurt on either side. But this was not the end of the warre. For in the meane time there came certaine neatherdes of the contry vnto *Titus* (who did vse to keepe beastes on these mountaines) and tolde him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not by the which they promised to guide his army so, that in three dayes at the furthest, they would bringe them on the top of the mountaine. And because they might be assured that their wordes were true, they sayed they were sent to him by *Charopus*, the sonne of *Machatas*. This *Charopus* was the chieftest man of the EPIROT'S, who loued the ROMAINES very well, yet he fauored them but vnder hand, for feare of *Philip*. *Titus* gaue credit vnto them, and so sent one of his Captaines with four thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen. The heard men that were their guides, went before still, fast bounde: and the ROMAINES followed after. All the day time the army rested in thicke woodes, and marched all night by moone light, which was then by good happe at the full. *Titus* hauing sent these men away, rested all the rest of his campe: fauing that some daies he entaynted them with some light skirmishes to occupy the enemy withall. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compasse about, shoulde come vnto the top of the mountaine about the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, & deuided them into three troupes, with the one of them he him selfe went on that side of the riuer where the way is straightest, making his bands to march directly against the side of the hill. The MACEDONIANS againe, they shot lustily at them from the height of the hill, and in certain places amongst the rockes they came to the sword. At the selfe same time, the two other troupes on either hande of him did their endeavor likewise to get vp the hill, and as it were enuoying one another, they climed vp with great corage against the sharpe and steepe hanginge of the mountaine. When the sunne was vp, they might see a farre as it were, a certain smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mistes we see comonly rise from the tops of the mountaines. The enemies could see nothing, because it was behinde them, & that the top of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The ROMAINES, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the midst of the fight, that it was their fellows they looked for. But when they saw it increased stil more, & more, & in such sorte, that it darkened all the ayer: then they did assure them selues it was certainly the token their men did giue them that they were come. Then they beganne to crie out, clymging vp the hilles with such a lusty corage, that they draue their enemies vp the hill still, euen vnto the very rough and hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellows also that were behinde the enemies, did aunswer the with like lowde cries from the top of the mountaine: wherwith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled presently apou it. Nothwithstāding, there were not slaine about two thousand of the, because the hardnes & straightnes of the place did so gard them, that they could not be chased. But the ROMAINES spoiled their campe, tooke all that they found in their tents, tooke also their slaues, & wane the passage into the mountaines, by the which they entered the cōtry of EPIRVS: & did passe through it so quietly, & with so great abstinence, that though they were farre from their ships & the sea,

Charopus, (Machatas sonne) the chieftest man of the Epirus.

T. Q. possessed the straighter of the mountaine.

The Macedonians flee.

Philipp flying
king of Ma-
cedon.

T. Q. Flami-
nius modestly
forbearing
spoyle: came
him many
friends.

Pyrrus say-
ing of the Ro-
maines army.

King Attalus
death.

& lacked their ordinary portion of come which they were wont to haue monthely, & that vi-
tells were very scant with the at that time, yet they neuer tooke any thing of the cōtry, though
by T H E S S A L I E, and flying for feare, had caused the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the
mountaines, & then to set fire on their houses, & to leaue those goodes they could not carry
away, by reason of the weight & vnhandsome cariage thereof, to the spoyle of his souldiers: & so
(as it seemed) he left the whole cōtry to the conquest of the R O M A I N E S. Whereupon Titus
looking cōsiderately to his doings, gaue his men great charge to passe through the cōtry with-
out doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their enemies had now left to them as their
owne. So they taried not long to enioy the benefit of their orderly and wise forbearing of the
cōtry. For, so loone as they were entred T H E S S A L I E, the cities willingly yielded them selues
vnto them: & the G R E E C I A N S inhabiting beyond the cōtry of T H E R M O P Y L E S, did manue-
lously desire to see Titus, asking no other thing, but to put them selues into his hands. The A-
C H A I A N S also on the other side, did renouice the league & alliance they had made with Philip
and furthermore did determine in their counsell, to make warre with him on the R O M A I N E S
side. And although the A E T O L I A N S were at that time frendes and confederates with the Ro-
maines, & that they did shew the selues very louing to take their parte in these warres: neuer-
theles when they desired the O V R T I A N S that they would put their city into their hands, and
were offered that it should be kept & defended fro Philip: they would not harkē therto, but sent
for Titus, & put the selues & their goods wholly into his protection. They say, that when king
Pyrrus first saw the R O M A I N E S army range in order of battell from the top of a hill, he said this
order of the barbarous people, setting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous
maner. And those also that neuer had seene Titus before, & came for to speake with him: were
compelled in a manner to say as much. For wherethey had heard the M A C E D O N I A N S say,
that there came a Captaine of the barbarous people that destroyed all before him by force of
armes, & subdued whole contries by violence: they sayd to the contrary, that they found him a
man, in deede young of yeres, howbeit gentle, & courteous to looke on, & that spake the Greeke
tongue excellently wel, & was a louer only of true glory. By reason wherof they returned home
maruelous glad, & filled all the cities & townes of G R E E C E with goodwill towards him, and
sayd: they had seene Titus the Captaine, that would restore them to their ancient libertie a-
gain. Then it much more appeared, when Philip shewed him selfe willing to haue peace, and
that Titus also did offer it him, and the frendshippe of the people of R O M E, with these cōdi-
tions: that he would leaue the G R E E C I A N S their whole liberties, & renouice his garrisons out
of their cities and strong holdes: which Philip refused to do. And thereupon all G R E E C E, and
euen those which fauored Philip, layd with one voyce: that the R O M A I N E S were not come
to make warres with them, but rather with the M A C E D O N I A N S in fauor of the G R E E C I A N S.
Whereupon all G R E E C E came in, & offered them selues vnto Titus without cōpulsion. And as
he passed through the cōtry of B O E O T I A, without any shew at al of warres, the chiefeest me
of the city of T H E B E S wēt to meete him: who though they tooke part with the king of M A C E D O N,
because of a priuate mā called Brachyleus, yet they would honor Titus, as those which were cō-
tented to keepe league & frendship with either side. Titus embraced them, & spake very courte-
ously vnto the, going on his way stil saye & softly, entrentaining the sometime with one matter,
& sometime with an other, & kept them talke of purpose, to the end his souldiers being wearied
with iorneying, might in the meane time take good breath: & so marching on, by lide & lide, he
entred into the city with the. Wherewith the Lords of T H E B E S were not greatly pleased, but
yet they durst not refuse him, though he had not at that time any nūber of souldiers about him.
Whē he was within T H E B E S, he praied audiēce, & began to perswade the people (as carefully
as if he had not had the city already) that they would rather take parte with the R O M A I N E S,
then with the king of M A C E D O N. And to further Titus purpose, king Attalus being by chance
at that time in the assembly, did help to exhort the T H E B E S very earnestly, that they would
doe as Titus perswaded them. But Attalus was more earnest then became a man of his yeres, for
for the desire he had (as was imagined) to shewe Titus his eloquence: who did so straine and
moue him selfe withall, that he founded todaynely in the middest of his oration, whereby the

rewme

The Romans
yield vnto the
Remaines.

Quintus ar-
my.

King Philip
and Quintus
met with their
armies neere
Scotusa.

A rewme fell downe so fast vpon him, that it tooke away his senses, so as he fell in a tranne be-
fore them all, and few dayes after was conueyed againe by sea into A S I A, where he liued not
long after. In the meane time, the B O E O T I A N S came into the R O M A I N E S, & tooke their parte.
And Philip hauing sent Ambassadors to R O M E, Titus also sent thither of his men to sollicite for
him, in two respects. The one, if the warres continued against Philip, that then they would pro-
long his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they would do him the
honor, as to make and conclude it with Philip. For Titus of his owne nature being very ambitio-
us, did feare least they would send a successor to continew those warres, who should take the
glory from him, and make an end of them. But his friends made such earnest sute for him, that
neither king Philip attained that he prayed: neither was there sent any other generall in Titus
place, but he still continued his charge in these warres. Wherefore, so loone as he had receiued
his cōmission & authority from the Senate, he went straight towards T H E S S A L I E, with great
hope to ouercome Philip. For he had in his army about fix & twenty thousand fighting men,
wherof the A E T O L I A N S made fix thousand footemen, and three thousand horsemen. King
Philip army on another side was no lesse in number, & they began to march one towards the
other, vntill at the length they both drew neere the city of S C O T V S A, where they determined
to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were afraid, to see them selues one so neere an
other: but rather to the contrary, the R O M A I N E S on the one side tooke greater hart & courage
vnto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with themselves what great honor they should win
to ouercome the M A C E D O N I A N S, who were so highly esteemed for their vallianties, by reason
of the famous acts that Alexander the great did by them. And the M A C E D O N I A N S on the o-
ther side also, taking the R O M A I N E S for other maner of souldiers then the P E R S I A N S, began to
haue good hope if they might winne the field, to make king Philip more famous in the world,
then euer was Alexander his father. Titus the calling his men together, spake, & exhorted the
to stand to it like men, & to shew the selues valliant souldiers in this battell, as those which were
so thew the proofe of their valliantesse in the hart of G R E E C E: the goodliest Theater of the
world, & against their enemies of most noble fame. Philip then by chance, or forced to it by
the spede he made, because they were both ready to ioyne, did get vp vpon a chamell
house, (where they had buried many bodies, being a litle hill raised vp about the rest, & neere
the trenches of his campe) and there began to encourage his souldiers, as all generals do before
they giue battell. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they tooke it for an ill signe that he
was gotten vp on the top of a graue to speake vnto them: he of a conceite at the matter, did of
himselfe deferre to giue battell that day. The next morning, because the night was very wet by
reason the fowthe windes had blowen, the clouds were turned to a miste, & filled all the valley
with a darke grosse thicke ayer, coming from the mountaines thereabouts, which couered the
field betwene both camps with a mist all the morning, by reason wherof the skowtes on both
sides that were sent to discouer what the enemies did, in very thorte time met together, & one
gaue charge vpon an other in a place, they call the dogges heads, which are pointes of rockes
placed vpon litle hills one before an other, and very nere one vnto an other; which haue bene
called so, because they haue had some likenesse of it. In this skowt there were many changes,
as is commonly talsh out when they fight in such ill fauored stony places. For sometime the Ro-
maines fled, and the M A C E D O N I A N S chased them: an other time the M A C E D O N I A N S that
followed the chafe, were glad to fly themselves, & the R O M A I N E S, who fled before, now had
the in chafe. This change & alteration came by sending new supplies full from both camps,
to relieue them that were distressed & driven to flee. Now began the miste to breake vp, & the
ayer to cleere so that both generals might see about them, what was done in either campe by rea-
son wherof both of the drew on their army to the field & battell. So Philip had the vantage on
the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, so which they
came for a maipe to set vpon the R O M A I N E S, & with such a fury, that the frowest & valliantest
that could be, had neuer bene able to abide the heat of their battell, so closely were they ioined
together, & their wall of pykes was so trog, but on his left wing it was not so, because the racks
of his battell could not ioyne so nere, nor close targets to target, the place being betwixt the hills
& the rockes, where the battell was coming to, as their weapons were pulled by reason of the straightnes

M M iij

Battell be-
come *Quin-
tius and Phi-
lip* kinge of
Macedon.

The proprie-
tie of the Mac-
edonian bat-
tell.

*Quintius o-
merone Phil-
ippus* army.

*Mutius be-
trix the A-
etolians &
the Romaines.*

*Alcous ver-
ses in disgrace
of kinge Phi-
lip.*

*Philippus ver-
ses against
Alcous.*

*Priny grudge
betwixt
Quintius and
the Aetolians.*

& vneuenes of the ground, to leaue it open, & vnfurnished in many places. *Titus* findinge this aduantage, went fro the left wing of his battell which he saw ouerlaied by the right wing of his enemies, & goinge sodainly toward the left wing of king *Philips* battell, he set vpon the *Macedonians* on that side, where he saw they could not close their ranks in the front, nor ioyne them together in the middest of the battell (which is the whole strength & order of the *Macedonian* fight) because the field was vp hill & downe hill: & to fight hand to hand they were so pestered behind, that one thronged & ouerlaied an other. For the battell of the *Macedonians* hath this property, that so long as the order is kept close & ioyned together, it seemeth as it were but the body of a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, & that they are fundered & not ioyned together, it doth not only loose the force & power of the whole body, but also of euery priuate fouldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diuersity of the weapons, wherewith they fight, & partly for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing & ioyning together of their ranks & orders which doth stay vpon one another, more the doth euery priuate fouldiers strength. So when this left wing of the *Macedonians* was broken, & that they ran their way: one parte of the *Romaines* followed the chafe, & the other ranne to giue a charge vpon the flanks of the right winge which fought yet, & they made great slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, beganne to stagger and breake, & in the ende ranne away as fast as the other did, throwinge downe their weapons: inso much as there were slaine of them eight thousande in the field, and fife thousande taken prisoners in the chafe. And had not the fault bene in the *Aetolians*, *Philip* had not saued him selfe by flyinge as he did. For whilest the *Romaines* had their enemies in chafe, the *Aetolians* taried, & rised all kinge *Philips* campe, so as they had left the *Romaines* nothinge to spoyle at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell, & hot words betweene them, & one with an other. But afterwards they angered *Titus* worse, challenginge the honor of this victory to the selues, because they gaue it out through *Greece*, that they alone had ouerthrowne king *Philip* in the battell. So that in the songs and ballets the Poets made in praise of this victory, which euery cotry & towne man had in his mouth: they alwaies put the *Aetolians* before the *Romaines*, as in this that followeth, which was currently song in euery place.

Oh friend, vvhich passest by: here he vve wreched phares,

Vvithouten honor of thy game, vvitouth lamented teares.

VVe thirty thousand vvere, vvhich ended hane our dayes:

In cruell coasts of Thessalie, vvhich caused our decayes.

VVe haue bene ouerthrowen by th Aetolians men of warre:

And by the Latine crewes like vviife, vvhom Titus led from farre.

Euen out of Italie, to Macedonie lande,

Vs to destroy, he captaine like did come vvvith mighty bande.

And Philip for vviife, there vvhiles for all his prouide fierce face:

Is fled more swifft, then hartes doe ranne, vvhich are pursued in chace.

The Poet was *Alcous* that made these verses for to singe, who did them in disgrace of kinge *Philip*, falsely increasinge the number of his men which died in the battell, only to shame and spite him the more: howbeit he spited *Titus* thereby, more then *Philip*, because it was song in euery place. For *Philip* laughed at it, & to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a song to counterfette his, as followeth.

This gibbet on this hill, vvhich passers by may marke:

Vvas set to hang Alcous vpon, vvitouthen leane or barge.

But *Titus* tooke it greuouly, who chiefly desired to be honored amongst the *Greeks*, by reason whereof from that time forwards he delt in the rest of his matters alone, without making accompt of the *Aetolians*: wherewith they were maruelous angry, & specially when he receiued an Ambassador from *Philip*, and gaue care vnto a treaty of peace which he offered: then they were so nettled against him, that they gaue it out through all *Greece*, that *Titus* had sold peace vnto *Philip*, when he might altogether haue ended the waite, and vnto this he destroyed *Philips* whole power and Empire, who had first brought *Greece* into bondage. These slanderous reports & false tales which the *Aetolians* spread thus abroad, did much trouble

D

A trouble the *Romaines* frendes and confederates: but *Philip* selfe pulled this suspition out of their heades, when he came in person to require peace, and did submit him selfe wholly to the discretion of *Titus* and the *Romaines*. *Titus* then graunted him peace, and deliuered to him his realme of *Macedon*, and commaunded him he should giue ouer all that he holde in *Greece*, and besides, that he should pay one thousande talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by sea, sauing only tenne shippes: and for assurance of this peace, he tooke one of his sonnes for hostage, whome he sent to *Rome*. Wherein *Titus* certainly did very well, and wisely did foresee the time to come. For then *Hannibal* of *Carthage*, (the great enemy of the *Romaines*) was banished out of his contry, and comen to kinge *Antiochus*, whome he put in the head, and earnestly moued, to follow his good fortune, and the increase of his Empire. Whom *Hannibal* so followed with these perswasions, that kinge *Antiochus* at length was come to it. And trusting to his former good successe, and notable acts, whereby in the warres before he had attained the surname of great: he began now to aspire to the monarchy of the whole world, & fought how to finde occasion to make warres with the *Romaines*. So that if *Titus* (foreseeing that a far of) had not wisely inclined to peace, but that the wars of *Antiochus* had fallen out together with the warres of king *Philip*, and that these two the mightiest Princes of the worlde had ioyned together against the city of *Rome*: then it had bene in as great trouble and danger, as euer it was before, in the time of their warres against *Hannibal*. Howbeit *Titus* hauinge happily thrust in this peace betweene both warres, he cut of the warre that was present, before the other that was comminge: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kinges his last, and from the other his first hope. In the meane time, the tenne commissioners that were sent by the Senate from *Rome* to *Titus*, to aide and assist him in the order of the affaires of *Greece*: did counsell him to set all the rest of *Greece* at liberty, and onely to kepe in their handes with good garrison, the cities of *Chalcide*, of *Corinthe*, and of *Demetriade*, to make sure that by practise they should not enter into league and alliance with *Antiochus*. Then the *Aetolians* (that were the common slaunderers of *Titus* proceedinges) beganne openly to make these cities to rebell, and did summe *Titus* to loose the chaines of *Greece*: for so did kinge *Philip* call these three cities. Then they asked the *Greeks* in mockery, whether they were willing now to haue heavier fetters on their legges, then before, being (somewhat brighter and fayrer then those they had bene shackled with: and also whether they were not greatly beholding to *Titus* for taking of the fetters from the *Greeks* legs, and tryinge them about their neckes. *Titus* beinge maruelously troubled and vexed with this, moued the tenne counsellors so earnestly, that he made them graunt his request in the ende, that those three cities also should be deliuered fro garrison: because the *Greeks* thenceforth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not thoroughly performed, and accomplished in euery respect on them all. Wherefore, when the feast called *Isthmia* was come, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to see the sporte of the games played there: for *Greece* hauing bene long time troubled with warres, they seeing them selues now in pure peace, & in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, but deluded only to see games, and to makemery. Proclamation was then made by founde of E trompet in the assembly, that euery man should keepe silence. That done, the herauld went forward, and thrust into the middest of the multitude, and proclaimed out alowde: that the Senate of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, Consul of the people of *Rome* (now that they had ouerthrowne kinge *Philip* and the *Macedonians* in battell) did thenceforth discharge from all garrisons, and set at liberty from all taxes, subsidies, and impositions for euer, to liue after their olde auient laws, and in full liberty: the *Corinthians*, the *Locrians*, those of *Phocide*, those of the Ile of *Euboea*, the *Achaians*, the *Phthioties*, the *Magnesi-ans*, the *Thessalians*, and the *Perrhoebians*. At the first time of the proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the herauld, and the most parte of those that hearde him, could not tell distinctly what he sayed: for there ranne vp & downe the shewe place where the games were played, a confused brute and tumult of the people that wondered, and asked what the matter ment, so as the herauld was driuen againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after silence made, the herauld puttinge out his voice farre lowder then before,

*T. Quintius
granted
Philip peace.*

*Hannibal was
with kinge
Antiochus.*

*Chalcide, Co-
rinthe, De-
metriade, cal-
led by Philip
of Macedon,
the chaines of
Greece.*

Isthmia.

did proclaime it in such audible wise, that the whole assembly heard him: and then rose there A such a lowde shoute and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the sound of it was heard to the sea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were set to see the Swordplayes play, rose vp all on their feete, letttinge the games alone, and went together with great ioy to salute, to embrace, and to thank *Titus* the recouerer, protector, and patron of all their liberties of GREECE. Then was seene (which is much spoken of) the power of mens voyces: for crows fel downe at that present time among the people, which by chaunce flew ouer the show place at that time that they made the same out shoute. This came to passe, by reason the ayer was broken and cut a sunder, with the vehemency and strength of the voyces, so as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe vp the flying of the birdes: which were driuen of necessity to fall to the ground, as flyinge through a void place where they lacked ayer. Vnlesse we B will rather say, that it was the violence of the crie, which strooke the birdes passinge through the ayer, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and so made them fall downe dead to the earth. It may be also, that there was some hurling winde in the ayer, as we doe see sometime in the sea, when it riseth high, and many times turneth about the waues, by violence of the storme. So it is, that if *Titus* hadde not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to see him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hardly escaped from being stifled amongst them, the people came so thicke about him from euery place. But after that they were weary of crying, and singing about his pavillion vntill night, in the ende they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kinne, frendes or citizens, they did kisse and embrace one another for ioy, and so supped, and made mery together. C In their more reioycinge yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table, but of the warres of GREECE, discoursing amongst them what sundry great warres they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their liberty. And yet for all that, they coulde neuer so ioyfully nor more assuredly obtaine it, then they did euen at that present, receiuing the honorablest reward, & that which deserued greatest fame through the worlde: that by the valliantesse of strangers who fought for the same (without any spik blood of their owne in comparison, or that they lost the life of any one man, whose death they had cause to lament) they were so restored to their ancient freedome and liberty. It is a very rare thing amongst men, to finde a man very valliant, and wise withal: but yet of all sortes of valliant men, it is harder to finde a iust man. For *Agessilaus*, *Lyfander*, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, D and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to lead an army, and to winne the battell, as well by sea as by lande: but to turne their victories to any honorable benefit, or true honor amongst men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you doe except the battell against the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, the iorney of PLATEES, the battell of THERMOPILES, the battell *Cimon* fought about CIPRVS, and vpon the riuier of Eurymedon: all the other warres & battells of GREECE that were made, fell out against them selues, and did euer bringe them into bondage: and all the tokens of triumphe which euer were set vp for the same, was to their shame and losse. So that in the end, GREECE was vtterly destroyed and ouerthrowen, and that chiefly through the wickednes and selfewill of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying another doinge. Where E strauing nation, the which (as it should seeme) had very small occasion to moue them to do (for that they haue had no great familiarity with auncient GREECE, & through the counsell & good wisdom of the which it should seeme very strange that GREECE coulde receiue any benefit) haue notwithstanding with dangerous battells and infinite troubles, deliuered it from oppression, and seruitude, of violent Lordes and tyrans. This, and such like talke, did at that time occupy the GREECIANS heades: and moreover, the deedes following did aunswer and performe the words of the proclamation. For at one selfe time, *Titus* sent *Lentulus* to ASIA, to set the BARGYLIANS at liberty, and *Tullius* into THRACIA, to remoue the garrisons out of the Iles & cities which *Philip* had kept there: and *Publius Iulius* was sent also into ASIA, to king *Antiochus*, to speake vnto him to let the GREECIANS at liberty which he kept in subiection. F And as for *Titus*, he went him selfe vnto the city of CHALCIDE, where he tooke sea, and went into the prouince of MAGESTIA, out of the which he tooke all the garrisons of the cities, and redeliuered

Crows flying,
fell downe by
the sounde of
mens voyces.

Quintus care
to establish the
liberty of the
Grecians.

A redeliuered the government of the common wealth vnto the citizes of the same. Afterwards when time came, that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of ARGOS in the honor of *Heracles*, *Titus* was chosen iudge, & rector of the games that were plaied there: where, after he had set all things in very good order, pertaining vnto the solemnity of the feast, he caused againe a solemn proclamation to be made openly, for the generall liberty of all GREECE. Furthermore, visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed iustice, and did set the inhabitants and citizes of euery one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with another: and did call home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, and pacified all olde quarrells and diffentions amongst them. The which did no lesse please and content him, that by perswasions he could bringe the GREECIANS to be reconciled one with the other: then B if he had by force of armes ouercome the MACE DONIANS. Insomuch, as the recovery of the libertie which *Titus* had restored vnto the GREECIANS, seemed vnto them the least parte of the goodnesse they had receiued at his handes. They say, that *Lycurgus* the orator seeinge the collectors of taxes, cary *Zenocrates* the Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition; which the straungers inhabiting within the citie of ATHENS were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreover prosecuted law so hard against them, that he made them pay a fyne for the iniury they had done vnto so worthy a person. And they tell, how the same Philosopher afterwards meeting *Lycurgus* children in the city, sayed vnto them. I doe wel requite your fathers good turne he did me: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of euery man, for the kindenesse he shewed on my behalfe. So the good C deedes of the ROMAINES, and of *Titus Quintus Flaminius* vnto the GREECIANS, did not onely reap this benefit vnto them, in recompence that they were praised and honored of all the worlde: but they were cause also of increasinge their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the worlde afterwards had great affiance and trust in them, and that most iustly. So that the people and cities did not onely receiue the Captaines and gouernors the ROMAINES sent them: but they also went to ROMA vnto them, and procured them to come, and did put them selues into their handes. And not only the cities and communalties, but kings & princes also (which were oppressed by other more mighty than them selues) had no other refuge, but to put them selues vnder their protection: by reason whereof in a very thorte time (with the fauor and helpe of the goddesses as I am perswaded) all the worlde came to submit them selues to D their obedience, and vnder the protection of their Empire. *Titus* also did glory more, that he had restored GREECE againe vnto liberty, then in any other seruice or exploit he had euer done. For when he offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES, the targets of silver with his owne shielde, he made these verses to be grauen vpon them, in effect as followeth.

The feast
Nemea kept
at Argos.

Lycurgus the
orator, rescued
Zenocrates
the Philosopher,
and saved
him from prison.

O noble twynnes Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare:
Throw out loude shoutes of ioy, and mirth, reioyce and make good cheare.
O noble kings of Sparran soyle, which take delight to ryde,
Your trampling steedes, with fomy byt, and trappings by their side:
Reioyce you now, for *Titus* be, the valliant Romaine knight,
These giftes so great to you hath got, euen by his force and might:
Thus hauing taken cleane away, from of the Greeke she neckes,
The heauy yoke of seruitude, which held them thrall to checkes,
Vnto their former liberty, he hath restored them free,
VVhich also together perisht was, as men might plainly see.

He gaue a crowne of masse gold vnto *Apollo*, vpon the which he made this inscription to be wrytten.

A valliant Romaine knight, euen *Titus* by his name,
A captaine wvorthy by desert, of high renowne and fame:
To thee *Apollo* god, this crowne of pure fine golde,
Hath geuen thy godhead to adorne, with inells manifolde:
Therefore let it thee please *Apollo* god of grace)
VVith fauor to requite this lone, to him and to his race:

F

*That his renowned fame, and vertue may be spread,
And blas'd through the world so wide, to shew what life he led.*

So hath the city of CORINTH enjoyed this good happe, that the GREECIANS haue bene twice proclaimed to be set at liberty: the first time by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and the second time, by *Nero* in our time, and at the selfe same instant when they solemnly kept the feast called Isthmia. Howbeit the first proclamation of their liberty (as we haue tolde ye before) was done by the voyce of a herald: and the seconde time it was done by *Nero* him selfe, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open assembly, in the market place of the city of CORINTH. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, *Titus* beganne then a goodly and iust warre against *Nabis*, the cursed and wicked tyrant of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit in the ende he deceaued the expectation of GREECE. For when he might haue taken him, he would not doe it, but made peace with him, forsaking poore SPARTA vnworthily oppressed vnder the yoke of bondage: either because he was afrayd that if the warre helde on, there should come a successor vnto him from ROME, that should cary the glory away to ende the same, or else he stoode Icalous and enuious of the honor they did vnto *Philopamen*. Who hauing rescued him selfe in euery place as excellent a Captaine as euer came in GREECE, and hauinge done notable actes and famous seruice, both of great wisdom, and also of valliantesse, and specially in the ACHAIANS warre: he was as much honored & reuerenced of the ACHAIANS, in the Theaters and common assemblies, euen as *Titus* was. Whereat *Titus* was maruelously offended, for he thought it vnreasonable, that an ARCADIAN who had neuer bene general of an army, but in small litle warres against his neighbours, should be as much esteemed and honored, as a Confull of ROME, that was come to make warres for the recouery of the libertie of GREECE. But *Titus* alleged reasonable excuse for his doings, saying that he saw very well he could not destroy this tyrant *Nabis*, without the great losse and misery of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore, of all the honors the ACHAIANS euer did him (which were very great) me thinks there was none that came neere any recompence of his honorable and well deserving, but one onely present they offered him, and which he aboute all the rest most esteemed: and this it was. Duringe the seconde warres of AFRICKE, which the ROMAINES had against *Hanniball*, many ROMAINES were taken prisoners in the sundry battells they lost, and beinge sold here and there, remained slaues in many contries: and amongst other, there were dispersed in GREECE to the number of twelue hundred, which from time to time did moue men with pitie and compassion towards them, that saw them in so miserable change and state of fortune. But then much more was their miserie to be pitied, when these captiues found in the ROMAINES army, some of them their sonnes, other their brethren, and the rest their fellows and frendes, free, and conquerours, and them selues slaues and bondemen. It grieved *Titus* much to see these poore men in such miserable captiuitie, notwithstanding he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIANS redeemed and bought them for fife hundred pence a man, and hauinge gathered them together into a troupe, they presented all the ROMAINES captiues vnto *Titus*, euen as he was ready to take ship to returne into ITALIE: which present made him returne home with greater ioy and contentation, hauing receiued for his noble deedes so honorable a recompence, and worthy of himselfe. That was fo louing a man to his citizens and contry. And surely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did most beautifie his triumph. For these poore redeemed captiues did that, which the slaues are wont to doe on that day when they be set at liberty: to witte, they shaued their heades, and doe weare litle hattes upon them. The ROMAINES that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and so followed *Titus* charret, on the day of his triumph and entrie made into ROME in the triumphing char. It was a goodly sight also, to see the spoiles of the enemies, which were caried in the show of this triumph: as, store of helmets after the GREECIAN s'faction, heapes of targets, shields, and pykes after the MACEDONIAN maner, with a wonderfull summe of gold and siluer. For *Strabo* the historiographer writeth, that there was brought a maruelous great masse of treasure in niggots of golde, of three thousand seven hundred and thirtie ene pounde weight, and of siluer, of forty three thousand, two hundred, three score and tenne pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called *Philipp* fourteene

Nero did set Greece at liberty.

Why Quintius made peace with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon. The honor of Philopamen.

Twelue hundred Romanes sold for slaues.

The Achaians redeemed the Romanes that were sold for slaues in Greece.

The ceremony of slaues manumitted. T. Quintius triumphs.

A teene thousand, fife hundred, and foureteene, besides the thousand talents king *Philip* should pay for a ranfome. The which summe, the ROMAINES afterwarde forgave him, chiefly at *Titus* sute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a friend and confederate of the people of ROME, and his sonne *Demetrius* to be sent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hostage at ROME. Shortly after, king *Antiochus* went out of ASIA into GREECE with a great flecte of shippes, and a very puissant army, to stirre vp the cities to forsake their league and allyance with the ROMAINES, and to make a diffention amongst them. To further this his desire and enterprise, the ÆTOLIANS did aide and backed him, which of long time had borne great and secreet malice against the ROMAINES, and desired much to haue had warres with them. So they taught king *Antiochus* to say, that the warre which he tooke in hande, was to set the GREECIANS at liberty, whereof they had no neede, because they did already enioy their liberty: but for that they had no iust cause to make warre, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he coule. Wherefore the ROMAINES fearinge greatly the rising of the people, & the rumor of the power of this great king, they sent thither *Manius Acilius* their general, and *Titus*, one of his Lieutenants for the GREECIANS sakes, which arriuall did the more assure them that already bare good will to the ROMAINES, after they had once seene *Manius* and *Titus*: and the rest that beganne to flie out, and to shrinke from them, those *Titus* kept in obedience from starting, rememberinge them of the friendship and good will they had borne him, euen like a good skillfull phisitian that coule geue his patient phisicke to preferue him from a contagious disease. In deede there were some (but fewe) of them that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the ÆTOLIANS: and though he had iust cause of offence towards them, yet he saued them after the battell. For king *Antiochus* beinge ouercome in the contry of THERMOPILES, fled his way, and in great hast tooke the sea to returne into ASIA. And the Confull *Manius* following his victory, entred into the contry of the ÆTOLIANS, where he tooke certaine townes by force, and left the other for a pray vnto kinge *Philip*. So *Philip* kinge of MACEDON on the one side, spoyled and sacked the DOLOPIANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMANIANS, and the APERANTIANS: and the Confull *Manius* on the other side, destroyed the city of HERACLEA, and layed siege to the citie of NAFPACTVM, which the ÆTOLIANS kept. But *Titus* takinge compassion of them, to see the poore people of GREECE thus spoiled and turned out of all went out of PELOPONNESVS (where he was then) vnto *Manius Acilius* campe, and there reprobued him for suffering kinge *Philip* to vsurpe the benefite and reward of his honorable victory, still conqueringe many people, kings, and contries, whilst he continued siege before a city, and only to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwarde, when they that were besieged saw *Titus* from their walles, they called him by his name, and helde vp their hands vnto him, prayinge him he would take pitie vpon them: but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto them, he fell weeping. Afterwarde he spake with *Manius*, and appealing his anger, got him to graunt the ÆTOLIANS truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might sende Ambassadors to ROME, to see if they could obtaine grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreate for the CHALCIDIANS, with whom the Confull *Manius* was more grieuouly offended, then with all the rest: because that kinge *Antiochus* after the warres was begonne, had married his wife in their citie, when he was past yeares of marriage, and out of all due time. For he was now very olde, and beinge in his extreme age, and in the middle of his warres, he fell in dotage with a young gentlewoman, the daughter of *Cleopolemus*, the fayrest woman that was at that time in all GREECE. Therefore the CHALCIDIANS were much affected vnto king *Antiochus*, and did put their city into his handes, to serue him in this warre, for a strong & safe retyring place. Whereupon, when *Antiochus* had lost the battell, he came thither with all possible speede, and takinge from thence with him his passinge fayre young Queene which he had married, and his golde, his siluer, and frendes, he tooke the seas incontinently, and returned into ASIA. For this cause the Confull *Manius* hauinge wonne the battell, did marche straight with his army towards the citie of CHALCIS in a great rage and fury. But *Titus* that followed him, did alwayes lye vpon him to pacifie his anger, and did so much intreate him, together with the other ROMAINES of ASIA, and authoritie in counsell:

Manius Acilius Confull, & T. Quintius Lieutenant sent into Greece.

Antiochus overthrew in Thermopyles, by Manius the Confull.

Quintius intreateth for the Ætolians.

King Antiochus married Cleopolemus daughter in the city of Chalcide.

that in the ende, he gotte him to pardon them of **CHALCIDE** also. Who, because they were preferred from perill by his meanes, they to recompence this fact of his, did consecrate vnto him, all their most stately and sumptuous buildinges and common workes in their citie, as appeareth yet by the superscriptions remaininge to be seene at this day. As in the fflow place of exercises: The people of **CHALCIDE** did dedicate this show place of exercises, vnto **Titus & Hercules**. And in the temple called **Delphinium**: The people of **CHALCIDE** did consecrate this temple, vnto **Titus**, and vnto **Apollo**. And furthermore, vnto this present time, there is a priest chosen by the voyce of the people, purposely to do sacrifice vnto **Titus**: in which sacrifice, after that the thing sacrificed is offered vp, and wine powred apon it, the people standing by, do sing a song of triumphe made in praise of him. But because it was to long to wryte it all out, we haue only drawn in briefe the latter end of the same: and this it is.

*The cleare vnspotted faith, of Romaines wwe adore,
And vvvv to be their faithfull frendes, both novv and ever more.
Sing out you Muses nyne, to Iones eternall fame,
Sing out the honor due to Rome, and Titus vvvvorthy name.
Sing out (I say) the praise, of Titus and his faith:
By vvvhom you haue preferred bene, from ruine, dole, and death.*

Now the **CHALCIDIANS** did not alone only honor & reuerence **Titus**, but he was generally honored also by the **GREECIANS** as he deserved, & was maruelously beloued for his cunsel and good nature: which argueth plainly that they did not fainedly honor him, or through compulsion, but euen from the hart. For though there was some iarre betwixt him and **Philopemen** at the first about seruice, for emulation of honor, and after betwixt him and **Diophanes** also, both generalls of the **ACHAIANS**: yet he neuer bare them any malice in his hart, neither did his anger moue him at any time to hurt them any way, but he euer ended the heate of his wordes, in counsell and assemblies, where he vttered his minde frankly to them both. Therefore none thought him euer a cruell man, or eger of reuenge: but many haue thought him rather, and hasty of nature. Otherwise, he was as good a companion in company as possibly could be, and would vie as pleasaunt wife mirth as any man. As when he sayed to the **ACHAIANS**, on a time, who would needes vnjustly vsurpe the lfe of the **ZACYNTHIANS**, to disswade them from it: my Lordes of **ACHAIA**, if ye once goe out of **PELOPONNESVS**, you put your selues in daunger, as the tortoyles doe, when they thrust their heades out of their shell. And the first time he parled with **Philip** to treat of peace when **Philip** said vnto him, you haue brought many men with you, and I am come alone. In deede it is true you are alone, sayd he, because you made all your frendes and kinne to be slaine. An other time, **Diocrates** **Messinian** being in **ROME**, after he had taken in his cuppes in a feast where he was, he disguised him selfe in womans apparell, and daunced in that manner: and the next day followinge he went vnto **Titus**; to pray him to helpe him through with his sute, which was, to make the citie of the **MESSINIANS** to rebell, and leaue the tribe of the **ACHAIANS**. **Titus** made him answer, that he would thinke vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (sayd he) howe you can daunce in womans apparell, and singe at a feast, hauinge such matters of weight in your head. In the counsell of the **ACHAIANS**, king **Antiochus** ambassadours beinge come thither, to moue them to breake their league with the **ROMAINES**, and to make alliance with the king their master, they made a maruelous large discourse of the great multitude of souldiers that were in their masters armies, and did number them by many diuerse names. Whereunto **Titus** answered, and tolde how a frend of his hauing bidden him one night to supper, and hauing serued so many dishes of meate to his bord, as he was angry with him for bestowing so great cost apon him, as wondering howe he could so foadainly get so much store of meate, and of so diuerse kindes. My frende sayed to me againe, that all was but porke dressed so many wayes, and with so sundry sawces. And euen so (quod **Titus**) my Lordes of **ACHAIA**, esteeme not king **Antiochus** any the more, to heare of so many men of armes, numbred with their launces, and of such a number of footemen with their pykes: for they are all but **SYRIANS**, diuersely armed, only with ill fauored litle weapons. Furthermore; after **Titus** had done these thinges, and that the warre with **Antiochus** was ended, he was chosen Censor at **ROME**, with the sonne of that same **Marcellus**, who

Honors done vnto T. Quintus for saving the Chalcidians and the Grecians.

Quintius was of good nature. Emulation betwixt T. Quintius and Philopemen.

T. Quintius saynges.

Antiochus Ambassadors doe busie of their kinges great army. Titus Quintus witty answer to the Ambassadors bragges.

T. Quintius chosen Censor with Marcellus.

A who had bene five times Confull. This office is of great dignitie, and as a man may say, the crowne of all the honors that a citizen of **ROME** can haue in their common wealth. They put of the Senate, foure men only: but they were not famous. They did receiue all into the number of citizens of **ROME**, that would present them selues to be enrolled in their common register: with a pious, that they were borne free by father and mother. They were compelled to doe it, by **Terentius Culeo**, Tribune of the people, who to despight the nobility, perswaded the people of **ROME** to commaunde it so. Nowe at that time, two of the noblest and most famous men of **ROME** were great enemies one against another: **Publius Scipio** **AFRICAN**, and **Marcus Porcius Cato**. Of these two, **Titus** named **Publius Scipio** **AFRICAN**, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefeest and worthiest persone in the citie: and got the displeasure of the other, which was **Cato**, by this mishap. **Titus** had a brother called **Lucius Quintius Flaminius**, nothing like vnto him in condition at all: for he was so disolutely and licentious, given ouer to his pleasure, that he forgatte all comlineesse and honesty. This **Lucius** loued well a young boy, and caried him alwayes with him when he went to the warres, or to the charge and government of any prouince. This boy flattering him, one day sayd vnto **Lucius Quintius**; that he loued him so well, that he did leaue the sight of the Sword players at the sharpe, which were making ready to the fight, although he had neuer seene man killed before: to waite vpon him. **Lucius** being very glad of the boyes wordes, answered him straight, thou shalt looke nothing for that my boy, for I will by & by please thee as well. So he commaunded a condemned man to be fetched out of prison, and withall called for the hangman, whome he willed to strike off C his head in the midst of his supper, that the boy might see him killed. **Valerius Antias** the historiographer wryteth, that it was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But **Titus** **Linus** declarereth, that in an oration which **Cato** him selfe made, it was wrytten, that it was one of the **GAULES**: who beinge a traitor to his contry men, was come to **Flaminius** gate with his wife and children, and that **Flaminius** making him come into his halle, killed him with his owne handes, to please a boy he loued, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howbeit it is very likely that **Cato** wrote in this sorte, to aggravate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many haue wrytten it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offender condemned to dye: and amongst other, **Cicero** the orator doth recite it in a booke he made of age, where he made it to be tolde vnto **Cato**es owne persone. Howe soeuer it was, **Marcus Cato** being chosen Censor, and cleansing the Senate of all vnworthy persones, he put of the same **Lucius Quintius Flaminius**, although he had bene Confull: which disgrace did seeme to redowne to his brother **Titus Quintius Flaminius** also. Whereupon both the brethren came weeping with all humility before the people, and made a petition that seemed very reasonable & ciuill: which was that they would commaunde **Cato** to come before them, to declare the cause openly why he had with such open shame defaced so noble a house as theirs was. **Cato** then without delay, or shrinking backe, came with his companion into the market place, where he asked **Titus** out alowde, if he knew nothing of the supper where such a fact was committed. **Titus** answered, he knew not of it. Then **Cato** opened all the whole matter as it was, and in the ende of his tale, he bad **Lucius Quintius** sweare openly, if he would deny that he had sayed E was true. **Lucius** answered not a worde. Whereupon the people iudged the shame was iustly layed vpon him: and so to honor **Cato**, they did accompany him from the pulpit for orations, home vnto his owne house. But **Titus** being much offended at the disgrace of his brother, became enemy to **Cato**, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by practise he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leases, and all deedes of sales made by **Cato** during his office, were called in, and made voyde: and caused many sales also to be commenced against him. Wherein, I can not say he did wisely or ciuilly, to become mortall enemy to an honest man, a good citizen, and duetifull in his office, for his yeare, but vnworthy kinsman, who had iustly deserued the shame layed vpon him. Notwithstanding, shortly after when the people were assembled in the Theater to see games played, & the Senators were according to their custome, in the most honorable places: **Lucius Flaminius** came in also, who in lowly and humble maner went to sit downe in the furthest seates of the Theater, without regard of his former honor: which when the people saw, they tooke pty of him, & could

P. Scipio, and M. P. Cato great enemies. Secret grudges betwixt Titus and Cato.

A cruelle deed of Lucius Quintius.

Cato beinge Censor did put Lucius Quintius Flaminius out of the Senate.

T. Quintius vnworthily affected against Cato.

Lucius Quintus referred to his place by the people.
T. Quintinus ambition.

T. Quintinus cause of Hanniballs death.

Titus sent Ambassadors vnto Prusias king of Bithynia.
Hannibal de- ceived by an oracle concern- ing his death.

Hannibal kept at Libys- sa in Bithy- nia.

Hanniballs death.

Midas and Themistocles possinted them selves.
Hanniballs last words.

Looke in Pyrrus life for the story as large.

Scipio Affricanus clemency commended.

not abide to see him thus dishonored. So they cried out to haue him come and sit among the Senators the Consuls, who made him place, and receiued him accordingly. But to returne againe to *Titus*. The naturall ambition & couetous greedy minde he had of honor, was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the warres, which we haue spoken of before. For, after he had bene Consul, of his owne seeking he became a Colonell of a thousand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So when he beganne to stoupe for age, and that he had giuen ouer as a man at the last cast, to beare office any longer in the state: they saw plainly he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himselfe in olde age to be overcome with such youthfull violence, beinge farre vnmeet for any of his yeares. For me thinks his ambition was the only cause that moued him to procure *Hanniballs* death, which bred him much disliking and ill opinion with many. For, after *Hannibal* had fled out of his owne contry, he went first vnto king *Antiochus*: who, after he lost the battell in *Phrygia*, was glad the *ROMAINES* graunted him peace with such conditions as them selues would. Wherefore *Hannibal* fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered vp and downe, at the length he came to the realme of *Bithynia*, and remained there about king *Prusias*, the *ROMAINES* knowinge it well enough: and bicause *Hannibal* was then an olde broken man, of no force nor power, and one whome fortune had spurned at her feete, they made no more reckening of him. But *Titus* beinge sent Ambassador by the Senate, vnto *Prusias* kinge of *Bithynia*, and findinge *Hannibal* there, it grieved him to see him aliue. So that notwithstandinge *Prusias* maruelously intreated him, to take pittie apon *Hannibal* a poore olde man, & his friend who came to him for succor: yet he could not perswade *Titus* to be content he should liue. *Hannibal* long before had receiued aunswer of his death from an oracle, to this effect.

*The lande of Libya, shall cover vnder morrowe,
The valliant corps of Hannibal, when he is dead and colde.*

So *Hannibal* vnderstoode that of *LYBIA*, as if he should haue dyed in *AFRICK*, and bene buried in *CARTHAGE*. There is a certaine sandy contry in *BITHYNIA* neere to the seas side, where there is a litle village called *LIBYSSA*, and where *Hannibal* remained continually. He mistrusting king *Prusias* saynte harte, and fearing the *ROMAINES* malice also, had made leuemy priuie caues and vaultes vnder ground longe before, that he might secretly go out at either of them which way he woulde, and euery one of them came to the maine vault where him selfe did lye, and could not be discerned outwardly. When it was tolde him that *Titus* had willed *Prusias* to deliuer him into his handes, he fought then to saue him selfe by those mynes: but he found that all the ventes out, had watch and ward apon them by the kinges commandement. So then he determined to kill him selfe. Now some say, that he wounde a linnen towell hard about his necke, and commaunded one of his men he should set his knee vpon his buttocke, and waying hard vpon him, holdinge the towell fast he should pull his necke backward with all the power and strength he could, and neuer linne pressing on him, till he had strangled him. Other say that he dranke bulles blood, as *Midas* and *Themistocles* had done before him. But *Titus* *Linus* vryeth, that he had poyson which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered it in a cuppe he helde in his handes, and before he dranke, he spake these wordes. Come on, let vs deliuer the *ROMAINES* of this great care, sith my life is so grievous to them, that they thinke it to long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate so much: and yet *Titus* by this shall winne no honorable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient *ROMAINES*, who aduertised king *Pyrrus* their enemy, euen when he made warres with them, and had wonne battels of them, that he should beware of poysoning which was intended towards him. And this was *Hanniballs* ende, as we finde it written. Thenewes whereof beinge come to *ROME* vnto the Senate, many of them thought *Titus* too violent and cruell, to haue made *Hannibal* kill him selfe in that sorte, when extremitie of age had ouercome him already, and was as a birde left naked, her feathers fallinge from her for age: and so much the more, bicause there was no instant occasion offered him to vrge him to doe it, but a couetous minde of honor, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause and author of *Hanniballs* death. And then in contrariwise they did much honor and commend the clemency and noble minde of *Scipio* *AFRICAN*. Who hauing ouercomen *Hannibal* in battell, in *AFRICK* selfe, and being then

in deede to be feared, and had bene neuer ouercome before: yet he did not cause him to be driuen out of his contry, neither did aske him of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, but both then, & before the battell, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke *Hannibal* courteously by the hand, and after the battell, in the conditions of peace he gaue them, he neuer spake word of hurt to *Hanniballs* person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how afterwards they met againe together in the city of *EPHESVS*, and as they were walkinge, that *Hannibal* tooke the vpper hand of *Scipio*: and that *Scipio* bare it patiently, and left not of walkinge for that, neither shewed any countenance of mistaking. And in entering into discourse of many matters, they descended in the ende to talke of auncient Captaines: and *Hannibal* gaue iudgement, that *Alexander* the great was the famousst Capitaine, *Pyrrus* the second, and him selfe the thirde. Then *Scipio* smilinge, gently asked him: what wouldst thou say then, if I had not ouercome thee? Truly, quod *Hannibal*, I would not then put my selfe the third man, but the first, and aboue all the Captaines that euer were. So diuers greatly commendinge the goodly sayings and deedes of *Scipio*, did maruelously mislike *Titus*, for that he had (as a man may say) layed his handes vpon the death of an other man. Other to the contrary againe sayd, it was well done of him, sayinge, that *Hannibal* so longe as he liued, was a fire to the Empire of the *ROMAINES*, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lusty age, it was not his hande nor body that troubled the *ROMAINES*, so much, but his great wisdom and skill he had in the warres, and the mortall hate he bare in his hart towards the *ROMAINES*, which neither yeares, neither age would diminish or take away. For mens naturall conditions do remaine still, but fortune doth not alwayes keepe in a state, but chaungeth still, and then quickeneth vp our desires to set willingly vpon those that warre against vs, bicause they hate vs in their hartes. The thinges which fell out afterwards, did greatly proue the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of *Titus*. For one *Aristonicus*, sonne of a daughter of a player vpon the citherne, vnder the fame and glory of *Eumenes*, whose bastard he was, filled all *ASIA* with warre & rebellion, by reason the people rose in his fauor. Againe *Mithridates*, after so many losses he had receiued against *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and after so many armie ouerthrowen by battell and warres, and after so many famous Captaines lost and killed: did yet recouer againe, and came to be of great power both by sea and land against *Lucullus*. Truly *Hannibal* was no lower brought then *Caius Marius* had bene. For he had a king to his friend, that gaue him entertainment for him and his family, and made him Admirall of his shippes, and Generall of his horsemen and footemen in the field. *Marius* also went vp and downe *AFRICK* a begging for his liuing, in so much as his enemies at *ROME* mocked him to scorne: & soone after notwithstandinge they fell downe at his feete before him, when they saw they were whipped, murdered, and slaine within *ROME* by his commandement. Thus we see no man can say certainly he is meane or great, by reason of the vncertainty of thinges to come: consideringe there is but one death, and change of better life. Some say also, that *Titus* did not this act alone, and of his owne authority: but that he was sent Ambassador with *Lucius* *Scipio* to no other end, but to put *Hannibal* to death, by what meanes fouer they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not finde any notable thinge written of *Titus* worthy of memory, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he died quietly of naturall death at home in his contry.

Talke betwixt Scipio African & Hannibal.

Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.

Aristonicus.

Mithridates.

Marius.

To be meane or great in this life is nothing: but death bringeth the estimation.

THE COMPARISON OF *Titus Quintius Flaminius with Philopemen.*



*T. Quintius
benefit vnto
Greece.*

IT is time now we cometo compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefits that came to the GREECIANS, neither *Philopemen*, nor all the other former Capitaines are to be compared with *Titus*. For all the auncient Capitaines almost being GREECIANS, made warres with other GREECIANS: but *Titus* beinge a ROMAIN, and no GREECIAN, made warres for the liberty of GREECE. When *Philopemen* was not able to helpe his poore citizens distressed fore, & vexed with warres, he sayled away into CRETA. *Titus* hauing ouercome *Philip* kinge of MACEDON in battell, did restore againe liberty all the people and cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any wil narrowly examine the battells of either partie: they shall finde, that *Philopemen* beinge General of the ACHAIIANS, made more GREECIANS to be slaine, then *Titus* did of the MACEDONIANS, fightinge with them for the liberty of the GREECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quicke and sodainly angered, the other was very hard to be pacified. *Titus* left kinge *Philip* his realme and crowne after he had ouercome him, and vsed great clemency towards the ÆTOLIANS: where *Philopemen* for spite, & malice, tooke townes and villages from his owne natie contry, and city, wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, *Titus* continued a founde friend to them, to whome he had once professed friendship, and done pleasure vnto: and *Philopemen*, in a gear and anger, was ready to take away that he had giuen, and to ouerthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For *Philopemen* when he had done the LACEDÆMONIANS great pleasure, did afterwards rafe the walls of their city, and spoyled and destroyed all their contry: and lastly, ouerthrew their whole gouernment. It seemeth also by reason of his immoderate choller, he was him selfe cause of his owne death, for that he made more hast then good speede, to go out of time to lye vpon those of MASSINA: and not as *Titus*, who did all his affaires with wisdom, and euer considered what was best to be done. But if we looke into the number of battells, and victories: the warre which *Titus* made against *Philip* was ended with two battells. Whereas *Philopemen* in infinite battells in which he had the better, neuer left it doutfull, but that his skill did euer helpe him the more to victory, then the good fortune he had. Moreouer, *Titus* wanne honor by meanes of the power of ROME, when it florished most, and was in best prosperitie: *Philopemen* made him selfe famous by his deedes, when GREECE beganne to stoupe and fall all together. So that the deedes of the one, were common to all the ROMAINES: & the dedes of the other, were priuate to him selfe alone. For *Titus* was General ouer good and valliant souldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and *Philopemen* being chosen Generall, did traine his men him selfe, & made them afterwards

*Philopemen
not malice.*

*Titus Quintius
vnto the
Philopemen.*

*Quintius
commend good
souldiers:
Philopemen
made good
souldiers.*

very

A very expert and valliant, that were but meane and Greene souldiers before. And whereas *Philopemen* had continuall warres with the GREECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that he made a certaine prooffe of his valliantnesse. For where all other things are answerable to his, there we must iudge that such as ouercome, haue the most corage. Now *Philopemen* making warres with the most warlike nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS) did ouercome the subtillest of them, by finenesse and policy: and the most valliant, by prowes and hardinesse. But *Titus* ouercame, by putting that only in practise, which was already found and stablished: as the discipline of the warres, and order of battell, in the which his souldiers had longe before bene trained. Whereas *Philopemen* brought into his contry, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accustomed vnto. So that the chiefe point how to winne a battell, was found out a new, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neuer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vse it, and had founde it out already before. Againe, touching the valliant actes done in the person of them selues, many notable actes may be told of *Philopemen*, but none of *Titus*: but rather to the contrary. For there was one *Archidamus* an ÆTOLIAN, who flowinge *Titus* one day, sayd in his reproche: that at a day of battell, when *Philopemen* ranne with his sword in his hande, to that side where he saw the MACEDONIANS fightinge, & making hed against the enemy, *Titus* held vp his hands vnto heauen, and was busie at his prayers to the gods, not stirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the sword, & to fight of all handes. All the goodly deedes *Titus* euer did, were done alwaies as a Consul, or Lieutenant, or a Magistrate: whereas *Philopemen* shewed him selfe vnto the ACHAIIANS, a man no lesse valliant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a Generall. For when he was a Generall, he did driue *Nabis* the tyrant of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of MESSINA, and deliuered the MESSENIANS out of bondage: and being a priuate man, he shut the gates of the city of SPARTA, in the face of *Diophanes* (Generall of the ACHAIIANS) and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and kept them both from comming in, and thereby saued the city from sacking. Thus being borne to commaunde, he knew not only how to commaunde according to the law, but could commaunde the law it selfe apone necessity, & when the common wealth required it. For at such a time he would not tary, while the Magistrates which should gouerne him, did geue him authority to commaund, but he tooke it of him selfe, and vsed them when the time serued: esteeming him in deede their Generall, that knew better then they what was to be done, then him whom they chose of them selues. And therefore they doe well, that doe commend *Titus* actes, for his clemency, and curtesie, vsed to the GREECIANS: but much more the noble and valliant actes of *Philopemen* vnto the ROMAINES. For it is much easier to please and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and resist the strong. Therefore, sithence we haue thoroughly examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very harde to iudge altogether the difference that is betwene them. Peraduenture therefore the iudgement would not seeme very ill, if we doe geue the GREECIAN, for discipline of warre, the preheminance and praise of a good Capitaine: and to the ROMAINE, for iustice and clemency, the name and dignity of a most iust and curteous gentleman.

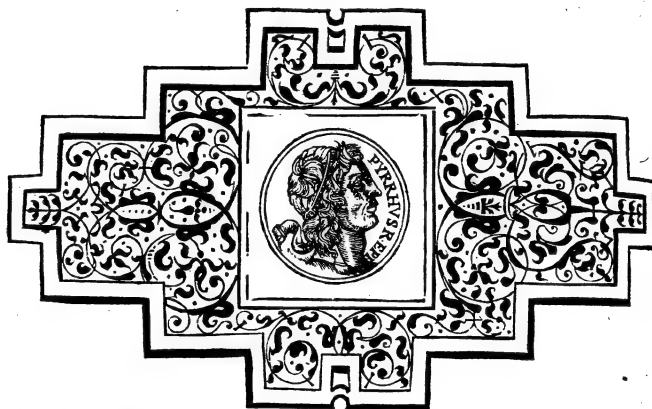
*A Generall
must not be as
his prayers,
when he should
occupy his
sword.*

*Quintius clemency to the
Grecians:
Philopemen
not kind to
the Romaines.*

The ende of Titus Quintius Flaminius life.

NN iij

THE LIFE OF Pyrrus.



Pyrrus kin-
red, and be-
ginning of
the kingdom
of Epirus.

Pyrrus, redd.

How Pyrrus
being an in-
fant was sa-
ned.

It is writtē that since Noes flood, the first king of the THESPROTIANS, and of the MOLOSSIANS, was Phæton, one of those who came with Pelasgus, into the realme of EPIRVS. But some say otherwise, that Demalson, and his wife Pyrra remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodone, in the contrie of the MOLOSSIANS. But howsoever it was, a great while after that, Neoptolemus the sonne of Achilles, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the contry, and after him left a succession of kinges, which were called after his name, the Pyrrides: bicause that from his infancy he was surnamed Pyrrus, as much to say, as redde: and one of his legitimate sonnes whom he had by Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodes, the sonne of Hillus, was also named by him Pyrrus. And this is the cause why Achilles is honored as a god in EPIRVS, being called in their language, Aspetos, that is to say, mighty, or very great. But from the first kinges of that race vntill the time of Tharrys, as there is no memory nor mencion made of them, nor of their power that reigned in the meane time, bicause they all became very barbarous, and vitterly voyde of ciuility. Tharrys was in deede the first that beautified the cities of his contry with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in ciuill lawes and customes, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This Tharrys left a sonne called Alceas, of Alceas came Arymbas, of Arymbas and Troiade his wife, came AEAcides, who married Phthia, the daughter of Menon THESSALIAN: A famous man in the time of the warres surnamed Lamiacus, and one that had farre greater authority then any other of the confederates, after Leosthenes. This AEAcides had two daughters by his wife Phthia, to say, Deidamia and Troiade, and one sonne called Pyrrus. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, draue him out of his kingdom, & put the crowne into the hands of the sonnes of Neoptolemus. Whereupon all the friends of AEAcides that could be taken, were generally murdered, and slaine outright. Androclides, & Angelus in the meane time stole away Pyrrus, being yet but a suckling babe (whome his enemies neuertheless egerly sought for to haue destroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few seruantes, his nurses and necessary women only to looke to the childe, and giue it sucke: by reason whereof their flight was much hindered, so as they could go no great iorneyes, but that they might easily be ouertaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the childe into the hands of

Androcli-

Androclion, Hippias, and Neander, three lusty young men, whome they trusted with him, and commaunded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of MACEDON, called MEGARES: and they them selues in the meane time, partly by intreaty, & partly by force, made stay of those that followed them till night. So as with much a doe hauinge driuen them backe, they ranne after them that caried the childe Pyrrus, whom they ouertooke at sunne set. And now, wening they had bene safe, and out of all daunger: they found it cleane contrary. For when they came to the riuer vnder the towne wallles of MEGARES, they saw it so rough and swift, that it made them afrayed to beholde it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vnpossible to wade through, it was so fore risen and troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darkenesse of the night made euery thing seeme feareful vnto them. So as they now that caried the child, thought it not good to venter the passage ouer of themselues alone, with the women that tended the childe: but hearing certaine contrymen on the other side, they prayed and besought them in the name of the goddess, that they would helpe them to passe ouer the child, shewing Pyrrus vnto them a farre off. But the contrymen by reason of the roaringe of the riuer vnderstoode them not. Thus they continued a longe space, the one cryinge, the other lyfing, yet could they not vnderstand one an other, till at the last one of the company bethought him selfe to pill of a peece of the barke of an oke, & vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the childe. Which he tyed to a stone to geue it weight, and so threw it ouer to the other side of the riuer: other say that he did prick the barke through with the point of a dart which he cast ouer. The contrymen on the other side of the riuer, hauinge read what was wrytten, and vnderstanding thereby the present daunger the childe was in: felled downe trees in all the hast they could possibly, bounde them together, and so passed ouer the riuer. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed ouer, and tooke the childe, was called Achilles: the residue of the contrymen passed ouer also, and tooke the other that came with the childe, and conueyed them ouer as they came first to hand. And thus hauing elscaped their hâds, by easie iorneyes they came at the length vnto Glaucias king of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his house sitting by his wife: and layed downe the childe in the midst of the flower before him. The king hereupon stayed a long time without vttering any one word, waying with him selfe what was best to be done: bicause of the feare he had of Cassander, a mortall enemy of AEAcides. In the meane time, the childe Pyrrus creeping of all foure, tooke hold of the kinges gowne, and scrawled vp by that, and so got vp on his feete against the kings knees. At the first, the king laughed to see the childe: but after it pitied him againe, bicause the child seemed like an humble luter that came to seeke sanctuary in his armes. Other say that Pyrrus came not to Glaucias, but vnto the alter of the familiar gods, alongest the which he got vp on his feete, and embraced it with both his hands. Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods providence, presently deliuered the childe to his wife, gaue her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought vp with his owne. Shortly after, his enemies sent to demaunde the childe of him: and moreover, Cassander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliuer the childe Pyrrus into his handes. Howbeit Glaucias would neuer graunt thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrus was comen to twelue yeares olde, brought him into his contry of EPIRVS with an army, and stablished him king of the realme againe. Pyrrus had a great maiesty in his countenance, but yet in deede more fearefull then frendly. He had also no teeth in his vpper iawe that stode distinctly one from an other, but one whole bone through out his gomme, marked a litle at the top only, with certaine rifes in the place where the teeth should be deuided. Men helde opinion also, that he did heale them that were sicke of the splene, by sacrificing a white cocke, and touchinge the place of the splene on the left side of them that were sicke, softly with his right foote, they lying on their backs: and there was not so poore nor simple a man that craued this remedy of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he sacrificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also that the great toe of his right foote had some secrete vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had burnt all partes of his body, and consumed it to ashes: his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all. But of that, we will wryte more hereafter. Now, when he was seuentene yeares of age, thinking him selfe sure enough of his kingdom, it chaunced him to make a iorney into ILLY-

Megara a
city of Mac-
don.

Glaucias king
of Ilyria.

Pyrrus coun-
tenance and
teeth.

Pyrrus hea-
led them that
were sicke of
the splene.

The fire could
not burne
Pyrrus great
toe.

RIA, where he married one of *Glauclus* daughters, with whom he had bene brought vp. But his backe was no sooner turned, but the *Molossians* rebelled againe against him, & draue out his friends, & seruants, and destroyed all his goods, and yelded themselves vnto his aduersary *Neoptolemus*. King *Pyrrus* hauing thus lost his kingdom, & seeing himself forsaken on all sides, went to *Demetrius* (*Antigonus* sonne) that had married his sister *Deidamia*, who in her young age was assured to *Alexander*, the sonne of *Alexander* the great, and of *Roxane*, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked ende, *Demetrius* then married her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was striken neere to the citie of *Hirsvs*, where all the kinges fought together, *Pyrrus* being then but a young man, and with *Demetrius*, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthely reputed for the valiantest prince amongst them all. Furthermore, when *Demetrius* was ouercome, and had lost the battell: *Pyrrus* neuer forooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of *Greece*, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*, *Pyrrus* was sent an ostage for *Demetrius* into the realme of *Egypte*: where he made *Ptolomie* know (both in huntinge, and in other exercises of his persone) that he was very strong, harde, and able to endure any labor. Furthermore perceiuing that *Berenice* amongst all king *Ptolomies* wiues, was best beloued and esteemed of her husbande, both for her vertue and wisdom: he beganne to entertaine and honor her aboue all the rest. For he was a man that could tell how to humble him selfe towards the great (by whom he might winne benefit) and knewe also how to creepe into their credit: and in like manner was he a great comfort and despirer of such as were his inferiors. Moreouer, for that he was found maruelous honorable and of fayer condicion, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the husbande of *Antigona*, the daughter of *Queene Berenice*, whom he had by *Philip*, before he was married vnto *Ptolomie*. From thenceforth growing through the allyance of that marriage, more and more into estimation and fauor by means of his wife *Antigona*, who shewed her selfe very vertuous and louing towards him: he found means in the ende, to get both men and money to returne againe into the realme of *Epirvs*, and to conquer it: so was he then very well receiued of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to *Neoptolemus*, bicause he did both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstanding, *Pyrrus* searinge least *Neoptolemus* would repaire vnto some of the other kings, to seeke ayde against him, thought good to make peace with him, whereupon it was agreed betwene them, that they should both together be kinges of *Epirvs*. But in proceesse of time, some of their men secretly made strife againe betwene them, and set them at defiance one with an other: and the chiefest cause as it is sayd, that angered *Pyrrus* most, grew upon this. The kinges of *Epirvs* had an auncient custome of great antiquity, after they had made solemne sacrifice vnto *Iupiter Martiall*, (in a certaine place in the prouince of *Molosside*, called *Passaron*) to take their othe, and to be sworne to the *Epirotes*, that they would raigne well and iustly, accordinge to the lawes and ordinances of the contry: and to receiue the subsidies othes interchangeably also, that they would defend and maintaine them in their kingdom, accordinge to the lawes in like manner. This ceremony was done in the presence of both the kinges, and they with their frendes did both geue and receiue presentes eche of other. At this meetinge and solemnity, amongst other, one *Gelon* a most faithfull seruant and assured frend vnto *Neoptolemus*, who besides great shewes of frendshipp and honor he did vnto *Pyrrus*, gaue him two payer of draught oxen, which one *Myrrilus* a cuppebearer of *Pyrrus* beinge present, and seeinge, did craue of his master. But *Pyrrus* denyed to geue them vnto him whereat *Myrrilus* was very angry. *Gelon* perceiuing that *Myrrilus* was angry, prayed him to suppe with him that night. Now some say, he sought to abuse *Myrrilus*, bicause he was fayer and younge: and beganne to perswade him after supper to take parte with *Neoptolemus*, and to poyson *Pyrrus*. *Myrrilus* made as though he was willinge to geue eare to this perswasion, and to be well pleased withall. But in the meane time, he went and tolde his master of it, by whose commaundement he made *Alexicrates*, *Pyrrus* chiefe cuppebearer, to talke with *Gelon* about this practise, as though he had also geuen his consent to it, and was willinge to be partaker of the enterprise. This did *Pyrrus* to haue two witnesses, to proue the pretended poysoninge of him. Thus *Gelon* beinge finely deceived, and

Nep

A *Neoptolemus* also with him, both imagininge they had cunningly sponne the threde of their treason: *Neoptolemus* was so glad of it, that he could not keepe it to him selfe, but told it to certaine of his frendes. And on a time goinge to be merry with his sister, he could not keepe it in, but must be prating of it to her, supposinge no body had heard him but her selfe, bicause there was no liuing creature neere them, sauing *Phaenareta Samons* wife, the kinges chiefe heardman of all his beastes, and yet she was layed upon a litle bed by, and turned towards the wall: so that she seemed as though she had slept. But hauing heard all their talke, and no body mistrustling her: the next morninge she went to *Antigona* king *Pyrrus* wife, and told her euery word what she had heard *Neoptolemus* say to his sister. *Pyrrus* hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time. But hauing made sacrifice vnto the goddes, he bad *Neoptolemus* to supper at his house, where he slue him, being well informed before of the good will the chiefe men of the realme did beare him, who wished him to dispatch *Neoptolemus*, & not to content him selfe with a peece of *Epirvs* only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great things: and for this cause therefore, this supposition fallinge out in the meane while, he prevented *Neoptolemus*, and slue him first. And furthermore, rememberinge the pleasures he had receiued of *Ptolomie* and *Berenice*, he named his first sonne by his wife *Antigona*, *Ptolomie*, and hauing built a city in the *Presque*, an Ile of *Epirvs*, did name it *Berenicida*. When he had done that, imagininge great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined with him selfe howe to winne that which lay neereft vnto him: and so tooke occasion by this means, first to fet foote into the Empire of *Macedon*. The eldest sonne of *Cassander*, called C *Antipater*, put his owne mother *Thessalonica* to death, and draue his brother *Alexander* out of his owne contry, who sent to *Demetrius* for helpe, and called in *Pyrrus* also to his ayde. *Demetrius* beinge troubled with other matters, could not so quickly go thither. And *Pyrrus* beinge ariued there, demanded for his charge susteined, the citie of *Nympha*, with all the sea coastes of *Macedon*: and besides all that, certaine landes also that were not belonginge to the auncient crowne and reuenues of the kinges of *Macedon*, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. All these, the young king *Alexander* leauinge vnto him, he tooke possession thereof, and put good garrisons into the same in his owne name: and conqueringe the rest of *Macedon* in the name of *Alexander*, put his brother D *Antipater* to great distresse. In the meane time kinge *Lysimachus* lacked no good will to helpe *Antipater* with his force, but beinge busied in other matters, had not the meane to doe it. Howbeit knowinge very well that *Pyrrus* in acknowledginge the great pleasures he had receiued of *Ptolomie*, would deny him nothinge: he determined to wryte counterfeate letters to him in *Ptolomies* name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leaue of the warres begonne against *Antipater*, and to take of him towards the defrayinge of his charges, the summe of three hundred talentes. *Pyrrus* openinge the letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch and deule of *Lysimachus*. For king *Ptolomies* common manner of greeting of him, which he vied at the beginninge of his letters, was not in them obserued: To my sonne *Pyrrus*, health. But in those counterfeate was, king *Ptolomie* vnto king *Pyrrus*, health. Whereupon he presently pronounced *Lysimachus* for a naughty man: neuerthelesse, afterwards he made peace with *Antipater*, and they met together at a day appointed, to be sworne vpon the sacrifices vnto the articles of peace. There were three beastes brought to be sacrificed, a goat, a bul, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downe dead of him selfe before he was touched, whereat all the standers by fell a laughinge. But there was a Soothfayer, one *Theodotus*, that perswaded *Pyrrus* not to sweare: saying, that this signe and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kinges with sodaine death. For which cause *Pyrrus* concluded no peace. Now *Alexanders* warres beinge ended, *Demetrius* notwithstandinge came to him, knowinge well enough at his cominge that *Alexander* had no more neede of his aide, and that he did it only but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but thone beganne to mistrust thother, and to spie all the wayes they could to intrappe eche other: but *Demetrius* embracinge the first occasion offered, prevented *Alexander*, and slue him, being a young man, and proclaimed him selfe king of *Macedon* in his roome. Now *Demetrius* had certaine quarrells before against *Pyrrus*, bicause he had ouerrunne the contry of *Thessalie*: and furthermore, greedy couetousnes to haue the

Pyrrus readily taken from him in his absence.

Pyrrus willingly at the battell of Hipus.

Pyrrus behavior.

Pyrrus married to Antigona the daughter of Philip king of Macedonia, and of his wife Berenice.

Pyrrus restored to his kingdom againe.

Pyrrus denieth the realme of Epirus with Neoptolemus.

Pyrrus slue Neoptolemus.

Berenicida, a city of Epirus in the Ile of Presque. Pyrrus first journey into Macedon.

King Lysimachus craft to deceive Pyrrus.

Theodotus indigement, a Soothfayer.

Pyrrus quarrell and warre with Demetrius.

more (which is a common vice with princes and noble men) made, that being so neere neighbours, the one stood in feare and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the death of *Deidamia*. But now that they both occupied all *MACEDON* betwene them, and were to make diuision of one selfe kingdome. Now I say began the matter and occasion of quarrell, to grow the greater betwene them. Whereupon *Demetrius* went with his army to set upon the *ANTONIANS*, and hauing conquered the contry, left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenaunt there with a great army: and him selfe in person in the meane time, marched against *Pyrrus*, and *Pyrrus* on the other side against him. They both missed of meetinge, and *Demetrius* goinge on further on the one side, entered into the realme of *EPYRVS*, and brought a great spoyle away with him: *Pyrrus* on the other side marched on, till he came to the place where *Pantauchus* was. To whom he gaue battell, and it was valiantly fought out betwene the souldiers of either party, but especially betwene the two Generalls. For doubtlesse, *Pantauchus* was the valliantest Capitaine, the stoutest man, and of the greatest experience in armes, of all the Captaines and souldiers *Demetrius* had. Whereupon, *Pantauchus* trusting in his strength and corage, aduanced him selfe forwardes, and lustely challenged the combat of *Pyrrus*. *Pyrrus* on the other side being inferior to no king in valliantnes, nor in desire to winne honor, as he that would ascribe vnto himselfe the glory of *Achilles*, more for the imitation of his valliancy, then for that he was descended of his blood: passed through the midst of the battell vnto the first rancke, to buckle with *Pantauchus*. Thus they beganne to charge one another, first with their darts, and then coming nearer, fought with their swordes, not only artificially, but also with great force and fury: vntill such time as *Pyrrus* was hurte in one place, and he hurte *Pantauchus* in two. The one neere vnto his throte and the other in his legge: so as in the ende *Pyrrus* made him turne his backe, and threw him to the ground, but neuertheless killed him not. For, so soone as he was downe, his men tooke him, and caried him away. But the *EPYROTES* encouraged by the victory of their kinge, and the admiration of his valliantnesse, stucke to it so lustely, that in the end they brake the battell of the *MACEDONIAN* footemen: & hauing put them to flight, followed them so lustely, that they slewe a great number of them, and tooke fise thousande prisoners. This ouerthrowe did not so much fill the hartes of the *MACEDONIANS* with anger, for the losse they had receiued, nor with the hate conceiued against *Pyrrus*: as it wanne *Pyrrus* great fame & honor, making his corage and valliantnes to be wondered at of all such as were present at the battell that saw him fight, and how he layed about him. For they thought that they saw in his face the very life and agility of *Alexander* the great, and the right shadow as it were, shewing the force and fury of *Alexander* him selfe in that fight. And where other kinges did but only counterfeate *Alexander* the great in his purple garments, and in numbers of souldiers and gardes about their persones, and in a certaine faction and bowing of their neckes a litle, and in vntering his speech with an high voyce: *Pyrrus* only was like vnto him, and followed him in his marshall deedes and valliant actes. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlike discipline, the bookes he wrote him selfe thereof, do amply proue and make manifest. Furthermore, they report, that kinge *Antigonus* being asked, whome he thought to be the greatest Capitaine: made answer, *Pyrrus*, so farre forth as he might liue to be olde, speaking only of the Captaines of his time. But *Hanniball* generally sayd, *Pyrrus* was the greatest Capitaine of experience and skill in warres of all other, *Scipio* the second, and him selfe the third: as he wrytten in the life of *Scipio*. So it seemeth that *Pyrrus* gaue his whole life and study to the discipline of warres, as that which in dede was princely and meete for a king, making no reckoning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they report that he being at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the best player of the flute, *Pythion* or *Cephesias*: whereunto he answered, that *Poliperchon* in his opinion was the best Capitaine, as if he would haue sayd, that was the only thing a prince should seeke for, and which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his frendes, easie to forgeue when any had offended him, and maruelous desirous to requite and acknowledge any curtesie or pleasure by him receiued. And that was the cause why he did very vnpruently take the death of *Aeropus*, not so much for his death (which he knewe was a common thing to euery liuing creature) as for that he was angry with himselfe he had deferred the time

Pantauchus,
Demetrius
Lieutenaunt in
Aetolia.

Pyrrus fight,
with *Pantauchus*.

Pyrrus victory
of *Pantauchus*.

Pyrrus likened to
Alexander the
great.

Pyrrus skill in
warlike discipline.

Hanniballs
iudgement of
Captaines.

Pyrrus wife
answer.

Pyrrus gentlenesse
and curtesie.

so long, that time it selfe had cut him off from all occasion and meanes to requite the curtesies he had receiued of him. True it is that money lent, may be repayed againe vnto the heires of the lender: but yet it greueth an honest nature, when he can not recompence the good will of the lender, of whom he hath receiued the goodturne. An other time *Pyrrus* being in the city of *AMBRACIA*, there were certaine of his frends that gaue him counsell to put a naughty man out of the city that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he answered, it is better (quod he) to keepe him here still, speakinge ill of vs but to a fewe: then driving him away, to make him speake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youtnes were brought before him on a time, who making mery together, drinking freely, were bolde with the king to speake their pleasure of him in very vnductuall sorte. So, *Pyrrus* askinge them whether it was true they layed so or no: it is true, and it please your grace, sayed one of them, we sayed it in dede, and had not our wine failed vs, we had spoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of *Antigona*, he married many wiues to increafe his power withall, and to gette more frendes. For he married the daughter of *Antoleon* kinge of *PEONIA*, and *Bircenna* the daughter of *Bardillus*, kinge of *ILLYRIA*, and *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, tyrant of *SYRACUSA*, that brought him for her dower the Ile of *CORPHE*, which her father had taken. By *Antigona* his first wife, he had a sonne called *Prolemie*: By *Lanassa*, an other called *Alexander*: and by *Bircenna*, an other (the youngest of all) called *Helenus*: all which though they were marshall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought vp by him in warres, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradell. They wryte, that one of his sonnes beinge but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leaue his kingdome: *Pyrrus* answered the boy, to him that hath the sharpest sworde. That was much like the tragical curse wherewith *Oedipus* cursed his children.

Let them (for me) denide, both goodes, yea rentes and landes:

VVith trenchaunt sword, and bloody blowes, by force of mighty handes.

So cruell, hatefull, and beastly is the nature of ambition and desire of rule. But after this battell, *Pyrrus* returned home againe to his contry, full of honor and glory, his hart highly exalted, and his minde thoroughly contented. And as at his returne the *EPYROTES* his subiectes called him an Eagle, he answered them: if I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons are the wings that haue raised me vp. Shortly after, beinge aduertised that *Demetrius* was fallen sicke, and in great danger of death, he sodainly went into *MACEDON*, only to inuade it, and to make pray thereof: howbeit he had in dede almost taken the whole realme, and made him selfe Lord of all without stroke striken. For he came as farre as the city of *EDESSA*, and found no resistance: but rather to the contrary, many of the contry willingly came to his campe, and submitted them selues. The daunger *Demetrius* was in to loose his realme, did moue him more: then the diseafe and sickenes of his body. And on the other side, his frendes, seruauntes, and Captaines, hauing gathered a great number of men of warre together in maruelous short time, marched with great speede towards *Pyrrus*, beinge earnestly bent to do some exploit against him: who beinge come into *MACEDON* but to make a roade only upon them, would not tary them, but fled, and flying, lost parte of his men, because the *MACEDONIANS* followed him hard, and set upon him by the way. But now, though they had driuen *Pyrrus* thus easily out of *MACEDON*, *Demetrius* for all that did not make light accompt of him: but pretending greater things, (as to recouer the landes and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of fise hundred sayle which he put to the sea) would not stande to make warres against *Pyrrus*, neither yet leaue the *MACEDONIANS* (whilst he was absent) so daungerous a neighbour, and so ill to deale withall. But lacking leasure to make warres with *Pyrrus*, concluded a peace with him, to the ende he might with the more liberty set upon the other kinges. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt *Demetrius* & *Pyrrus*, the other kinges and princes beganne to finde out *Demetrius* intent, and why he had made so great preparation and beinge afraied thereof, wrote vnto *Pyrrus* by their Ambassadors, that they wondered how he could let go such oportunitie and occasion, and to tary till *Demetrius* might with better leasure make warres vpon him. And why he chose rather to tary & fight with him at the altures, temples, and sepulchers of the *MOLOSSIANS*, when he shoulde be

Certaine writers sayinge of
Pyrrus.

Pyrrus wiues
and children.

Pyrrus called
an Eagle.

Pyrrus inuaded
Macedon.

Demetrius army both by
land and sea.

Demetrius
maried La-
nassa Pyrrus
wife.

Pyrrus
dreams.

Pyrrus seide
journey into
Macedon.

Pyrrus prei-
sist.

How Pyrrus
was his head
peece.

Pyrrus prei-
claimed kinge
of Macedon.

of greater power, and haue no warres elsewhere to trouble him: then now that he might easily drive him out of MACEDON, hauing fo many things in hand, & being troubled as he was in other places. And considering also that very lately he had taken one of his wiues from him, with the city of CORPHE. For *Lanassa* milkinge, that *Pyrrus* loued his other wiues better than her, (they being of a barbarous natio) got her vnto CORPHE, & desiring to marry some other king, sent for *Demetrius*, knowinge that he of all other kings would soonest be wonne thereunto. Whereupon *Demetrius* went thither, and married her, and left a garrison in his cite of CORPHE. Nowe these other kings that did aduertise *Pyrrus* in this sorte, then selues did trouble *Demetrius* in the meane while: who tracted time, & yet went on with his preparation notwithstanding. For on the one side, *Ptolomie* entred GREECE with a great army by sea, where he caused the cities to reuolt against him. And *Lysimachus* on the other side also, entering into high MACEDON by the contry of THRACIA, burnt and spoyled all as he went. *Pyrrus* also arminge him selfe with them, went vnto the city of BERROEA, imagining (as afterwarde it fell out) that *Demetrius* goinge against *Lysimachus*, would leaue all the lowe contry of MACEDON naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfe same night that *Pyrrus* departed, he imagined that king *Alexander* the great did call him, and that also he went vnto him, & found him sicke in his bed, of whom he had very good wordes and entertainment: in so much as he promised to helpe him thoroughly. And *Pyrrus* imagined also that he was fo bolde to demand of him againe: how (my Lord) can you helpe me, that lye sicke in your bed? and that *Alexander* made answer: with my name only. And that moreouer he sodainly therewithall got vp on his horse Nisea, & rode before *Pyrrus* to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dreame, by which made him bolde, and furthermore encouraged him to goe on with his enterprise. By which occasion, marching forward with all speede, in few dayes he ended his intended iorney to the city of BERROEA, which sodainly he tooke at his first comming to it: the most parte of his army he layed in garrison there, the residue he sent away vnder the conduct of his Captaines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence hereof, and hearing also an ill rumor that ranne in his campe amongst the MACEDONIANS, durst not leade them any further, for feare least (when he should come nere to *Lysimachus* beinge a MACEDONIAN king by nation, & a prince esteemed for a famous captaine) they would thinke from him, & take *Lysimachus* parte: for this cause therefore he turned againe vpon the sodaine against *Pyrrus*, as against a straunge prince, & ill beloued of the MACEDONIANS. But when he came to incampe nere him, many cominge from BERROEA into his campe, blew abroad the praises of *Pyrrus*, saying, that he was a noble prince, inuincible in warres, & one that courteously intreated all those he tooke to his party: & amongst those, there were other that were natural MACEDONIANS borne, but set on by *Pyrrus*, & fained them selues to be MACEDONIANS, who gaue out, that nowe occasion was offered to set them at liberty, from *Demetrius* pride and stately rule, and to take kinge *Pyrrus* parte, that was a courteous prince, and one that loued fouldiers and men of warre. These wordes made the most parte of *Demetrius* army very doubtful, in so much as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to see if they could finde out *Pyrrus* to yelde them selues vnto him. He had at that present left of his head peece: by meane whereof, perceiuing he was not knownen, he put it on againe, and then they knew him a farre off, by the sight of his goodly fayer plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the toppe of his creast. Whereupon there came a great number of MACEDONIANS to his parte, as vnto their soueraine Lord and king, and required the watche word of him. Other put garlandes of oken boughes about their heads, because they saw his men crowned after that sorte. And some were fo bolde also, as to go to *Demetrius* him selfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he should do very well and wisely to geue place to fortune, and referre all vnto *Pyrrus*. *Demetrius* hereupon, seeing his campe in such vprore, was so amased, that he knewe not what way to take, but flete away secretly, disguised in a threde bare cloke, & a hood on his head to keepe him from knowledge. *Pyrrus* forthwith leaped vpon his campe, tooke all that he founde, and was presently proclaimed in the field, king of MACEDON. *Lysimachus* on thother side, came straight thither after him, and sayed that he had holpen to chase *Demetrius* out of his realme, and therefore claimed halfe the kingdom with him. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* not trustinge the MACEDONIANS

As farre as yet, but rather standing in doubt of their faith: granted *Lysimachus* his desire, and thereupon deuided all the cities and prouinces of the realme of MACEDON betwene them. This partition was profitable for them both at that present, and stood then to good purpose to pacifie the warre, that otherwise might sodainly haue risen betwene them. But shortly after, they found that this partition was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and dissenbation betwene them. For they whose avarice and insatiable greedy appetite, neither the sea, the mountains, nor the vnhabitable desertes could containe, nor yet the confines that separate ASIA from EVROPE determine: howe should they be content with their owne, without vslurping others, when their frontiers ioyne so neere together, that nothing deuides them? Sure it is not possible. For to say truly, they are willingly together by the eares, by hauing these two cursed things rooted in them: that they continually seeke occasion how to surprise eche other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in apparance they vye these two tearmes, of peace and warres, as they doe money: vlinge it as they thinke good, not accordinge to right and iustice, but for their priuate profit. And truly they are men of farre greater honesty, that make open warre, and auow it: then those that disguise and colour the delay of their wicked purpose, by the holy name of iustice or frendship. Which *Pyrrus* did truly then verifie. For desiring to keepe *Demetrius* downe from risinge an other time, and that he should not reuiue againe as escaped from a long dangerous disease: he went to aide the GREECIANS against him, and was at ATHENS, where they suffered him to come into the castell, and doe sacrifice there vnto the goddesse *Athena*. But comming out of the castle againe the same day, he tolde the ATHENIANS he was greatly beholdinge vnto them for their curtesie, and the great trust they had reposed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gaue them counsell, neuer to suffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if they were wife, nor once open their gates vnto them. So, after that he made peace with *Demetrius*, who within shorthe time beinge gone to make warres in ASIA, *Pyrrus* yet once againe (perfwaded thereunto by *Lysimachus*) caused all THESSALIE to rise against him, & went him selfe to set vpon those garrisons which *Demetrius* had left in the cities of GREECE, liking better to continue the MACEDONIANS in warre, then to leaue them in peace: besides that him selfe also was of such a nature, as could not long continue in peace. *Demetrius* thus in the end being vtterly ouerthrowen in SYRIA, *Lysimachus* seeing him selfe free from feare on that side, and being at good leasure, as hauing nothing to trouble him otherwayes: went straight to make warre apon *Pyrrus*, who then remained neere vnto the city of EDESSA, & meeting by the way with the conuoy of vittells comming towards him, set vpon the conductors, and rifled them wholly. By this meane, first he distressed *Pyrrus* for want of vittells: then he corrupted the princes of MACEDON with letters & messengers, declaring vnto the, what shame they sustained to haue made a stranger their king (whose auncelsters had euer bene their vassalls & subiectes) and to haue turned all those out of MACEDON, that had bene familiar frendes of king *Alexander* the great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were wonne by these perswasions, which first so feared *Pyrrus*, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPAGORYS, and other his confederates: and so lost MACEDON by the selfe same meane he wanne it. Kinges and princes therefore must not blame priuate men, though they change and alter sometime for their profit: for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teachie them all disloyalty, treason, and infidelity, iudging him most worthy of gaine, that least obserueth iustice and equity. So *Pyrrus* being come home againe to his kingdom of EPIRVS, forsakinge MACEDON altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and in deede he had good meanes to liue peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could haue contented him selfe only with the souerainty ouer his owne naturall subiectes. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to spend his time, and by peace he should pyne away for sorow, as *Homer* sayd of *Achilles*:

He languished and pynde by taking ease and rest:

And in the warres where trauaile was, he liked ever best.

And thus seeking matter of newe trouble, fortune presented him this occasion. About this time, the ROMAINES by chance made warre with the TARANTINES, who could nether beare

The Tarentines having warred with the Romans, determine to make king Pyrrus their General.

Meton concealing the foole, wisely persuaded the Tarentines not to send for Pyrrus. Tarentum a city in Italie.

Meton comes sell to the Tarentines.

The Tarentines send Ambassadors to Pyrrus.

Cineas the orator, a Thesalian borne, and attending in Cineas.

Cineas goes to talke with Pyrrus, to moderate his ambitious minde.

their force, nor yet deuise how to pacifie the same, by reason of the rashnesse, folly, and wickednes of their gouernours, who perswaded them to make *Pyrrus* their General, and to send for him for to conduct these warres: because he was lesse troubled at that time, then any of the other kings about them, and was esteemed of euery man also to be a noble fouldier, and famous Captaine. The elders, and wise men of the city, vterly misliked that counsell: but some of them were put to silence, through the noyle and fury of the people, who cried for warres. So another seeing them checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this manner, woulde no more repaire to their common assemblies. Among the rest, there was one *Meton*, an honest worshipsfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people shoulde conclude in counsel, the decree for the calling in of *Pyrrus*: all the people of *TARENTVM* being assembled, & set in the Theater, this *Meton* put an olde withered garlande of flowers vpon his head, and carrying a torch in his hande as though he had bene dronke, and hauing a woman minstrell before him playing on a pype, went dauncing in this goodly aray through the middelt of the whole assembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in euery hurly burly of people that will be makers them selues, and where no good order is kept) some of them clapped their handes, other burst out in a laughter, and euery man suffered him to doe what he lust: but they all cried out to the woman minstrell, to play on and spare not, and to *Meton* him selfe, that he shoulde sing, and come forward. So *Meton* made thewe as though he prepared him selfe vnto it: and when they had geuen silence to heare him sing, he spake vnto them with a loud voice in this manner. My Lordes of *TARENTVM*, ye doe well sure, not to forbid them to play and to be merry that are so disposed, whilst they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wise, euery of you also (as many as you be) will take your liberty whilst you may enjoy it. For when king *Pyrrus* shalbe in this city, you shall liue I warrant ye after an other sorte, and not as ye now do. These wordes of *Meton* moued many of the *TARENTINES*, and sodainly there ran a rumour through all the assembly, that he had sayed truly. But they that had offended the *ROMAINES*, fearing if peace were made, that they shoulde be deliuered into their handes, they checked the people, asking them if they were such foolles, as woulde abide to be mocked and played withall to their teeth: and with those wordes all ranne vpon *Meton*, and draue him out of the Theater. The decree thus confirmed by voyces of the people, they sent Ambassadors into *EPHROSIA* to carry presents vnto king *Pyrrus*, not only from the *TARENTINES*, but from other *GREEKES* also that dwelt in *ITALIE*, saying that they stood in neede of a wise and skilful Captaine, that was reputed famous in martiall discipline. And as to the rest, for numbers of good fouldiers, they had men enough in *ITALIE*, & were able to bring an army into the field, of the *LUCANIANES*, the *MESSAPIANES*, the *SAMNITES*, and *TARENTINES*, of twenty thousand horse, & three hundred thousand footemen being all assembled together. These wordes of the Ambassadors did not only lift vp *Pyrrus* harte, but made the *EPHROSIA* also maruelous desirous to go this iorney. There was in king *Pyrrus* courte one *Cineas* the *SALIAN*, a man of great vnderstanding, and that had bene *Demosithenes* the orators scholler, who seemed to be the only man of all other in his time in common reputation, to be most eloquent, following the lively image and shadow of *Demosithenes* passing eloquence. This *Cineas*, *Pyrrus* euer entertained about him, and sent him Ambassador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he verified *Euripides* wordes.

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty handes may doe,
So much can skill of eloquence, achieve and conquer too.

And therefore *Pyrrus* would often say, that *Cineas* had wonne him more townes with his eloquence, then him selfe had done by the sword for which he did greatly honor and imploy him in all his chiefe affaires. *Cineas* perceiuing that *Pyrrus* was maruelously bent to these warres of *ITALIE*, finding him one day at leisure, discouered with him in this sorte. It is reported, and it please your maiesty, that the *ROMAINES* are very good men of warre, & that they commaund many valliant and warlike nations: if it please the goddes we doe overcome them, what benefit shall we haue of that victory? *Pyrrus* answered him againe, thou dost aske me a question that is manifest of it selfe. For when we haue once ouercome the *ROMAINES*, there can neither *GREEKIAN* nor barbarous city in all the contry withstande vs, but we shall straight con-

quer

A quer all the rest of *ITALIE* with ease: whose greames, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then thy selfe. *Cineas* pawling a while, replied: and when we haue taken *ITALIE*, what shall we do then? *Pyrrus* not finding his meaning yet, said vnto him. *SICILIA* as thou knowest, is hard adioyning to it, & doth as it were offer it selfe vnto vs, & is a maruelous populous and rich lande, and easie to be taken: for all the cities within the lande are one against an other, hauing no head that gouernes the, since *Agathocles* died, more the orators only that are their counsellours, who will loone be wonne. In dede it is likely which your grace speaketh, quod *Cineas*: but when we haue wonne *SICILIA*, shall then our warres take ende? If the goddes were pleased, sayd *Pyrrus*, that victory were atchieued: the way were then broad open for vs to attaine great conquestes. For who would not afterwardees goe into *AFRICKE*, and so to *CARTHAGE*, which also will be an easie conquest, since *Agathocles* secretly flying from *SYRACUSA*, and hauing passed the seas with a fewe shippes, had almost taken it? And that once conquered, it is most certaine there durst not one of all our enemies that now doe daily vex and trouble vs, lift vp their heades or handes against vs. No surely, sayd *Cineas*: for it is a cleare case, that with so great a power we may easily recouer the realme of *MACEDON* againe, and commaunde all *GREECE* besides, without let of any. But when we haue all in our handes: what shall we doe in the ende? Then *Pyrrus* laughing, tolde him againe: we will then (good *Cineas*) be quiet, & take our ease, and make feasts euery day, & be as merry one with an other as we can possible. *Cineas* hauing brought him to that poynt, sayd againe to him: my Lord, what letteth vs now to be quiet, and merry together, sith we enioy that presently without further trauel and trouble, which we will now goe seeke for abroad, with such theading of blood, and so manifest danger? and yet we know not whether euer we shall attaine vnto it, after we haue both suffered, and caused other to suffer infinite sorowes and troubles. These last wordes of *Cineas*, did rather offend *Pyrrus*, then make him to alter his minde: for he was not ignorant of the hap- py state he shoulde thereby forgoe, yet could he not leaue of the hope of that he did so much desire. So he sent *Cineas* before vnto the *TARENTINES*, with three thousand footemen: and afterwards the *TARENTINES* hauing sent him great store of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all sortes of passengers, he shipped into them twenty elephantes, three thousand horsemen, and two and twenty thousand footemen, with fise hundred bowe men and slingers. All things thus ready, he wayed ankers, and hoysed sayles, and was no sooner in the maine sea, but the north winde blew very roughly, out of season, and draue him to leeward. Notwithstanding, the ship which he was in him selfe, by great toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windward, and with much a do, and maruelous danger recouered the coast of *ITALIE*. Howbeit the rest of his flecte were violently disperfed here and there, whereof some of them failinge their course into *ITALIE*, were cast into the seas of *LIBYA*, and *SICILIA*. The other notable to recouer the pointe of *APVLLIA*, were benighted, and the sea being her wrought, by violence cast them upon the shoare, and against the rockes, and made shipwrackes of them, the Admirall onely referred, which through her strength, and the greates of her burden, resisted the force of the sea that most violently bet against her. But afterwards, the winde turning & coming from the lande, the sea cruelly raking ouer the height of her forecastell: in syne brought her in manifest perill of openinge, and splitting, and in daunger to be driuen from the coast, puttinge her out againe to the mercy of the windes, which chaunged euery hower. Wherefore *Pyrrus* castinge the perill euery way, thought best to leape into the sea. After him forthwith leapt his gard, his seruantes, and other his familiar frendes, venturing their liues to saue him. But the darkenes of the night, and rage of the waues (which the shore breakinge, forced so to rebound backe vpon them) with the great noyle also, did so hinder their swimming: that it was euen day before they could recouer any lande, and yet was it by meanes that the winde fell. As for *Pyrrus*, he was so sea beaten, and wearied with the waues, that he was able to do no more: though of himselfe he had so great a harte, & stowe a corage, as was able to overcome any perill. Moreover, the *MESSAPIANES* (vpon whose coast the storme had cast him) ran out to helpe him, and diligently labored in all they coulde possible to saue him, and receiued also certaine of his shippes that had scaped, in which were a fewe horsemen, about two thousand footemen, and two elephantes. With this small force, *Pyrrus* marched on his iorney to goe

Pyrrus indigne of orators corruption.

A dangerous thing to withstande the Princis minde.

Pyrrus iorney into Italy.

Pyrrus danger by tempest on the sea.

Pyrrus cast on shoare upon the contry of the Messapians.

*Pyrrus being
recoited of
the Tarentines
resumed
their name
voluntaries
life.*

*Marshall dis-
cipine.*

*Leuius Con-
sul, sent a-
gainst Pyrrus.*

*Pyrrus camp-
ed in the
plaine, be-
tweene Pando-
sia and Hera-
clea.
Sirus fl.*

*Pyrrus Bar-
rell.*

*Pyrrus first
conflict with
the Romaines.*

*Pyrrus wife-
dom & fore-
fight in bat-
telle.*

by lande vnto TARENTVM: and *Cineus* being aduertised of his comming, went with his men to meete him. Now when he was come to TARENTVM, at the first he would doe nothing by force, nor against the goodwill of the inhabitantes: vntill such time as his shippes that had escaped the daungers of the sea, were all arriued, and the greatest parte of his army comen together againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, seeing that the people of TARENTVM could neither saue them selues, nor be saued by any other, without straight order & compulsion, because they made their reckening that *Pyrrus* should fight for them, & in the meane time they would not stirre out of their houles from bathing them selues, from banketing, and making good chere: first of all he caused all the parkes & places of shew to be shut vp, where they were wont to walke and disporte them selues, in any kind of exercise, and as they walked, to talke of warres as it were in pastime, & to fight with words, but not to come to the blowes. And further he forbad all feastinges, mommeries, and such other like pleasures, as at that time were out of season. He trained them out also to exercise their weapons, and shewed him selfe very seuer in musters, not pardoning any whose names were billed to serue in the warres: in so much as there were many (which vnacquainted with such rough handling & gouernment) forsooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to haue liberty to liue at their pleasure. Furthermore, *Pyrrus* hauing intelligence that *Leuius* the Romaine Consul came against him with a great puissant army, and that he was already entred into the lande of LVCANIA, where he destroyed and spoyled all the contry before him: albeit the TARENTINES aide of their confederates was not as yet comen, he thought it a great shame to suffer his enemies approche so nere him, and therefore taking that small number he had, brought them into the field against *Leuius*. Howbeit he sent a herald before to the Romaines, to vnderstand of them, if before they entred into this warre they could be content the controuersies they had with all the GRECEIANS dwelling in ITALIE, might be decided by iustice, & therein to referre them selues to his arbitrement, who of him selfe would vndertake the pacification of the. Whereunto the Consul *Leuius* made answer, that the Romaines would neuer allow him for a iudge, neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherefore *Pyrrus* going on stil, came to lodge in the plaine which is betwene the cities of PANDOSIA, & of HERACLEA: & hauing newes brought him that the Romaines were encamped very nere vnto him on the other side of the riuer of Siris, he tooke his horse, and rode to the riuers side to view their campe. So hauing thoroughly considered the forme, the situation, and the order of the same, the manner of charging their watche, and all their facions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And speaking to *Megacles*, one of his familiars about him, he sayd: this order *Megacles* (quod he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarously done, but we shall shortly proue their force. After he had thus taken this view, he beganne to be more carefull then he was before, and purposed to tary till the whole aide of their confederates were comen together, leauing men at the riuers side of Siris, to kepe the passage, if the enemies ventured to passe ouer as they did in dede: For they made hast to preuent the aide that *Pyrrus* looked for, & passed their footemen ouer upon a bridge, and their horsemen at diuerse fordes of the riuer: in so much as the GRECEIANS fearinge least they should be compassed in behinde, drew backe. *Pyrrus* aduertised thereof, and being a litle troubled therewithall, commaunded the Captaines of his footemen presently to put their bandes in battell ray, and not to stirre till they knew his pleasure: and he him selfe in the meane time marched on with three thousande horse, in hope to finde the Romaines by the riuer side, as yet out of order, & vtterly vnprouided. But when he saw a farre of a greater number of footemen with their targettes ranged in battell, on this side the riuer, and their horsemen marching towards him in very good order: he caused his men to ioyne close together, and him selfe first beganne the charge, being easie to be knownen from othere, if it had bene no more but his passinge riche glisteringe armor and furniture, and withall, for that his valliant dedes gaue manifest proofe of his well deserued fame and renowne. For, though he valliantly besturrd his hands and body both, repulsing them he encountered withall in fight, yet he forgoate not him selfe, nor neglected the iudgement & foresight, which should neuer be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and discretely gaue order for euery thinge, ryding to and fro, to defende and encourage his men in those places, where

A where he sawe them in most distresse. But euen in the hottest of the battell, *Leonasus* MACEDONIAN, spied an ITALIAN a man of armes, that followed *Pyrrus* vpp and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hande with him, to let apen him. Wherefore he sayd to *Pyrrus*: my Lord doe you not see that barbarous man there vpon a baye horse with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he ment to doe some notable feat and mischief with his owne handes: for his eye is neuer of you, but wayteth only apen you, being sharpe set to deale with your selfe & none other, & therefore take hede of him. *Pyrrus* answered him, it is impossible *Leonasus*, for a man to auoyde his destinie: but neither he, nor any other ITALIAN whatsoever, shall haue any ioy to deale with me. And as they were talkinge thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his speare in the midst, and setting spurres to his horse, charged apen *Pyrrus*, and ranne his horse through and through with the same. *Leonasus* at the selfe same instant ferued the ITALIANS horse in the like manner, so as both their horses fell dead to the ground. Howbeit *Pyrrus* men that were about him, saued him presently, and slew the ITALIAN in the field, although he fought it out right valliantly. The ITALIANS name was *Oplacus*, borne in the city of FERENTVM, and was Captaine of a bande of men of armes. This mischance made kinge *Pyrrus* looke the better to him selfe afterwards, and seeinge his horsemen geue backe, sent presently to hasten his footemen forward, whom he straight set in order of battell: and deliuering his armor and cloke to one of his familiars called *Megacles*, and being hidden as it were in *Megacles* armor, returned againe to the battell against the Romaines, who valliantly resisted him, so that the victorie depended longe in doubt. For it is sayd, that both the one side and the other did chafe, and was chafed, aboue seuen times in that conflict. The chaungeinge of the kings armor serued very well for the safety of his owne person, howbeit it was like to haue marred all, and to haue made him loose the field. For many of his enemies set vpon *Megacles*, that ware the kings armor: and the partie that slue him dead, and threw him stark to the ground, was one *Dexius* by name, who quickly snatched of his head peece, tooke away his cloke, and ranne to *Leuius* the Consul, crying out aloud, that he had slaine *Pyrrus*, and withall shewed forth the spoyle he supposed to haue taken from him. Which being carried about through all the bands, & openly shewed from hand to hand, made the Romaines maruelous ioyfull, and the GRECEIANS to the contrary, both afeard and right forowfull: vntill such time as *Pyrrus* hearing of it, went and passed alongest all his bandes bare headed, and D bare headed, holdinge vp his hande to his souldiers, and geuinge them to vnderstande with his owne voyce, that it was him selfe. The elephants in the ende were they in dede that wanne the battell, and did most distresse the Romaines: for, their horses seeing them a farre off, were fore afrayed, and durst not abide them, but caried their masters backe in despite of them. *Pyrrus* at the sight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horsemen to geue a charge apen them whilst they were in this disorder, and that so lustily, as they made the Romaines flie, and susteine great slaughter. For *Dionysius* wryteth, that there dyed few lesse, then fifteene thousand Romaines at that battell. But *Hieronymus* speakech onely of seuen thousande. And of *Pyrrus* side, *Dionysius* wryteth, there were slaine thirteene thousande. But *Hieronymus* sayth lesse then foure thousande: howbeit they were all of the best men of his army, and those whome most E he trusted. King *Pyrrus* presently hereupon also tooke the Romaines campe, which they forsooke, and wan many of their cities from their allyance, spoyled, and ouercame much of their contry. In so much as he came within six and thirty mile of ROME, whither came to his aide, as confederates of the TARENTINES, the LVCANIANS, & the SAMNITES, whom he rebuked because they came to late to the battell. Howbeit a man might easily see in his face, that he was not a litle glad and proude to haue ouerthrowen so great an army of the Romaines with his owne men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On thother side, the Romaines hartes were so great, that they would not depose *Leuius* from his Consulshippe, notwithstandinge the losse he had receiued: and *Caius Fabricius* sayed openly, that they were not the EPIROTES that had ouercomen the Romaines, but *Pyrrus* had ouercome *Leuius*: meaninge therefore, that this ouerthrow chaunced vnto them, more through the subtilty and wise conduction of the Generall, then through the valliant feates and worthines of his army. And hereupon they speedily supplied their legions againe that were diminished, with other newe souldiers

Pyrrus changed his armor & cloke.

Megacles slaine, sakech for Pyrrus.

Pyrrus victory of Leuius the Consul.

in the dead mens place, and leauied a fresh force besides, speaking brauely and fiercely of this warre, like men whose hartes were nothing appawled. Whereat *Pyrrus* maruelinge much, thought good first to send to the *ROMAINS*, to proue if they would geue any care to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the city of *ROME* was no easie matter to passe, or attaine, with that strength he presently had: and also that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valliant victory. And hereupon he sent *Cineas* to *ROME*, who spake with the chieftest of the city, and offered presentes to them and their wiues, in the behalfe of the king his master. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receiue any at his handes, but answered all with one voyce: that if the peace might be general to all, they all priuately would be at the kinges commaundement, and would be glad of his friendship. Moreover, when *Cineas* had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had deliuered them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor shewed any affection to geue care vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their prisoners home againe without ranisme, that had bene taken at the battell, and promised also to aide them in the conquest of *ITALIE*, requiring no other recompence at their handes, sauing their goodwills only to his master, & assurance for the *TARENTINES*, that they should not be annoyed for any thing past, without demaunde of other matter. Neuerthelesse in the ende, when they had hearde these offers, many of the Senators yeelded, and were willinge to make peace: alleging that they had already lost a great battell, and howe they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of *ITALIE* should ioine together with king *Pyrrus* power. But *Appius Claudius*, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor delin matters of state at all by reason of his age, and partly because he was blinde: when he vnderstoode of king *Pyrrus* offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the city, howe the Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulations of peace propounded by *Cineas*, he could not abide, but caused his seruantes to cary him in his chayer upon their armes vnto the Senate dore, his sonnes, and sonnes in law taking him in their armes, caried him fo into the Senate house. The Senate made silence to honor the comming in of fo notable & worthy a personage: and he so soone as they had sette him in his seate, beganne to speake in this sorte. *Herunto* with great impacione (my Lordes of *ROME*) haue I borne the losse of my sight, but now, I would I were also as deafe as I am blinde, that I might not (as I doe) heare the noise of your dishonorable consultations determined vpon in Senate, which tende to subuerthe the glorious fame and reputation of *ROME*. What is now become of all your great and mighty bragges you blased abroad, through the whole worlde? that if *Alexander* the great him selfe had come into *ITALIE*, in the time that our fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and we in the prime of our youth, they would not haue sayed euery where that he was altogether invincible, as now at this present they doe: but either he should haue left his body slaine herein battell, or at the least wife haue bene driuen to flee, and by his death or flyinge shoulde greatly haue enlarged the renowne and glory of *ROME*? you plainly show it now, that all these words spoken the, were but vaine & arrogant vaunts of foolish pride. Considering that you tremble for feare of the *MOLOSSIANS* & *CHAONIANS*, who were euer a pray to the *MACEDONIANS*: and that ye are afayed of *Pyrrus* also, who all his life time serued and followed one of the gard vnto *Alexander* the great, and now is come to make warres in these partes, nor to aide the *GRECIANS* inhabiting in *ITALIE*, but to flie from his enemies there about his owne country, offering you to conquer all the rest of *ITALIE* with an army, wherewith he was nothing able to kepe a small parte of *MACEDON* only for him selfe. And therefore you must not periwade your selues, that in making peace with him, you shall thereby be rid of him: but rather shall you draw others to come & set apou you besides. For they will vterly despise you, when they shall heare ye are so easily overcome, and that you haue suffered *Pyrrus* to escape your handes, before you made him feeble the iust reward of his bolde presumptuous attempt vpon you: carying with him for a further hier, this aduantage ouer you, that he hath geuen a great occasion on both to the *SAMNITES*, and *TARENTINES*, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After that *Appius* had tolde this tale vnto the Senate, euery one through the whole assembly, desired rather warre then peace. They dispatched *Cineas* away thereupon with this answer, that

Cineas first Ambassador to Rome. The noble minde of the Romaines.

Appius Claudius dissuaded the Romaines from making peace with Pyrrus.

Appius Claudius oration to the Senate.

A if *Pyrrus* sought the *ROMAINS* frendshippe, he must first departe out of *ITALIE*, and then sende vnto them to treat of peace: but so longe as he remained there with his army, the *ROMAINS* would make warres vpon him, with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had ouerthrowen and slaine tenne thousand such Capitaines as *Leinius* was. They say that *Cineas*, during the time of his abode at *ROME*, intreating for this peace, did curiously laborto consider and vnderstande, the manners, order, and life of the *ROMAINS*, and their common weale, discoursing thereof with the chieftest men of the city: and how afterwards he made ample reporte of the same vnto *Pyrrus*, and tolde him amongst other things, that the Senate appeared to him, a counsell house of many kinges. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they should fight against such a serpent, as that which was in olde time in the marifes of *LERNE*, of which, when they had cut of one heade, seuen other came vp in the place: because the Confull *Leinius* had nowe leauied an other army, twise as great as the first was, and had left at *ROME* also, many times as many good able men to cary armor. After this, there were sent Ambassadors from *ROME* vnto *Pyrrus*, and amongst other, *Caius Fabricius* touching the state of the prisoners. *Cineas* tolde the kinge his master, that this *Fabricius* was one of the greatest menne of accompt in all *ROME*, a right honest man, a good Capitaine, and a very valliant man of his handes, yet poore in deede he was notwithstanding. *Pyrrus* taking him secretly a side, made very much of him, and amongst other things, offered him bothe golde and siluer, prayinge him to take it, not for any dishonest respect he ment towards him, but only for a pledge of the goodwill and frendshippe that should be betwene them. *Fabricius* would none of his gift: so *Pyrrus* left him for that time. Notwithstanding, the next morninge thinkinge to feare him, because he had neuer seene elephant before, *Pyrrus* commaunded his men, that when they sawe *Fabricius* and him talkinge together, they shoulde bringe one of his greatest elephants, and set him harde by them, behinde a hanging: which beinge done at a certaine signe by *Pyrrus* geuen, sodainly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his troncke was ouer *Fabricius* heade, and gaue a terrible and fearful crie. *Fabricius* softly geuinge backe, nothinge afayed, laughed and sayd to *Pyrrus* smiling: neither did your golde (oh king) yesterday moue me, nor your elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whilest they were at supper, fallinge in take of diuerse matters, specially touching the state of *GREECE*, and the Philosophers there: *Cineas* by chaunce spake of *EPICVRVS*, and reheard the opinions of the *EPICURIANS* touching the goddes and government of the common wealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleasure, how they fled from all office & publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: howe they maintained that the goddes were immortall, neither moued with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of all pleasures and delights, without taking any regarde of mens doings. But as he still continued this discourse, *Fabricius* cried out alowde, and sayd: the goddes graunt that *Pyrrus* and the *SAMNITES* were of such opinions, as long as they had warres against vs. *Pyrrus* marueling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more desirous a great deale to haue peace with the *ROMAINS*, then before. And priuately prayed *Fabricius* very earnestly, that he would treat for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remaine with him, E saying: that he would giue him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongst all his frendes. Whereunto *Fabricius* answered him softly: that were not good (oh king) for your selfe, quod he: for your men that presently doe honor and esteeme you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather choole me for their kinge, then your selfe. Such was *Fabricius* talke, whose wordes *Pyrrus* tooke not in ill parte, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyrant woulde haue bene: but did him selfe repore to his frendes and familiars the noble minde he founde in him, and deliuered him apou his faith only, all the *ROMAINE* prisoners: to the ende that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet see their frendes, and keepe the least of Saturne with them, and then to send them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate established by decree, vpon paine of death to all such as shoulde not performe the same accordingly. F Afterwards *Fabricius* was chosen Confull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought him a letter from kinge *Pyrrus* Phisitian, wrytten with his owne handes: in which the Phisitian offered to payson his maister, so he would promise him a good reward, for

The maiestie of the Senate at Rome.

Caius Fabricius, Ambassador to Pyrrus. Caius Fabricius a noble Capitaine, but very poore. Fabricius refused king Pyrrus giftes.

The opinion of the Epicurians touching felicity.

King Pyrrus Phisitian wryteth to Fabricius, offering to payson his maister.

ending the warres without further danger. *Fabricius* detestinge the wickednesse of the Phisician, and hauing made *Q. Aemilius* his colleague, and fellowe Confull also, to abhorre the same: wrote a letter vnto *Pyrrus*, and bad him take heede, for there were that ment to poyson him. The contentes of his letter were thele: *Caius Fabricius*, and *Quintus Aemilius* Consuls of Rome, vnto king *Pyrrus* greeting. You haue (oh king) made vnfortunate choise, both of your frendes and of your enemies, as shall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter, which one of yours hath written vnto vs: for you make warres with iust and honest men, and do your selfe trust altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hereof therefore we haue thought good to aduertise you, not in respect to pleasure you, but for feare least the misfortune of your death might make vs vniustly to be accused: imagining that by trechery of treason, we haue fought to end this warre, as though by valliantnesse we coule not otherwise atchieue it. *Pyrrus* hauing read this letter, and proued the contentes thereof true, executed the Phisitian as he had deserued: and to requite the aduertisement of the Consulls, he sent *Fabricius* and the *ROMAINES* their prisoners, without payinge of ranfome, and sent *Cineas* againe vnto them, to proue if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit, the *ROMAINES*, because they would neither receiue pleasure of their enemies, and least of all reward, for that they consented not vnto so wicked a deede: did not only refuse to take their prisoners of free gift, but they sent him againe so many *SAMNITES*, and *TARENTINES*. And furthermore, for peace, and his frendshippe, they would geue no care to it, before the warres were ended, and that he had sent away his army againe by sea, into his kingdome of *EPYRVS*. Wherefore *Pyrrus* seeing no remedy, but that he must needs fight another battell, after he had somewhat refreshed his army, drewe towards the cite of *ASCVLM*, where he fought the seconde time with the *ROMAINES*: and was brought into a maruelous ill grounde for horsemen, by a very swift running riuer, from whence came many brookes and deepe marshes, in somuch as his elephantes could haue no space nor ground to ioine with the battell of the footemen, by reason wherof there was a great number of men hurt and slaine on both sides. And in the ende, the battell being fought out all day longe, the darke night did seuer them: but the next morninge, *Pyrrus* to winne the aduantage to fight in the plaine field, where he might preuaile with the force of his elephantes, sent first certaine of his bandes to lease vpon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy hauing brought the *ROMAINES* into the plaine field, he thrust in amongst his elephantes, store of shot, and slingemen, and then made his army marche (being very well set in order) with great furie against his enemies. They missinge thother dayes turnings and places of retyre, were now compelled to fight all on a fronte in the plaine field: and struing to breake into the battell of *Pyrrus* footemen before the elephantes came, they desperately preaced in upon their enemies pykes with their swordes, not caring for their owne perones what became of them, but only looked to kill and destroy their enemies. In the ende notwithstandinge, after the battell had holden out very long, the *ROMAINES* lost it, and they first beganne to breake and flie on that side where *Pyrrus* was, by reason of the great force and furie of his charge, and much more through the violence of the elephantes: against which, the *ROMAINES* valliantnes nor courage coule ought preuaile, but that they were driuen to geue them place (much like the rage of surging waues, or terrible trembling of the earth) rather then tary to be troden vnder feere, and ouerthrowen by them, whome they were not able to hurte againe, but be by them most greuously martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothinge eased. The chafe was not long, because they fled but into their campe: and *Hieronymus* the historiographer writeth, that there died six thousande men of the *ROMAINES*, and of *Pyrrus* parte about three thousande fye hundred and fye, as the kinges owne *Chronicles* doe witnesse. Neuerthelesse, *Dionysius* makes no mention of two battells geuen neere vnto the city of *ASCVLM*, nor that the *ROMAINES* were certainly ouerthrowen: howbeit he confirmeth that there was one battell only that continued vntill sunne set, and that they scarcely seuered aloft when night was come on, *Pyrrus* being hurte on the arme with a spear, and his cariage robbed and spoiled by the *SAMNITES* besides. And further, that there died in this battell, aboute fiftene thousande men, as well of *Pyrrus* side, as of the *ROMAINES* parte: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retyre. And some say, that it was at that time *Pyrrus* answered one, who reioyced with him

Fabricius letter to *Pyrrus*, aduertising him of his Phisicians reason.

Pyrrus sends the *ROMAINES* their prisoners with out ranfome.

Pyrrus second battell with the *ROMAINES*, by the city of *ASCVLM*.

Pyrrus victory of the *ROMAINES*.

The writers agree not about *Pyrrus* battell.

A him for the victory they had wonne: if we winne another of the price, quod he, we are vtterly vndone. For in dede the had he lost the most parte of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his frendes and Captaines in manner euery one, or at the least there lacked litle of it: and besides that, he had no meanes to supplie them with other from thence, and perceived also that the confederates he had in *ITALIE*, beganne to waxe colde. Where the *ROMAINES* to the contrary, did easily renue their army with freshe souldiers, which they caused to come from Rome as neede required, (much like vnto a liuely spring, the head whereof they had at home in their contry) and they fainted not at all for any losses they receiued, but rather were they so much the more hotly bent, slowly determining to abide out the warres, what euer beyde. And thus whilest *Pyrrus* was troubled in this sorte, newe hopes, and newe enterprises were offered vnto him, that made him doubtful what to do. For euē at a clap came Ambassadors to him out of *SICILIA*, offering to put into his handes, the cities of *SYRACUSA*, of *AGRIGENTVM*, and of the *LEONTINES*, and beseeching him to aide them to driue the *CARTHAGINIANS* out of the Ile, thereby to deliuer them from all the tyrannes. And on the other side also, newes was brought him from *GREECE*, howe *Protonie* surnamed the lightning, was slaine, and all his army ouerthrowen in battell against the *GAVLES*, and that now he shoulde come in good hower for the *MACEDONIANS*, who lacked but a king. Then he cursed his hard fortune that presented him all at once, such sundry occasions to doe great things: and as if both enterprises had bene already in his hande, he made his account that of necessitie he must loose one of them. So, long debating the matter with him selfe, which of the two wayes he shoulde conclude vpon: in the ende he resolved, that by the warres of *SICILIA*, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, considering that *AFRICKE* was not farre from thence. Wherefore, disposing him selfe that way, he sent *Cineas* thither immediately to make his way, and to speake to the townes and cities of the contry as he was wont to doe: and in the meane time left a strong garrison in the city of *TARENTVM*, to keepe it at his deuotion, where-with the *TARENTINES* were very angry. For they made request vnto him, either to remaine in their contry to maintaine warres with them against the *ROMAINES*, (which was their meaning why they sent for him) or else if he would needes go, at the least wile to leaue their city in as good state as he founde it. But he answered them againe very roughly, that they shoulde speake no more to him in it, and that they should not choose but tary his occasion. And with this aunswere tooke shippe, and sailed towards *SICILIA*: where so soone as he was arriued, he founde all that he hoped for, for the citie did willingly put them selues into his handes. And where necessity of battell was offered him to employ his army, nothing at the beginning could stande before him. For, with thirty thousande footemen, two thousande fye hundred horsemen, and two hundred sayle which he brought with him, he draue the *CARTHAGINIANS* before him, and conquered all the contry vnder their obedience. Nowe at that time, the city of *ERIX* was the strongest place they had: and there were a great number of good souldiers within it to defende it. *Pyrrus* determined to proue the assault of it, and when his army was ready to geue the charge, he armed him selfe at all peeces from toppe to toe, and approaching the walls, vowed vnto *Hercules* to geue him a solemne sacrifice, with a feast of common E plays, so that he would graunt him grace to shew him selfe vnto the *GREECIANS* inhabiting in *SICILIA*, worthy of the noble auncesters from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his handes. This vowe ended, he straight made the trompettes sound to the assault, & caused the barbarous people that were on the walles, to retyre with force of his shot. Then when the scaling ladders were set vp, him selfe was the first that mounted on the walle, where he found diuerse of the barbarous people that resisted him. But some he threw ouer the walles on either side of him, and with his sword slew many dead about him, him selfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the harte to looke him in the face, his countenance was so terrible. And this doth proue that *Homer* spake wisely, and like a man of experience, when he sayd: that valliantnesse onely amongst all other morall vertues is that, which hath sometimes, certaine furious motions and diuine prouocations, which make a man besides him selfe. So the city being taken, he honorably performed his vowed sacrifice to *Hercules*, & kept a feast of all kindes and sortes of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that

Ambassadors out of *Sicilia*, to pray aide of *Pyrrus*.

Pyrrus journey into *Sicilia*.

Pyrrus name the city of *Errix* in *Sicilia*.

Homer of valliantnesse.

The Mamertines why so called.

Pyrrus cruelly in Sicilia.

The Samnites and Tarentines sent for Pyrrus to rescue into Italia.

Pyrrus returns into Italia.

Pyrrus hurts on his head with a sword.

time about MESSINA, called the MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the GREECIANS thereabouts, making many of them pay tax and tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good souldiers, and had their name also of *Mars*, because they were marshall men, and geuen to armes. *Pyrrus* led his army against them, and ouerthrew them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did leauy and exact the tax, and rased many of their fortresses. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his friendship, offering him shippes and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a shorte answer, that there was but one way to make peace and loue betwene them, to forsake SICILIA altogether, and to be contented to make Mare Libycum the border betwixt GREECE and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his handes, did set him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into SICILIA, aspiring first of all vnto the conquest of LIBYA. Now, to passe him ouer thither, he had shippes enough, but he lacked owers & mariners: wherefore when he would presse them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of SICILIA, and in anger compelled, and seuerely punished them, that would not obey his commandement. This he did not at his first comming, but contrarily had wonne all their good wills, speaking more courteously to them then any other did, and shewing that he trusted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But sodainly being altered from a populer prince, vnto a violent tyrant, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worst of all is, unfaithfull and ingratefull: neuertheless, though they receiued great hurt by him, yet they suffered it, and graunted him any needfull thing he did demand. But when they saw he began to mistrust *Theron* and *Softratus*, the two chiefe Captaines of SYRACUSA, and they who had caused him to come into SICILIA, who also at his first arrival deliuered the city of SYRACUSA into his hands, & had bene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compass that he had done in SICILIA: when I say they saw he would no more cary them with him, nor leaue them behinde him for the mistrust he had of them, and that *Softratus* fled from him, and absented him selfe, fearing least *Pyrrus* would doe him some mischief: and that *Pyrrus* moreover, had put *Theron* to death, mistrusting that he would also haue done him some harme. Then all things fell out against *Pyrrus*, not one after another, nor by litle and litle, but all together at once instant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe some of them confederate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to set vpon him. But when all SICILIA was thus bent against him, he receiued letters from the SAMNITES & TARENTINES, by which they aduertised him, how they had much a doe to defende them selues within their cities and strong holdes, and that they were wholly driuen out of the field: wherefore they earnestly besought him speedily to come to their aide. This newes came happily to him, to cloke his flying, that he might say it was not for dispaire of good successe in SICILIA that he went his way: but true it was in dede, that when he saw he could no longer keepe it, then a shippe could stand still among the waues, he sought some honest shadow to colour his departing. And that surely was the cause why he returned againe into ITALIE. Neuertheless, at his departure out of SICILIE, they say that looking backe upon the Ile, he said to those that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my frendes, doe we leaue to the ROMAINES and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight thone with thother? And verily so it fell out shorly after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous people conspiring together against *Pyrrus*, the CARTHAGINIANS on the one side watching his passage, gaue him battell on the sea, in the very straight it selfe of MESSINA, where he lost many of his shippes, and fled with the rest, & took the coast of ITALIE. And there the MAMERTINES on the other side, being gone thither before, to the number of eightene thousand fighting men: durst not present him battell in open felde, but taried for him in certaine fraites of the mountaines, & in very hard places, and so set vpon his rereward, and disordered all his army. They slew two of his elephants, and cut of a great number of his rereward, so as he was compelled him selfe in person to come from his vanguard, to helpe them against the barbarous people, which were lusty valliant men, and olde trained souldiers. And there *Pyrrus* caught a blow on his head with a sworde, and was in great danger: inso much as he was forced to retire out of the prease and fight, which did so much the more encourage his enemies. Among which there was one more aduenturous then

A the rest, a goodly man of personage, fayer armed in white armor, who aduancing him selfe farre before his company, cried out to the king with a bolde and fierce voyce, and challenged him to fight with him if he were alieue. *Pyrrus* beinge mad as it were with this brauery, turned againe with his garde, in spight of his men, hurt as he was. And besides that he was all on a fire with choller, and his face all bloody and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous villen that had challenged him: & gaue him such a blow on his head with all his force and power, that what by the strenght of his arme, and through the goodnes of the temper and mettle of the sword, the blow claue his head right in the midst, downe to the shoulders: so that his heade beinge thus deuided, the one parte fell on the one shoulder, & the other parte on the other. This matter sodainly stayed the barbarous people, and kept them from goinge any further, they were so afrayed and amased both to see to great a blowe with ones hande, and it made them thinke in dede that *Pyrrus* was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. *Pyrrus* holding on his iorney, arrived at the length in the city of TARENTVM, with twenty thousand footemen, & three thousand horse. And with these (ioyning thereto the choycest pyked men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the field to seeke out the ROMAINES, who had their campe within the territories of the SAMNITES, which were then in very hard state. For their hartes were killed, because that in many battells and encounters with the ROMAINES, they were euer ouerthrown. They were very angry besides with *Pyrrus*, for that he had forsaken them, to goe his voyage vnto SICILIA, by reason whereof there came no great number of souldiers into his campe. But notwithstanding, he deuided all his strength into two partes, whereof he sent the one parte into LVCANIA, to occupy one of the ROMAINES Confulls that was there, to the end he should not come to aide his companion: and with the other parte he went him selfe against *Manius Curius*, who lay in a very straunge place of aduantage nere to the cite of BARENTVM, attendinge the aide that should come to him out of LVCANIA, besides also that the soothsayers (by the signes & tokens of the birdes and sacrifices) did counsell him not to stirre from thence. *Pyrrus* to the contrary, desiring to fight with *Manius* before his aide came vnto him, which he looked for out of LVCANIA, tooke with him the best souldiers he had in all his army, and the warlikest elephants, and marched away in the night, supposing to steale vpon *Manius* on the sodaine, and geue an assault vnto his campe. Now *Pyrrus* hauing a long way to go, and through a woddy contry, his lightes and torches failed him, by reason whereof many of his souldiers lost their way, and they lost a great deale of time also, before they could againe be gathered together: so as in this space the night was spent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceiued plainly how he came downe the hills. This at the first sight made the muse awhile, and put them in a litle feare: neuertheless *Manius* hauing had the signes of the sacrifices fauorable, and seeing that occasion did presse him to it, went out into the field, and set upon the vowe of his enemies, and made them turne their backs. The which feared all the rest in such wise, that there were slaine a great number of them in the field, and certaine elephants also taken. This victory made *Manius Curius* leaue his strength, and come into the plaine field, where he set his men in battell ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on the one side: but on the other he was repulled by violence of the elephants, and compelled to drawe backe into his owne campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to garde it. So when he saw them vpon the rampers of his campe all armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they comming fresh out of places of aduantage to charge vpon the elephants, compelled them in a very shorthe time to turne their backs, & fle through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble, and disorder: so as in the ende, the whole victory fell upon the ROMAINES side, and consequently by means of that victory, followed the greatnes and power of their Empire. For the ROMAINES beinge growen more coragious by this battell, and hauing increased their force, and wonne the reputation of men vnconquerable: immediately after conquered all ITALIE besides, and soone after that, all SICILIA. To this ende as you see, came king *Pyrrus* vaine hope he had to conquer ITALIE and SICILIA, after he had spent fixe years continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, & his army consumed. Notwithstanding, his noble corage remained alwayes inuincible, what losses soeuer he

Pyrrus with a blow of his sword claue his enemies head in the middle, and layed it on his shoulders.

Manius Curius in Confull.

Pyrrus thrde battell with the Remaines. Pyrrus ouerthrowen by Manius Curius in battell.

had fustined: and moreover whilest he liued, he was euer esteemed the chiefeft of all the kings & princes in his time, as well for his experience & sufficiency in warres, as also for the valiancy and hardines of his person. But what he wanne by famous deedes, he lost by vaine hopes, desiring so earnestly that which he had not, as he forgate to keepe that which he had. Wherefore *Antigonus* compared him vnto a dice player that casteth well, but can not vie his lucke. Now hauing brought backe againe with him into *Epirvs*, eight thousand footemen, and five hundred horsemen, and being without money to pay them, he deuised with him selfe to seeke out some new warre to entertaine those souldiers, and keepe them together. Wherefore vpon a newe aide of certaine of the *Gavles* beinge comen vnto him, he entered into the realme of *Maccdon* (which *Antigonus*, *Demetrius* sonne held at that time) with intent only to make a forrey, and to get some spoyle in the contry. But when he saw that he had taken diuerse holdes, and moreover, that two thousand men of warre of the contry came and yielded them selues vnto him: he beganne to hope of better successe, then at the first he looked for. Forvpon that hope he marched against king *Antigonus* selfe, whom he met in a very straight valley, and at his first comming, gaue such a lusty charge vpon his reerward, that he put all *Antigonus* army in great disorder. For *Antigonus* had placed the *Gavles* in the reerward of his army to close it in, which were a conuenient number, and did valiantly defend the first charge, and the skirmish was so hotte, that the most of them were slaine. After them, the leaders of the elephants perceiving they were environned on euery side, yielded them selues and their beastes. *Pyrus* seeing his power to be now increased with such a supply, trusting more to his good fortune, then any good reason might moue him: thrust further into the battell of the *Maccdonians*, who were all affrayed, and troubled for the ouerthrowe of their reerward, so that they would not once bafe their pykes, nor fight against him. He for his parte holdinge vpon his hande, and callinge the Captaines of the bandes by their names, straight wayes made all the footemen of *Antigonus* turne wholly to his side: who flying, saued him selfe with a few horsemen, and kept certaine of the cities in his realme apon the sea coast. But *Pyrus* in all his prosperitie, iudging nothing more togedownde to his honor and glory, then the ouerthrow of the *Gavles*, layed aside their goodliest and richest spoyles, and offered vpon the same in the temple of *Minerua Itonida*, with this inscription.

*VWhen Pyrrus had subduide, the puissant Gavles in fields,
He caused of their spoiles to make, these targets, armes, and shields:
The which he hanged vp, in temple all on high,
Before Minerua goddesse here, in signe of victory.
VWhen he had overcome, the whole and huge host:
The which Antigonus did bring, into his contries coast.
Ne maruell should it seeme, though victory he vponne,
Since valliantnes brings victory, and enermore hath done:
And valliantnes alwayes, hath constantly kept place,
From age to age, and time to time, in AEacus his race.*

Immediately after this battell, all the cities of the realme of *Maccdon* yielded vnto him: but when he had the cite of *Eges* in his power, he vied the inhabitants thereof very hardly, & specially because he left a great garrison of the *Gavles* there which he had in pay. This nation is extreme couetous, as then they shewed them selues: for they feared not to breake vpon the tombes wherein the kings of *Maccdon* lay buried there, tooke away all the gold and siluer they could finde, and afterwards with great insolency cast out their bones into the open winde. *Pyrus* was tolde of it, but he lightly passed it ouer, and made no reckening of it: either because he deferred it till an other time; by reason of the warres he had then in hande: or else for that he durst not meddle with punishing of these barbarous people at that time. But whatsoever the matter was, the *Maccdonians* were very angry with *Pyrus*, & blamed him greedily for it. Furthermore, hauing not yet made all things sure in *Maccdon*, nor being fully posselt of the same: new toyes and hope came into his head, and mocking *Antigonus*, sayd, F he was a mad man to goe apperelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloke might become him like a priuate man. Now, *Cleonymus* king of *Sparta* being come to procure him to bring

*Pyrus compared to a dice player.
Pyrus returned into Epirus one of Italia.*

Pyrus victory of Antigonus king of Maccdon.

Antigonus fleeth from king Pyrrus.

The conuention of the Gavles.

A his army into the contry of *Lacedemon*, *Pyrus* was very willing to it. This *Cleonymus* was of the blood royall of *Sparta*, but because he was a cruel man, and would do all things by authority, they loued him not at *Sparta*, nor trusted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, & made *Areus* king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell *Cleonymus* had against the comon wealth of *Sparta*: but besides that, he had an other priuate quarrel, which grew vpon this cause. In his olde yeares, *Cleonymus* had married a fayer younge Lady called *Chelidonide*, which was also of the blood royall, and the daughter of *Leotychides*. This Lady being fallen extremely in loue with *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* sonne, a goodly young gentleman, and in his lusty youth, the greatly vexed and dishonored her husbande *Cleonymus*, who was over head and eares in loue and ielousie with her: for there was not one in all *Sparta*, but plainly knewe that his wife made none account of him. And thus his home forowes, being ioyned with his outward common greues, euen for spight, desiring a reuenge, in choller he went to procure *Pyrus* to come vnto *Sparta*, to restore him againe to his kingdom. Hereupon he brought him into *Lacedemonia* forthwith, with five and twenty thousand footemen, two thousand horse, and foure and twenty elephants: by which preparation, though by nothing else, the worlde might plainly see, that *Pyrus* came with a minde not to restore *Cleonymus* againe vnto *Sparta*, but of intent to conquer for him selfe (if he could) all the contry of *Peloponnesvs*. For in wordes he denied it to the *Lacedemonians* them selues, who sent Ambassadors vnto him when he was in the city of *Megalopolis*, where he tolde them that he was come into *Peloponnesvs*, to sette the townes and cities at libertie which *Antigonus* kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to send his young sonnes into *Sparta* (so they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the *Laconian* manner, and from their youth haue this aduantage aboue all other kinges, to haue bene well brought vp. But faining these things, and abusing those that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the coast of *Laconia*, into the which he was no sooner entred, but he beganne to spoyle and wast the whole contry. And when the Ambassadors of *Sparta* reprovved and founde fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in such sorte, before he had openly proclaimed iche made them answer: no more haue you your selues vied to proclaim that, which you purposed to do to others. Then one of the Ambassadors called *Mandricidas*, replied againe vnto him in the *Laconian* tongue. If thou be a god, thou wilt doe vs no hurt, because we haue not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou shalt meete with an other that shalbe better then thy selfe. Then he marched directly to *Sparta*, where *Cleonymus* gaue him counsell euen at the first, to assault it. But he would not so do, fearing (as they sayd) that if he did it by night, his souldiers would sacke the city: and sayd it should be time enough to assault it the next day at broad day light, because there were but few men within the towne, and beside they were very ill provided. And furthermore, king *Areus* him selfe was not there: but gone into *Creta* to aide the *Gortynians*, who had warres in their owne contry. And doubtlesse, that only was the sauing of *Sparta* from taking, that they made no reckening to assault it hotly: because they thought it was not able to make resistance. For *Pyrus* camped before the towne, thoroughly perswaded with him selfe, that he should finde none to fight with him: and *Cleonymus* friends and seruantes also did prepare his lodging there, as if *Pyrus* should haue come to supper to him, and lodged with him. When night was come, the *Lacedemonians* counfelled together, & secretly determined to send away their wiuces, and litle children into *Creta*. But the women them selues were against it, and there was one amonge them called *Archidamia*, who went into the Senate house with a sword in her hand, to speake vnto them in the name of all the rest, and sayd: that they did their wiuces great wronge, if they thought them so fainte harted, as to lue after *Sparta* were destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in counsell, that they should cast a trench before the enemies campe, and that at both the endes of the same they should bury cartes in the ground vnto the middest of the wheeles, to the end that being fast set in the ground, they should stay the elephants, and keepe them from passing further. And when they beganne to go in hand withall, there came wiuces and maides vnto them, some of them their clothes girte vp round about them, and others all in their smockes, to worke at this trench with the old men, aduising the

Areus made king of Sparta, and Cleonymus put downe.

The cause of Pyrrus invading Peloponnesus.

Pyrus besieges the Spartans.

*Mandricidas shows answer to king Pyrrus.
Pyrrus besiegeth Lacedemon.*

The courage of the women of Sparta.

Women
wrought in the
trench.

Women en-
courage their
men to fight.

Pyrrus battell.

Acrotatus
valiantly.

Pyrrus
dies.

young men that should fight the next morning, to rest them selues in the meane while. So the women tooke the third parte of the trenche to raske, which was six cubites broad, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundred foote long as *Philarchus* sayth: or litle lesse as *Hieronymus* writeth. Then when the breake of day appeared, & the enemies remoued to come to the assault: the women them selues fetched the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, and deliuered them the raske of the trenche ready made, which they before had vnder taken, praying them valliantly to keepe and defend it, telling them withall, howe great a pleasure it is to ouercome the enemies, fighting in view and sight of their native contry, and what great felicity and honor it is to dye in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valliantly like an honest man, and worthy of the magnanimity of *SPARTA*. But *Chelidonida* being gone to the side, had tyed a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to strangle & hang her selfe, rather thē to fall into the hands of *Cleonymus*, if by chaunce the city should come to be taken.

Now *Pyrrus* marched in person with his battell of footemen, against the fronte of the *SPARTANS*, who being a great number also, did tary his comming on the other side of the trenche: the which, besides that it was very ill to passe ouer, did let the souldiers also to fight steadily in order of battell, because the earth being newly cast vp, did yeld vnder their feete. Wherefore, *Ptolomie* king *Pyrrus* sonne, passing all alongest the trench side with two thousand *GAVLES*, & all the choyce men of the *CHAONIANS*, assayed if he could get ouer to the other side at one of the endes of the trenche where the cartes were: which being set very deepe into the ground, and one ioyned vnto another, they did not only hinder the assaillants, but the defendants also. Howbeit in the end, the *GAVLES* began to plucke of the wheeles of these cartes, and to draw them into the riuer. But *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* sonne, a young man, seeing the daunger, and ran through the city with a troupe of three hundred lusty youtthes besides, & went to inclose *Ptolomie* behinde before he espied him, for that he passed a secret hollow way till he came euen to geue the charge vpon them: whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towards him, one running in an others necke, and so in great disorder were thrust into the trenches, and vnder the cartes: in so much as at the last, with much a doe, and great bloodshed, *Acrotatus* and his company draue them backe, and repulsed them. Now the women and old men, that were on thother side of the trench, saw plainly before their face, howe valliantly *Acrotatus* had repulsed the *GAVLES*. Wherefore, after *Acrotatus* had done this exploit, he returned againe through the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare blood, & coragious & liuely, for the victory he came newly from. The women of *SPARTA* thought *Acrotatus* farr more noble and fayer to beholde, then euer he was: so that they all thought *Chelidonida* happy to haue such a friend and louer. And there were certaine olde men that followed him, crying after him, goe thy way *Acrotatus*, and enioy thy loue *Chelidonida*: beget noble children of her vnto *SPARTA*. The fight was cruell on that side where *Pyrrus* was, and many of the *SPARTANS* fought very valliantly. Howbeit amongst other, there was one named *Phyllus*, who after he had fought long, and slaine many of his enemies with his owne handes, that forced to passe ouer the trenche: perceiving that his hart fainted for the great number of woundes he had upon him, called one of them that were in the rancke next behinde him, and geuing him his place, fell downe deade in the armes of his frendes, because his enemies should not haue his body. In the ende, the battell hauinge continued all the day longe, the night did separate them: and *Pyrrus* being layed in his bed, had this vision in his sleepe. He thought he strake the city of *LACEDÆMON* with lightning, and that he vtterly consumed it: whereat he was so passing glad, that euen with the very ioy he awaked. And thereupon forthwith commaunded his Captaines to make their men ready to the assault: and told his dreame vnto his familiars, supposing that out of doubt it did betoken he should in that approache take the cite. All that heard it, beleued it was so, sauing one *Lysimachus*: who to the contrary, sayed that this vision liked him not, because the places smitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also affraid, that the goddes did signifie vnto him, that he should not enter into the cite of *SPARTA*. *Pyrrus* answered him: that sated he, is a matter disputable to & fro in an open assembly of people, for there is no manner of certainty in it. But furthermore, euery man must take his weapon in his hand, & set this fence before his eyes

A right good signe it is, that he would hazard life
In iust defence of masters cause with speare and bloody knife.

Alluding vnto *Homers* verses, which he wrote for the defence of his contry. And saying thus, he rose, and at the breake of day led his army vnto the assault. On thother side also, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* with a maruelous corage & magnanimity, farr greater then their force bestured them selues wonderfully to make resistance, hauing their wies by them that gaue them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to geue meate & drinke to them that needed, and did also withdrawe those that were hurt to cure them. The *MACEDONIANS* likewise for their parte, endeouored them selues with all their might to fill vpp the trench with wodde and other things, which they cast vpon the dead bodies and armors, lying in the bottome of the ditche: & the *LACEDÆMONIANS* againe, labored all that they could possible to let them. But in this great broyle, one perceived *Pyrrus* a horse backe to haue leapt the trench, past ouer the strength of the cartes, and make force to enter into the city. Wherefore those that were appointed to defende that parte of the trench, cried out straight: and the women fell a shrieking, and running, as if all had bene lost. And as *Pyrrus* passed further, striking downe with his owne handes all that stood before him, a *CRETAN* shot at him, & strake his horse through both sides: who leaping out of the preale for paine of his wounde, dying, caried *Pyrrus* away, and threw him vpon the hanging of a steepe bill, where he was in great daunger to fall from the toppe. This put all his seruantes and frendes about him in a maruelous feare, and therewithall the *LACEDÆMONIANS* seeing them in this feare and trouble ran immediately vnto that place, and with force of shotte draue them all out of the trench. After this retyre, *Pyrrus* caused all assault to cease, hoping the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the end would yeelde, consideringe there were many of them slaine in the two dayes past, and all the rest in manner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the cite (whether it were to proue the valliantnes of the inhabitants them selues, or at the least to shew what power they were of euen in their greatest nede and distresse, when the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had small hope left) brought one *Amintas* *Phocian* from *CORINTH*, one of king *Antigonus* Captaines with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and straight after him, as soone as he had entred, king *Areus* arrived also on thother side from *CRETA*, and two thousand souldiers with him. So the women went home to their houses, makinge their reckening that they should not neede any more to trouble them selues with warres. They gaue the olde men liberty also to goe and rest them selues, who being past all age to fight, for necessities sake yet were driuen to arme them selues, and take weapon in hand: and in order of battell placed the newe come souldiers in their roomes. *Pyrrus* vnderstanding that newe supplies were come, grew to greater stomake then before, and enforced all that he could, to winne the towne by assault. But in the end, when to his cost he founde that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the siege, and went to spoyle all the contry about, determining to lye there in garrison all the winter. He could not for all this auoide his destenie. For there rose a sedition in the city of *ARGOS* betweene two of the chiefeft citizens, *Aristeus* and *Aristippus*: and because *Aristeus* thought that kinge *Antigonus* did fauor his enemy *Aristippus*, he made halt to sende first vnto *Pyrrus*, whose nature and disposition was such, that he did continually heape hope vpon hope, euer taking the present prosperitie, for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loser, then he sought to recouer him selfe, and to restore his losse, by some other newe attempts. So that neither for being conqueror, nor ouercomen, he would euer be quiet, but alwayes troubled some, and him selfe also: by reason whereof, he sodainly departed towards *ARGOS*. But king *Areus* hauing layed ambushes for him in diuerse places, and occupied also the straightest and hardest passages, by the which he was to passe: gaue a charge vpon the *GAVLES* and *MOLOSSIANS*, which were in the tayle of his army. Now, the selfe same day *Pyrrus* was warned by a Soothsayer, who sacrificing had founde the liuer of the sacrificed beast infected: that it betokened the losse of some most neere vnto him. But when he heard the noyse of the charge geuen, he thought not of the forwarning of his Soothsayer, but commaunded his sonne to take his household seruantes with him, and to go thither: as he him selfe in the meane time with as great hast as he could, made the rest of his army marche, to get them quickly out of

Pyrrus in
daunger of his
life, as the
siege of Spar-
ta.

King *Areus*
arrived in
Sparta with
new aide.

Sedition in
the city of *Argos*.

Pyrrus repul-
sed from Spar-
ta, goeth to
Argos.

*Ptolomie
kinge Pyrrus
sleane
by Orisus
Gretan.*

this daungerous way. The fraye was very hotte about *Ptolomie Pyrrus* sonne, for they were all the chiefe men of the *Lacedæmonians* with whome he had to doe, led by a valliant Capitaine called *Eucleus*. But as he fought valliantly against those that stood before him, there was a souldier of *Creta* called *Orisus*, borne in the citie of *APTERA*, a man very ready of his hande, and light of foote, who running alongest by him, strake him such a blowe on his side, that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince *Ptolomie* being slaine, his company began straight to flie: and the *Lacedæmonians* followed the chase so hotly, that they tooke no heede of them selues, vntill they sawe they were in the plaine field farre from their footemen. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* vnto whom the death of his sonne was newly reported, being a fire with sorow and passion, turned sodainly vpon them with the men of armes of the *Molossians*, and being the first that came vnto them, made a maruelous slaughter among them. For, notwithstanding that euery where before that time he was terrible and inuincible, hauing his sword in his hande: yet then he did shewe more proofe of his vallianttes, strength, and courage, then he had euer done before. And when he had sette spurres to his horse against *Eucleus* to close with him, *Eucleus* turned on the toe side, and gaue *Pyrrus* such a blowe with his sword, that he missed hitle the cutting of his bridle hande: for he cut in deede all the raines of the bridle a funder. But *Pyrrus* straight ranne him through the body with his speare, and lighting off from his horse, he put all the troupe of the *Lacedæmonians* to the sword that were about the body of *Eucleus*, being all chofen men. Thus the ambition of the Capitaines was cause of that losse vnto their contry for nothing, considering that the warres against the were ended. But *Pyrrus* hauing now as it were made sacrifice of these poore bodies of the *Lacedæmonians*, for the soule of his dead sonne, and fought thus wonderfully also to honor his funeralls, conuerting a great parte of his sorow for his death, into anger and wrath against the enemies: he afterwards held on his way directly towards *Argos*. And vnderstanding that king *Antigonus* had already sealed the hills that were ouer the valley, he lodged nere vnto the city of *NAVPLIA*: and the next morning following sent a heraulde vnto *Antigonus*, and gaue him defiance, calling him wicked man, and chalenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to trye which of them two should be king. *Antigonus* made him answer, that he made warres as much with time, as with weapon: & furthermore, that if *Pyrrus* were weary of his life, he had wayes open enough to put him selfe to death. The citizens of *Argos* also sent Ambassadors vnto them both, to pray them to departe, sith they knew that there was nothing for them to see in the city of *Argos*, and that they would let it be a newter, & friend vnto them both. King *Antigonus* agreed vnto it, and gaue them his sonne for hostage. *Pyrrus* also made the fayer promise to do so too, but bicause he gaue no caution nor sufficient pledge to performe it, they mistrusted him the more. Then there fel out many great & wonderful tokens, as wel vnto *Pyrrus*, as vnto the *Argives*. For *Pyrrus* hauing sacrificed oxen, their heades being stricken off from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and licked vp their owne blood. And within the city of *Argos*, a sister of the temple of *Apollo Lycias*, called *Apollonia*, ranne through the streetes, crying out that she sawe the city full of murder, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fraye, howbeit he vanished away sodainly, and no body knewe what became of her. *Pyrrus* then comminge hard to the walles of *Argos* in the night, & finding one of the gates called *Diampere*, opened by *Ariseus*, he put in his *Gavies*, who possessed the market place, before the citizens knew any thing of it. But bicause the gate was too low to passe the elephantes through with their towers vpon their backes, they were driuen to take them off, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke, & in tumulte: by reason whereof they lost much time, so that the citizens in the ende perceived it, and ran incontinently vnto the castell of *Alpides*, and into other strong places of the city. And therewithall, they sent with present speede vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come and helpe them, and so he did: and after he was come hard to the walles, he remained without with the skowtes; & in the meane time sent his sonne with his chiefe Captaines into the towne, who brought a great number of good souldiers and men of warre with them. At the same time also arrived *Arcus*, king of *Sparta*, with a thousand of the *Cretans*, and most lusty *Spartans* all which ioyning together, came to geue a charge vpon the *Gavies* that were in the market place,

*Pyrrus sleane
Eucleus.*

*Antigonus
answereth to
Pyrrus chal-
lenge.*

*Tokens of
Pyrrus death.*

*Pyrrus fights
in the city of
Argos.*

*Alpides, the
Castell in Ar-
gos.*

A place, who put them in a maruelous feare & hazard. *Pyrrus* entring on that side also of the city called *Cylarabis*, with terrible noyse & cries: when he vnderstoode that the *Gavies* answered him not lustely and coragiously, he doubted straight that it was the voyce of men distressed, and that had their handes full. Wherefore, he came on with speede to relieue them, thrusting the horsemen forwards that marched before him, with great danger and paine, by reason of holes, and sinckes, and water conduites, whereof the city was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confusion amongst them, as may be thought fightinge by night, where no man saw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commaunded, by reason of the great noyse they made, straying here and there vp and downe the streetes, thence scattered from the other neither could the Capitaines set their men in order, as wel for the darkenes of the night, as also for the confused tumult that was all the city ouer, & for that the streetes also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both sides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning whereof, *Pyrrus* perceiued the castell of *Alpides*, full of his armed enemies: And furthermore, sodainly as he was come into the market place, amongst many other good lycommon workes sette out to beautifie the same, he spied the images of a bull and a woulfe in copper, the which fought one with an other. This sight made him afrayed, bicause at that present he remembered a prophecy that had bene tolde him, that his end and death should be, when he sawe a woulfe and a bull fight together. The *Argives* reporte, that these images were set vp in the market place, for the remembrance of a certaine chaunce that had happened in their contrie. For when *Danaus* came thither first, by the way called *Pyramia* (as one would say, land sowne with corne) in the contry of *Thyreaticke*, he saw as he went, a woulfe fight with a bull: whereupon he stayed to see what the end of their fight would come to, supposing the case in him selfe, that the woulfe was of his side, bicause that being a stranger as he was, he came to set vpon the naturall inhabitantes of the contry. The woulfe in the ende obtained the victory: wherefore *Danaus* making his prayer vnto *Apollo Lycias*, followed on his enterprise, & had so good successe, that he draue *Gelman* out of *Argos*, who at that time was king of the *Argives*. And thus you heare the cause why they say these images of the woulfe and bull were set vp in the market place of *Argos*. *Pyrrus* being halfe discouraged with the sight of them, and also bicause nothing fell out well according to his expectation, thought best to retire: but fearing the straitenesse of the gates of the city, he sent vnto his sonne *Helanus*, whome he had left without the city with the greatest parte of his force and army, commaunding him to ouerthrow a peece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out; and that he might receiue them, if their enemies by chaunce did hinder their continuing out. But the messenger whome he sent, was so hasty and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well vnderstand what *Pyrrus* layd vnto him, but reported his message quite contrary. Whereupon the young prince *Helanus* taking the best trowlers he had with him, and the rest of his elephantes, entred into the city to helpe his father, who was now goinge backe: and so long as he had roome to fight at ease, retiringe still, he vntill he repulled those that set vpon him, turning his face oft vnto them. But when he was driuen vnto the streete that went from the market place to the gate of the city, he was kepte now with his owne men that entered at the same gate to helpe him. But they could not heare when *Pyrrus* cried out, and bad them go backe, the noyse was so great: and though the first had heard him, and would haue gone backe, yet they that were behinde, and did full trust forward into the prease, did not permit them. Besides this moreouer, the biggest of all the elephantes by misfortune fell downe ouerthwart the gate, where he grindinge his teeth did hinder those also, that would haue comen out and geuen backe. Furthermore, an other of the elephantes that were entred before into the city, called *Nicon* (as much to say, as conquering) seeking his gouernor that was stricken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes: ran vpon the that came backe vpon him, ouerthrowing frendes and foes one in an others necke, till at the length hauing founde the body of his master slaine, he lift him vp from the ground with his troncke, and carying him vpon his two tusshes, returned backe with great fury, treading all vnder feete he found in his way. Thus euery man being thronged and crowded vp together in this sorte, there was not one that could helpe him selfe: for it seemed to be a masse and heape of multi-

*A bull and
woulfe in cop-
per, set up in
the city of
Argos fight-
ing together.*

*Danaus won
the city of
Argos from
king Gelman.*

Apollo Lycias.

*Gelman king
of the Ar-
gives.*

*Helanus Pyr-
rus sonne.*

*The strange
loue of an E-
lephant to his
keeper.*

tude, and one whole body shut together, which sometime thrust forward, and sometime backe, as the sway went. They fought not so much against their enemies, who set upon them behinde: but they did them felues more hurt, then their enemies did. For if any drew out his sword, or bafed his pyke, he could neither scabard thone againe, nor lift vp thother, but thrust it full vpon his owne fellows that came in to helpe them, and so killed them felues one thrusting vpon an other. Wherefore *Pyrrus* seeing his people thus troubled and harried to & fro, tooke his crowne from his heade which he ware upon his helmet, that made him knowne of his men a farre off, and gaue it vnto one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and trusting then to the goodnes of his horse, flew vpon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pyke, but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherfore *Pyrrus* set vpon him that had hurt him, who was an *Argian* borne, a man of meane condition, and a poore olde womans sonne, whose mother at that present time was gotten vp to the toppe of the tyles of a house, as all other women of the city were, to see the fight. And she perceiving that it was her sonne whome *Pyrrus* came upon, was so afrighted to see him in that danger, that she tooke a tyle, and with both her hands cast it upon *Pyrrus*. The tyle falling off from his head by reason of his head peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, & brake his necke bone a sunder: wherewith he was sodainly so benumbed, that he lost his fight with the blow, the raines of his bridle fell out of his hande, and him selfe fell from his horse to the ground, by *Lycymmius* tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the least the common people. Vntill at the last there came one *Zopyrus*, that was in pay with *Antigonus*, and two or three other soldiers also that ran straight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, euen as he was coming againe to him selfe out of this traunse. This *Zopyrus* drewe out a *Slayon* sword he wore by his side, to strike of his head. But *Pyrrus* cast such a grimme countenance on him betwene his eyes, that made him so afrayed, & his hand so to shake therewith: that being thus amazed, he did not strike him right in the place where he should haue cut of his head, but killed him vnder his mouth about his chinne, so that he was a great while ere he could strike of his head. The matter was straight blowne abroad amongst diuerse: whereupon *Alyoneus* running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he raine presently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar friends, and cast *Pyrrus* head before him. *Antigonus* looking vpon it, when he knew it, layed upon his sonne with his staffe, and called him cruell murderer, and vnnaturall barbarous beast: and so hyding his eyes with his cloke, wept for pity, (remembering the fortune of his grandfather *Antigonus* and of his father *Demetrius*) and then caused *Pyrrus* head & body to be honorably burnt & buried. Afterwards *Alyoneus* meeting *Helenus* (king *Pyrrus* sonne) in very poore state, mused vp with a poore shorte cloke: vsed him very curteously with gentle wordes, and brought him to his father. *Antigonus* seeing his sonne bringing of him, sayd vnto him: this parte now (my sonne) is better then the first, and pleaseth me a great deale more. But yet thou hast not done all thou shouldst for thou shouldst haue taken from him his beggerly cloke he weareth, which doth more shame vs than that are the gainers, then him that is the loser. After he had spoken these wordes, *Antigonus* embraced *Helenus*, and hauing apparelled him in good sorte, sent him home with honorable conuoy into his realme of *Epirus*. Furthermore, seasing all *Pyrrus* campe and army, he curteously receiued all his frendes and seruantes.

The end of *Pyrrus* life.

THE

King *Pyrrus* slaine with a tyle throwen by a woman.

Alyoneus king *Antigonus* sonne.

Alyoneus curteous towards *Pyrrus* body and frendes.

THE LIFE OF Caius Marius.



It is not known what was the third name of *Caius Marius*, no more then of *Quintius Sertorius*, who had all *SPAYNE* in his handes at one time: nor of *Lucius Mummius*, he that destroyed the cite of *CORINTHE*. For this name of *Achaicus*, that was geuen vnto *Mummius*, of *Africanus* vnto *Scipio*: and of *Nimidicus* vnto *Metellus*: were all surnames geuen them, by reason of the conquestes they wan. By this reason *Posidonius* thinketh to ouercome them that say, that the third name the *ROMAINEs* haue, is their proper name: as *Cornelius*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*. For if it fell out so, sayd he, then it must needs follow that they which haue two names, should haue no proper name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women haue no names: for there is not a woman in *ROME* that is called by her first name, which *Posidonius* iudgeth to be the proper name of the *ROMAINEs*. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the *POMPEIANs*, of the *MANLIANs*, and of the *CORNELIANs*; like as the *HERACLIDES* and the *PELOPIDES* are amongst the *GREEKIANs*: and the other is a surname taken of the deedes, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these surnames, *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, & *Sylla*. Euen as amongst the *GREEKIANs* likewise, *Mnemon*, which signifieth hauing good memory: *Grypos*, hauing a crooked nose: *Callinicos*, conquering. But as for that, the diuersitie of custome would deliuer objection sufficient to the contrary, to him that lifted. And furthermore, as touching the fauor of *Marius* face, we haue seene an image of his in marbell at *RAVENNA*, a city of the *GAULS*, which doth liuely represent that rough seuernity of nature and maner which they say was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature, and geuen to the warres, and hauing followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the ciuill life: when he came to authority, he could not bridle his anger and chollerike nature. And they say furthermore, that he neuer learned the *GREEKE* tongue, nor vsed it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockery to him, to learne the tongue, the masters whereof liued in bondage vnder others. After his second triumph, in the dedication of a certaine temple, he made *GREEKE* playes to the *ROMAINEs* pastime: and came into the Theater, howbeit he did but sit downe only, and went his way straight. Wherefore me thinkes, that as *Plato* was wont to say of vnto *Nemertes* the *Philosoph*

of the names of the *ROMAINEs*.

Marius face.

Marius could no skill of the *GREEKE* tongue.

Plates going
to Xeno-
crates.

Marius pa-
rents, manners,
and country.

Marius first
journey unto
the warres.

Scipio Afric-
anus iudge-
ment of Ma-
rius.

Marius Tri-
bune of the
people.
Cotta Confull.

losopher, who was of a curish nature, had his head euer occupied, and to seuer: *Xenocrates*, A my friend: I pray thee doe sacrifice to the *Græces*. So if any man could haue perswaded *Marius* to haue sacrificed to the *Muses*, and to the *Grecian Graces*: (that is to say, that he had knowen the Greeke tongue) to so many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not ioynd so vnfortunate and miserable an end as he made, through his choller and extreame ambition, at such yeares, and through an vnfatiable courtoisnes, which like boysterous windes made him to make shipwracke of all, in a most cruell, bloody, and vnmurall age. The which is easily knowen in reading the discourse of his doings. First of all he was of a meane house, borne of poore parents by father & mother, that got their liuings by sweate of their browes. His father as him selfe, was called *Caivus*: *Fulcinia* was his mother. And this was the cause why he beganne so late to haunt the city, and to learne the ciuility and manners of *Rome*, hauing bene brought vp alwayes before in a litle poore village called *Ciribolaton*, within the territory of the city of *Arpos*: where he led a hard contry life, in respect of those that liued pleasauntly and finely in the cities, but otherwise well reformed, and neare vnto the manners of the ancient *Romaines*. The first iorney he made vnto the warres, was against the *Celtiberians* in *Spainy*, vnder *Scipio Africanus*, when he went to besiege the city of *Nymantia*: where his Captaines in shorte time found that he was a better soldier, then any other of his companions. For he did maruelous easily receiue the reformation of manners, and the discipline of warres, which *Scipio* aduanced amongst his souldiers that were ill trained before, and geuen ouer to all pleasure. And they say, that in the sight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and slew him: vpon which occasion, *C. Scipio* to make him loue him, did offer him many curtesies and pleasures. But specially one day about the rest, hauing made him suppe with him at his table, some one after supper falling in talke of Captaines that were in *Rome* at that time: one that stood by *Scipio*, asked him (either because in deede he stood in doubt, or else for that he would curry fauor with *Scipio*) what other Captaine the *Romaines* should haue after his death, like vnto him. *Scipio* hauing *Marius* by him, gently clapped him upon his shoulder, and sayd: peraduenture this shall be. Thus happily were they both borne, the one to shew from his youth that one day he should come to be a great man, and the other also for wisely coniecturing the end, by seeing of the beginning. Well it fortun'd so, that these words of *Scipio* (by reporte) about all things else put *Marius* in a good hope, as if they had bene spoken by the oracle of some god, and made him bold to deale in matters of state and common wealth: where, by means of the fauor & countenance *Cecilius Metellus* gaue him (whose house his father and he had alwayes followed and honored) he obtained the office of Tribuneshippe. In this office he preferred a law touching the manner howe to geue the voyces in election of the Magistrates, which did seeme to arise from the nobility the authority they had in iudgement. And therefore the Confull *Cotta* stepped vp against it, and perswaded the Senate to resist that lawe, and not suffer it to be authorized, and therewithall presently to call *Marius* before them to yeld a reason of his doing. So was it agreed vpon in the Senate. Now *Marius* comming into the Senate, was not abashed at any thing, as some other young man would haue bene, that had but newly begonne to enter into the world as he did, and hauing no other notable calling or quality in him, launing his merit only to commend him: but taking boldenes of him selfe (as the noble actes he afterwards did, gaue shew of his valor) he openly threatned the Confull *Cotta* to sende him to prison, if he did not presently withdrawe the conclusion he had caused to be resolved upon. The Confull then turning him selfe vnto *Cecilius Metellus*, asked him how he liked it? *Metellus* standing vp, spake in the behalfe of the Confull: and then *Marius* calling a sergeant out, commanded him to take *Metellus* selfe, and to cary him to prison. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes, but neuer a one would take his matter in hand: so that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the conclusion that before was taken. Then *Marius* returning with great honor into the market place among the assembly of the people, caused this law to passe and be authorized: and euery man held opinion of him that he would proue a stowe man, and such a one, as would not stoupe for any feare, nor shrinke for bashfullnes, but would beare the Senate in fauor of the people. Notwithstanding, he shortly after chaunged opinions; and altered

A altered the first, by an other act he made. For when an other went about to haue a law made, to distribute corne vnto euery citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently against it, and ouerthrew it: so that thereby he came to be a like honored and esteemed of either party, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the preiudice of the common wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he sued for the chieftest office of *Ædilis*. Of the *Ædiles* there are two sortes: the first is called *Ædilitas Curulis*, so named because of certaine chayers that he crooked feete, vpon which they sit when they geue audience. The other is of lesse dignity, and that is called *Ædilitas popularis*: and when they haue chosen the first and greater *Ædilis* at *Rome*, they presently proceede the same day also in the market place vnto election of the lesser. *Marius* seeing plainly that he was put by the chieftest of the *Ædiles*, turned againe straight yer to demand the second: but this was misliken in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too shameles, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one selfe day he had two denyalles and repulses, which neuer man but him selfe before had. And neuertheless, all this could not cut his combe, but (shortly after he sued also for the Prætorshippe, and he lacked but litle of the deniall of that: yet in the ende, being last of all chosen, he was accused to haue bribed the people, and bought their voyces for money. And surely amongst many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of *Cassius Sabac* on within the barres where the election is made, running to and fro amongst them that gaue their voyces, because this *Sabac* on was *Marius* very great friend. The matter came before the iudges, and *Sabac* on was examined vpon it. Whereunto he answered, that for the great extreame heate he felt, he was very dry, and asked for colde water to drinke, and that this man had brought him some in a pottle where he was, howbeit that he went his way as soone as euer he had dronke. This *Sabac* on was afterwards put out of the Senate by the next Censors, and many iudge that he was worthy of this infamy, for that he was periured in iudgement, or because he was so subiect and geuen to his pleasure. *Caivus Herennius* was also called for a witnesse against *Marius*: but he did allege for his excuse, that the law and custome did dispense with the Patrone, to be a witnesse against his follower & client, and he was quit by the iudges. For the *Romaines* alwayes call those Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then them selues into their handes: saying, that *Marius* predeceffors, and *Marius* him selfe, had euer bene followers of the house of the *Herennians*. The iudges receiued his answer, and allowed thereof. But *Marius* spake against it, alleging, that since he had receiued this honor to beare office in the common wealth, he was now grown from this base condicon, to be any more a follower of any man: the which was not true in all. For euery office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his posterity, to be vnder the patronage of an other, nor doth discharge him from the duty of honoring them: but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which the law doth permit to sit in the crooked chayer called *Curulis*, that is to say, caryed vpon a charet through the city. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this cause, *Marius* had but ill successe, and that the iudges were against him all they could: yet in the ende for all that, at the last hearing of his matter, *Marius*, contrary to all mens opinions, was discharged, because the iudges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He vsed him selfe very orderly in his office of Prætorshippe, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the prouinces by lot, *Spainy* fell vnto him, which is beyond the riuier of *Batis*: where it is reported that he skowered all the contrie thereabouts of theues and robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very cruell and sauage, for the rude, barbarous, and vnciuill manner and fashion of life of the inhabitants there. For the *Spaniards* were of opinion euen at that time, that it was a goodly thinge to liue upon theste and robbery. At his returne to *Rome*, out of *Spainy*, desiring to deale in matters of the common wealth, he saw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which those that were at that time in credit and authority, did cary the people euen as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great accompt of his constancy and noble minde they found in him, of his great paynes and trauell he tooke continually, and of the simplicitie of his life: which were causes to bring him to honor and preferment, in so much as he married very highly. For he married *Julia*, that was of the noble house of the *Cæsars*, and aunte vnto *Julius Cæsar*: who afterwards came to be the

Two sortes of
Ædiles.
Ædilitas Cur-
ulis.
Ædilitas pop-
ularis.

Marius de-
nyed to be
Ædilis.

Marius cho-
sen Prætor.

Sabac on put
out of the Senate.
Caivus Heren-
nius pleaded in
Marius be-
halfe, touch-
ing the pa-
tron & client.

Marius after
in Spainy.

The opinion of
Spaniards in
olde times.
Eloquence, &
riches raised
men to autho-
rity.
How Marius
credit and e-
stimation
grew.
Julius Marius
wife.

*Marius tem-
perance and
patience.*

*Cicilius Me-
tellus Consul.*

*Marius, Me-
tellus Lieuten-
ants in the
warre against
Iugurthe.*

*The laboure &
presence of
the Generall
maketh the
souldiers
worke willing-
ly.*

*Marius the
author of
Turpilus
false accusa-
tion & death.
Vacca, a great
city. The cause of
the supposed
treason against
Turpilus.*

*Turpilus
wrongfully put
to death.
Displeasure
betwixt Me-
tellus & Ma-
rius.*

chiefest man of all the ROMAINS, and who by reason of that allynce betwene them, seemed in some things to followe *Marius*, as we haue wrytten in his life. *Marius* was a man of great temperance and patience, as may be iudged by an acte he did, puttinge him selfe into the handes of surgeons. For his shanckes and legges were full of great swollen veynes, and being angrie because it was no pleasaunt thinge to beholde: he determined to put him selfe into the handes of surgeons to be cured. And first, laying out one of his legges to the surgeon to worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in the like case: but patiently abode all the extreme paines a man must of necessity feele being cut, without stirring, groning, or sighing, still keeping his countenance, and sayed neuer a word. But when the surgeon had done with his first legge, and would haue gone to the other, he would not geue it him: nay sayd he, I see the cure is not worth the paine I must abide. Afterwardes, *Cicilius Metellus* the Consul, being appointed to go into AFRICKE to make warre with king *Iugurthe*, tooke *Marius* with him for one of his Lieutenantes. *Marius* being there, seeing notable good seruice to be done, and good occasion to shew his manhoode, was not of minde in this voyage to increase *Metellus* honor and reputation, as other Lieutenantes did: and thought that it was not *Metellus* that called him forth for his Lieutenante, but fortune her selfe that presented him a fit occasion to raise him to greatnes, and (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the prooffe of that he coulde doe. And for this cause therefore, he endeouored him selfe to shew all the possible proofes of valliantnesse and honor he could. For, the warres being great continually there, he neuer for feare refused any attempt or seruice, how dangerous or painful soeuer it were, neither disdained to take any seruice in hand, were it neuer so litle: but exceeding all other his fellows and companions in wisdom and foresight, in that which was to be done, and struing with the meanest souldiers in liuing hardly and painefully, wanne the goodwill and fauor of euery man. For to say truly, it is a great comfort & refreshing to souldiers that labor, to haue companis that labor willingly with them. For they thinke, that their company laboring with them, doth in manner take away the compulsion and necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the ROMAIN souldier maruelously to see the Generall eate openly of the same bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that him selfe is the last man to set his hande to any worke when a trench is to be cast, or their campe to be fortified. For they doe not so much esteeme the Capitaines, that honor and reward them: as they doe those that in dangerous attempts labor, and venture their liues with them. And further, they do farre better loue them that take paines with them, then those that suffer them to liue idly by them. *Marius* performing all this, and winning thereby the loue and goodwills of his souldiers: he straight filled all LIBYA and the city of ROME with his glory, so that he was in euery manns mouth. For they that were in the campe in AFRICKE, wrote vnto them that were at ROME, that they should neuer see the ende of these warres against this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto *Marius*, and chose him Consul. These things misliked *Metellus* very much, but specially the misfortune that came apon *Turpilus*, did maruelously trouble him: which fell out in this sorte. *Turpilus* was *Metellus* frende, yea he and all his parentes had followed *Metellus* in this warre, being master of the workes in his campe. *Metellus* made him gouernor ouer the city of VACCA, a goodly great city: and he vsing the inhabitantes of the same very gently and curteously, mistrusted nothing, till he was fallen into the handes of his enemies through their treason. For they had brought king *Iugurthe* into their city vnknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the king, and let him goe his way faine. And this was the cause why they accused *Turpilus* of treason. *Marius* being one of his iudges in the counsell, was not contented to be bitter to him him selfe, but moued many of the counsell besides to be against him. So that *Metellus* by the voyces of the people, was driuen against his will to condemne him, to suffer as a traitor: and shortly after it was founde, and proued, that *Turpilus* was wrongfully condemned, and put to death. To say truly, there was not one of the counsell but were very sory with *Metellus*, who maruelously impatiently tooke the death of the poore innocent. But *Marius* contrarily reioyced, and tooke it vpon him that he pursued his death, and was not ashamed to make open vauntes, that he had hanged a fye about *Metellus* necke, to reuenge his frendes blood, whom he guiltlesse had caused to be put to death.

A death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they say, that one day *Metellus* to mocke him withall, sayd vnto him: O good man, thou wilt leaue vs then, and returne to ROME to sue for the Consulshippe, and canst thou not be contented to tary to be Consul with my sonne? Now his sonne at that time was but a boy. But whatsoever the matter ment, *Marius* left him not so, but labored for leaue all he could possible. And *Metellus* after he had vsed many delays and excuses, at the length gaue him leaue, twelue dayes only before the date of election of the Consuls. Wherefore *Marius* made hast, and in two dayes and a night came from the campe to Vtica apon the sea side, which is a maruelous way from it: and there before he tooke shippe, did sacrifice vnto the goddes, and the Soothsayer tolde him that the goddes by the signes of his sacrifices, did promise him vncredible prosperity, and so great, as he him selfe durst not hope after. These wordes made *Marius* hart greater. Whereupon he hoied sayle, and hauing a passing good gale of winde in the poope of the shippe, passed the seas in foure dayes, and being landed, rode poste to ROME. When he was arriued, he went to shewe him selfe vnto the people: who were maruelous desirous to see him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accusations which he objected against *Metellus*, in the end he besought the people to choose him Consul, promising that within few dayes he would either kill, or take king *Iugurthe* prisoner. Whereupon he was chosen Consul without any contradiction. And so soone as he was proclaimed, he beganne also, to be enrolled against the order of auncient custome: where other Capitaines before him did receiue no such manner of men, and did no more suffer vnworthy men to be souldiers, then they did allow of vnworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which euery one of them that were enrolled, left their goodes behinde them, as a pledge of their good seruice abroad in the warres. Yet this was not the matter that made *Marius* to be most hated, but they were his stowte proude wordes, full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offende the noble men in the city. For he proclaimed it euery where abroad as it were, that his Consulshippe was a spoyle he had gotten of the effeminate riche noble men through his valliantnes, and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for seruice of the common wealth, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images and statues of others, were those that recommended him to the people, nor weare his strength. And oftentimes naming *Albinus*, and otherwhile *D. Bessis*, both noble men, and of great houses, who hauing bene Generalls of the ROMAIN army, had very ill fortune in the contry of LIBYA: he called them cowardes, and simple souldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their auncettors would rather haue wished to haue left their children that came of them like vnto him selfe, then such as they had bene: considering that they them selues had wonne honor and glory, nor for that they were descended of noble blood, but through their deserued vertue and valliant deedes. Now *Marius* spake not these wordes in a foolish brauery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchase the ill will of the nobility for nothing: but the common people being very glad to see him shame and despite the Senate, and measuring alwayes the greatnes of his corage with his lawty force wordes, they egged him forward still not to spare the nobility, and to reprove the great men, so that he euer held with the commonalty. And furthermore, when he was passed ouer againe into AFRICKE, it spited *Metellus* to the hart, because that he hauing ended all the warre, that there remained almost no more to take or winne, *Marius* should come in that sorte to take away the glory and triumphe out of his handes, hauing fought to rise and increase by withankefullnes towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went an other way, and left the army with *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenantes, to deliuer the same vnto him. Howbeit the reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the ende vpon *Marius* owne necke. For *Sylla* tooke out of *Marius* hands, the honor of ending this warre: euen as *Marius* had taken it from *Metellus*. But how, & after what sorte, I will repeat it in few wordes, because we haue written the particularities more at large in the life of *Sylla*. *Bocchus* king of high NVMIDIA, was father in law vnto king *Iugurthe*, vnto whom he gaue no great aide, whilest he made warres with the ROMAINS, because he hated his vnfaithfullnes, & feared lest he would make him selfe greater then he was: but in the end, after *Iugurthe* had fled, and wandered vp and downe in euery

*Marius first
sine of being
Consul.*

*Marius offend-
ed the nobi-
lity.*

*Marius de-
prived Me-
tellus of the
honor of con-
quering of
king Iugurthe.*

*Bocchus kinge
of Numidia,
deliuereth Iu-
gurthe vnto
Sylla.*

place, he was constrained of very necessity to cast his last hope and anker upon him, as his small refuge, and so repaire vnto him. King *Bocchus* receiued him rather for shame, because he durst not punish him, then for any loue or goodwill he bare him: and hauing him in his hands, seemed openly to intreate *Marius* for him, and secretly to wryte the contrary vnto him. But in the meane time, he practised treason vnder hande, and sent priuely for *Lucius Sylla*, who then was *Questor* (to say, high treasurer) vnder *Marius*, and of whome he had receiued certaine pleasures in those warres. *Sylla* trusting to this barbarous king, went at his sending for to him. But when he was come, king *Bocchus* repented him of his promise, and altered his minde, standing many dayes in doubt with him selfe howe to resolue, whether he should deliuer king *Iugurthe*, or keepe *Sylla* him selfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended treason, and deliuered king *Iugurthe* the aliuie into *Sylla*'s hands. And this was the first original cause of the pestilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwards betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, and was like to haue vtterly ouerthrowen the cite of *Rome*, and to haue rased the foundation of the empyre vnto the ground. For many enuying the glorie of *Marius*, gaue it out euery where, that this acte of the taking of king *Iugurthe*, appertained only vnto *Sylla*: and *Sylla* him selfe caused a ring to be made, which he ware comonly, and had grauen vpon the stone of the same, how *Bocchus* deliuered *Iugurthe* into his hands. And afterwards he made it allwayes his scale to dispise *Marius* with all, who was an ambitious and proude man, and coulede abide no companion to be paraker of the glorie of his doings: and *Sylla* did it specially at the procurement of enemies & illwillers, who gaue the glory of the beginning & chiefe exploits of this warre, vnto *Metellus*, and the last and finall conclusion vnto *Sylla*, to the ende that the people should not haue *Marius* in so great estimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this enuy, detraction, and hatred against *Marius*, was loone after extinguished and troden vnder foote, by reason of the great danger that fell upon all *ITALIE* out of the West: and they neuer spake of it afterwards, knowing that the common wealth stood in neede of a good Captaine, and that they beganne to looke about, and consider who should be that great wise *Pylos*, that might saue and preserue it, from so exceeding dangerous storme of warres. For there was not a noble man of all the ancient houses of *Rome*, that durst undertake to offer him selfe to demaunde the Consullship: but *Marius* being absent, was chosen Consull the second time. For *Iugurthe* was no sooner taken, but newes came to *Rome* of the coming downe of the *Tevtons*, and of the *Cimbres*, the which would not beleeued at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was sayd to be in their company, and for the vncrediblie force and power of armies which was iustified to come also: but afterwards they knew plainly, that the rumor that ranne abroade was lesse, then the troth fell out in deede. For they were three hundred thousand fighting men all armed, who brought with them also an other multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandered vp and downe seeking contries and townes to dwell and liue in, as they heard say the *GAVLES* had done in olde time, who leauing their owne contry, came, and had possessed the best parte of *ITALIE*, which they had taken away from the *Thvscans*. Now to say truly, no man knewe of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no frendshippe with any other people, as also because they came out of a farre contry, as a clowde of people that they were spread all ouer *GAVLE* & *ITALIE*. It was doutd much that they came out of *GERMANY*, dwelling about the north sea: and this they coniectured by viewe of the greatnes of their bodies, and also for that they had darke blew eyes and redde, besides that the *GERMANES* in their tongue doe call theues and robbers, *Cimbri*. Other say that *Celtica*, for the great length and largenes of the contry, stretching it selfe from the coast of the great Ocean sea and from the north partes, drawing towards the marishes *Mæotides*, and the East runneth into *Scythia*, or *Tartaria Pontica*: and that for neighbourhood these two nations ioyned together, and went out of their contry, nor that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many sundry times, marching yearely in the spring further and further into the contry. And thus by continuance of time, they passed by force of armes through all the firme lande of *Evropæ* and that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the diuersitie of their nations, yet all this masse and multitude of people gathered together, were called

notwith-

standing, the army of the *CELTOSCYTHES*, as who would say, the *CELTOTARTARES*. Other hold opinion that the nation of the *CIMMERIANS*, who were knownen in old time for ancient *GREECIANS*, the one parte of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driuen out of their contry for some ciuill disension) were compelled by the *TARTARES* to passe beyond the marishes *Mæotides*, into the contries of *ASIA*, vnder the conduction of a Captaine called *Ligdamis*. But the residue of them which were a farre greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furest partes of the earth, adioyning vnto the great Ocean sea, in a darke shadowed contry, couered with wonderfull forestes, of such length, and so great and thicke, and the trees so high, that the sunne can haue no power vpon the ground, and they ioyned hard vpon the great forest of *Hercynia*. And furthermore, they are vnder such a climate, where the pole is of such a height by the inclination of the circles equidistant, which they call *Parallels*, that it is not farre from the poynte that auiswereth directly to the plummet vpon the head of the inhabitants: and where the dayes are equinoctiall, they doe deuide all their time in two partes, the which geueth *Homer* occasion to sayne, that when *Plisses* would call vpon the dead, he went into the contry of the *CIMMERIANS*, as into the contry of hell. And this is the cause why they say thes barbarous people left their owne contries to come into *ITALIE*, which from the beginning were called *CIMMERIANS*, and afterwards they say (and not without great likely hooode) that they were sumamed *CIMBRES*: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely coniecture, then by any assured troth of history. And as for the multitude of men, the most parte of historiographers doe wryte, that they were rather moe, then lesse then we haue spoken of: and that they were so hardy and valliant, that nothing coulede stande before them, they did so great things by the strength of their handes where they fought with any, so violently, and so suddenly, that they seemed to be like a lightninge fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but scraped together and caried away, all that they found, hande ouer head: and there were many *ROMAINE* Captaines appointed gouernors to keepe that which the *ROMAINE*s held in *GAVLE* beyonde the mountaines, who with great armies were shamefully ouerthrowe by them. The cowardlynes of those, whom they had ouercome, was the chiefe cause that moued them to direct their iorney to *Rome*. For when they had vanquished the first they fought withall, and gotten great richesse also: they were so fieshed by this, that they determined to stay no where before they had first destroyed *Rome*, & sacked all *ITALIE*. The *ROMAINE*s hearing of this out of all partes, sent for *Marius* to geue him the conduction and leading of these warres, and chose him Consull the seconde time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the lawe, that did expressely forbid any man to be chosen being absent, and vntill also a certaine time appointed had past betwene the vacation and election, before they could chooife him officer twice in one office. Some alleaged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulit them, obiecting to the contrary: that this was not the first time the law had geuen place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that the occasion offered to abrogate the law at that present was no lesse, then former occasions by the which they chose *Scipio* Consull, against the course and time appointed by the law, nor for any feare they stood in to lose their owne contry, but for the desire they had to destroy the contry of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, by reason whereof the people proceeded to election. And *Marius* bringing home his armie againe out of *LIBYA* into *ITALIE*, tooke possession of his Consullship the first day of *January* (on which day the *ROMAINE*s beginne their yeare) and therewithall made his triumphe into the city of *Rome*, showing that to the *ROMAINE*s, which they thought neuer to haue seene: and that was, kinge *Iugurthe* prisoner, who was so subtil a man, and coulede so well frame him selfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and subtiltie was off so great courage besides, that none of his enemies euer hoped to haue had him aliuie. But it is sayd, that after he was led in this triumphe, he fell mad straight apon it. And the pompe of triumphe being ended, he was caried into prisone, where the sergeauntes for hast to haue the spoyle of him, tare his apparell by force from of his backe: and because they would take away his rich golde eare ringes that hong at his eares, they pulled away with them the type of his eare, and then cast him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wittes being altogether

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Lucius Sylla
Questor vnder
Marius.

The original
cause of the
ciuill warres
betwixt *Marius*
and *Sylla*.

The coming
into *Italy* of
the *Tevtons*
and *Cimbres*.

The army of
the *Tevtons*
and *Cimbres*
300000 men.

Cimbri.

Cimmeri.

Marius chosen
Consull
the second
time against
the law.

Law must geue
place for com-
mon benefit.

Marius tri-
umpher into
Rome, for king
Iugurthe.

troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he sayd : O *Hercules*, how colde are your stoues. He liued there yet six dayes, fighting with hunger, and desiring alwayes to prolong his miserable life vnto the last hour : the which was a iust deserved punishment for his wicked life. In this triumphe were caried (as they say) three thousand & seuen hundred pound weight in gold, and of siluer nygors, siue thousand seuen hundred and lxxv. pounde weight, and more in golde and ready coyne, eight and twenty thousand and seuen hundred crowne. After this triumphe, *Marius* caused the Senate to assemble within the Capitoll, where he entered into the companie with his triumphinge robe, either bicause he forgot it, or else of too grosse and viciuall arrogancy : but perceiving that all the assemble mistooked of it, he rose suddenly, and tooke his long Confulls gowne, and then returned quickly againe into his place. Furthermore *Marius* departing to goe to the warres, thought to traine his army by the way, and to harden his souldiers vnto labor, causing them to runne euery way, making great longe iorneyes, compelling ech souldier to cary his owne furniture, and to prepare him necessary vittells to finde him selfe withall : so that euer after they made a prouerbe of it, and called such were painefull and willing to do that which they were commaunded without grudging. *Marius* moyle. Other notwithstanding, do shew an other cause and beginning of this prouerbe. For they say, that *Scipio* lying at the siege of the city of *Nymantia*, would not only take view of the armor and horses of seruice that were in his armie, but also of the moyles and other beastes of burden, bicause he would see how they were kept & furnished. So *Marius* brought his horse and moyle to the muster which he kept him selfe, fatre, fayer, and very well drest, and his moyles here so like and smooth, and therewithall so lusty and trimme, as none of the rest were like vnto them. *Scipio* tooke great pleasure to see these beastes so well kept, and in so good plyte : in so much as he spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon his words, this manner of talke was taken vpon euer after, and became a common prouerbe : when they meane to mocke any man that is painefull, and geuen to fore labor, makinge as though they would praise him, they call him *Marius* moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for *Marius* (in mine opinion) that these barbarous people (like in force to the beatinge backe of the raging seas) turned their first fury towards *Spain* : and that he in the meane space had time and leasure to traine and exercise his souldiers, to make them bolde, and withall, him selfe to be thoroughly known amongst them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to offend, nor disobey : then they found his rough commaunding, and sharpe severity in punishing such as slacke their duty, both profitable and very necessarie, besides that it was also iust and reasonable. Again, his great fury, his sharpe words, and his fierce lookes, after they had a while bene vsed to them, by litle and litle they seemed nothinge so fearfull to them, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleased the souldiers more then all the rest, was his iustice and vpright dealing : whereof they reports such an example : *Marius* had a nephewe of his in his campe called *Caius Lusius*, who had charge of men in the army. This *Lusius* was taken for a maruelous honest man, sauing that he had this fowle vice in him, that he would be sodainly in loue with fayer young boyes : and as at that time he fell in loue with a trimme younge striplinge, called *Trebonius*, that serued vnder him, and hauing many times lowdly enticed him, and neuer could obtaine his purpose, at the last fell for him one night by his seruauant. The young man might not disobay his Captaine being sent for, but presently went vnto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his Captaine did striue with all his force to doe him villany : he drew out his sworde, and killed him in the place. And this was done when *Marius* was out of his campe : who so soone as he returned, caused the marshall to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale him selfe, & to name many witnesses, who had both scene & known how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him dishonor, and how that he had continually resisted his abominable motion, and would neuer yeld him selfe vnto him, for any gift or present he could offer him. Wherefore *Marius* commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vsed to be geuen to them that in a day of battel haue done some valliant deede, and he him selfe did crowne *Trebonius* withall, as one that had done a noble acte, and at such a time, as good and honest examples

How *Marius* trained his souldiers.

Marius moyle.

Marius commended for his iustice.

A examples were requisite. This iudgement of *Marius* beinge caried to Rome, stode him to great good purpose towards the obtaining of his third Confullshippe : besides also that they looked for the cominge backe of these barbarous people about the springe with whome the *Romaines* souldiers would not fight vnder any other Captaine, then *Marius*. Howbeit they came not so soone againe as they looked for them, but *Marius* passed ouer also the year of his third Confullshippe. So time cominge about againe for the election of newe Confulls, and his companion also beinge dead : he was driuen to goe him selfe vnto Rome, leaving the charge of his campe in his absence, vnto *Manius Acilius*. At that time there were many noble men that sued for the Confullshippe : but *Lucius Saturninus* one of the Tribunes, who had the commonalty vnder his girdell as he would him selfe, more then any of thother Tribunes, and beinge wonne vnder hand by *Marius*, made many orations, in the which he perswaded the people to chosse *Marius* Confull the fourth time. *Marius* to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying that he would none of it, though the people chose him. Whereupon *Saturninus* called him traitor, crying out, that his refusall in such a danger and time of necessity, was an apparant parte to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a grosse packe betwixt *Saturninus* and *Marius*, by such as could see day at a litle hole. Neuertheless, the people considering that their present troubles required *Marius* skil & good fortune in the warres, they made him Confull the fourth time, and ioyned *Catulus Lucilius* Confull with him, a man that was greatly honored of the nobility, and not mistliked alio of the common people. *Marius* hauing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, passed ouer the Alpes with great speede, & fortifying his campe by the riuier of Rhone, he brought great prouision of all kindes of vittells thither with him, least beinge straightged by lacke therof, he should be forced to come to battell at any other time, but euen as he would him selfe, and as it should seeme good vnto him. And where before that time the transporting of vittells vnto his campe by sea was very long, and dangerous, and a maruelous great charge besides : he made it very shorte and easie by this meane. The mouth of the riuier of Rhone had gathered together so much muddle, and such store of sande, which the waues of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was become very high and depe : so as the bankes made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and dangerous for great shippes of burden that came from the sea. *Marius* considering this matter, let his men a worke while they had nothing to do, & made them digge a large trench and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great parte of the riuier, and caried it to a convenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulfe, whereby he made it able to cary the greatest shippes that were : and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not beinge troubled with windes nor waues. The channell carieth yet his name, and is called *Marius* Channell or trenche. These barbarous people deuided them selues into two armies to passe into *Italy*, so that it fell out to the one parte which were the *Cimbres*, to goe through high *Germany*, and to force that passage which *Catulus* kept : and vnto the other parte, which were the *Teytons* and *Ambrons*, to passe through the contry of the *Geno*uans by the sea side against *Marius*. Now the *Cimbres* hauing the greater compasse to fetch about, stayed longer, and remained behinde : but the *Teytons* and the *Ambrons* going their way first, had in fewe dayes dispatched their iorney they had to go, to bring them to the campe where the *Romaines* lay, vnto whom they presented themselves by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to beholde, and their cries & voyces fatre contrary vnto other mens. They tooke in a maruelous deale of grounde in length to campe vpon, and so came forth to desfe *Marius*, and prouoke him to battell in open field. *Marius* made no reckoning of all their bragginge desfaies, but kept his men together within his campe, taking on terribly with them that would rashly take vpon them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impaience of cholour would nedes go forth to fight, calling them traytors to their contry. For said he, we are not come to fight for our priuate glory, neither to winne two triumphes nor victories for our selues : but we must seeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great shower of warres from vs, and this lightning and tempest, that it ouercome not all *Italy*. These words he spake vnto the priuate Captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hauior and quality. But as for the common souldiers, he made them stande vpon the trenches of his campe,

Marius third Confullshippe.

Manius Acilius Lieutenant of the army, vnder *Marius*. *Lucius Saturninus* Tribune.

Marius fourth Confullshippe with *Catulus Lucilius*. *Rhodanus* fl.

Marius channell.

The *Cimbres* went through *Germany* into *Italy*. The *Teytons* and *Ambrons* fell vpon *Marius* to passe into *Italy*, through the territory of *Genoa*.

one after an other to behold the enemies, & to acquaint them selues with sight of their faces, & their countenance, and marching, & not to be afrayed of their voyces to heare them speake, which were wonderfull, both straunge & beastly: and also that they might know the facion of their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order & ordinary viewing of them, in time he made the things that femed fearefull vnto his men at the first sight, to be afterwards very familiar: so that they made no more wondering at them. For he iudged, the thing which in deede is true, that a rare and new matter neuer seene before, for lacke of iudgement and vnderstanding, maketh things vnknown to vs, more horrible & fearefull the they are: and to the contrary, that custome taketh away a great deale of feare, & terror of those things, which by nature are in deede fearefull. The which was seene then by experience. For they being daily acquainted to looke vpon these barbarous people, it did not only diminish some parte of the former feare of the ROMANE souldiers: but furthermore they whetting their choller with the fierce vtrollerable threatnes and bragges of these barbarous brutish people, did set their hartes a fire to fight with them, because they did not only wast and destroy all the contry about them, but besides that, came to geue assault euen vnto their campe with such a boldnes, that the ROMANE souldiers could no longer suffer them, and they letted not to speake wordes that came to *Marius* eares him selfe. What cowardlines hath *Marius* euer known in vs, that he keeps vs thus from fighting, & vnder locke & key as it were, in the gard of porters, as if we were women? Let vs therefore shew our selues like men, & go aske him if he looke for any other souldiers besides our selues to defend ITALIE: and if he haue determined to employ vs as pioners onely, when he would cast a trench to ridde away the mudde, or to turne a riuer contrary. For therein hath he onely hitherunto employed vs in great labor, and they are the notable workes he hath done in his two Confullshippes, whereof he maketh his boast vnto them at ROME. Is he afrayed they should take him, as they did *Carbo* & *Cepio*, whom the enemies haue ouerthrowen? He must not be afrayed of that: for he is a Capitaine of another manner of valor and reputation then they were, and his army much better then theirs was. But howe soeuer it be, yet were it much better in prouing to loose something, then to be idle, & to suffer our friends and cosfederats to be destroyed & lacked before our eyes. *Marius* was maruelous glad to heare his men coplaine thus, & did comfort them, & told the that he did nothing mistrust their courage & valiantnes: howbeit that through the couself of certaine prophecies & oracles of the gods, he did expect time & place fit for victory. For he euer carried a SYRIAN womā in a litter about with him called *Martha*, with great reuerence, whom they said had the spirit of prophetic in her: & that he did euer sacrifice vnto the gods by her order, & at such time as she willed him to do it. This SYRIAN woman went first to speake with the Senate about these matters, and did foretell & prognosticate what should follow. But the Senate would not heare her, & made her to be drue away. Whereupon she went vnto the womē, & made the see proofe of some things she vaunted of, & specially *Marius* wife, at whose feet she was set one day in an assembly of the comon playes, to see sword players fight for life & death: for she told her certainly which of the should ouercome. Whereupon this Lady sent her vnto her husband *Marius*, who made great reckoning of her, & carried her euē in him wher soeuer he went. She was alwaies at *Marius* sacrifices, apparelled in a gown of purple in graine, clasped to her with claspes, & held a speare in her hand wōld all about with nosegayes, & garlands of flowers tyed on with laces. This manner of iest made many doubt whether *Marius* shewed this woman openly, beleuing in dede that she had the gift of prophecy: or els that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did beleue it, to helpe her sayning. But that which *Alexander* the MYNDIAN wrote touching Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wōdred at. For he said there were two of the followed *Marius* in his warres, & that they euer shewed the selues & missed not, when he should win any great battel, & that they did know them by latin collers they ware about their necks, which the souldiers had tyed about the, & afterwards let them go where they would: by reason wherof, they did know the souldiers againe, & it femed also that they did salute the, & were very glad when they saw the, & perswaded the selues, that it was a signe & token of good lucke to follow. Many signes and tokens were seene before the battell: howbeit all the rest were ordinary signes, sauing that which was reported to be seene at TVDERTVM, & AMERIA, two cities of ITALIE.

For

A For they say there were seene speares and targets in the night, butting like fire in the element, which first were caried vp & downe here and there, and then met together euen as men moue & flutte that fight one with an other: vntill at the length, the one geuing backe, and the other followinge after, they all vanished away, and consumed towarde the West. About the selfe same time also, there came from the citie of PESSINNTA, *Batabaces*, the chiefe priest of the great mother of the goddesses, who brought newes, that the goddess had spoken to him within her sanctuary, and told him that the victory of this warre should fall out on the ROMANES side. The Senate beleued it, and ordained that they should build a temple vnto that goddess, to geue her thanks for the victorie which she did promise them. *Batabaces* also would haue presented him selfe vnto the people in open assemblee, to tell them as much. But there was one *Aulus Pompeius* a Tribune that would not suffer him to do it, calling him tumbler, or juggler, & violently thrust him behinde the pulpit for orations: but the mischaunce that fell vpon *Pompeius* afterwards, made the more to beleue *Batabaces* words. For *Pompeius* the Tribune no sooner came home vnto his house, but a great vehement agewooke him, wherof he dyed the seuenth day after, as all the world could winites. Now the TEVTONS perceiving that *Marius* stirred not at all out of his campe, they proued to assault him: howbeit they were so well receiued with shotte and slinges, that after they had lost certaine of their men, they gaue it ouer, and determined to goe further, perswading them selues that they might easily passe the Alpes without daunger. Wherefore trussing vp all their baggage, they passed by *Marius* campe: at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruelous great multitude of people, by the length of time which they tooke to passe their way. For it is sayd they were passing by his campe, fixe dayes continually together. And as they came raking by the ROMANES campe, they asked them in mockery, if they would wyte or send home any thing to their wiues, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and gone, and that they continued on their iorney full, *Marius* also raised his campe, and went and followed them fayer and softly foote by foote, and euer kept hard at their taile as neere as he could, alwayes fortifying his campe very well, and euer choosing strong places of scituation, & aduantage to lodge in, that they might be safe in the night time. Thus they marched on in this sorte, vntill they came vnto the city of ALEX, from whence they had not farre to goe, but they entered straight into the mountaines of the Alpes. Wherefore *Marius* prepared now to fight with them: & chose out a place that was very strong of scituation to lodge his campe in, howbeit there lacked water. And they say he did it of purpose, to the ende to quicken his mens courage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and tolde him that they should stande in great daunger to abide maruelous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto he made answer, shewing them the riuer that ranne hard by the enemies campe, saying withall, that they must goe thither and buy drinke with their blood. The souldiers replied againe: and why then doe ye not lead vs thither, whilst our blood is yet moyste? he gently answered them againe: because the first thing we doe, we must fortifie our campe. The souldiers, though they were angry with him, yet they obeyed him: but the slaues hauing neither drinke for them selues, nor for their cattell, gathered together a great troupe of them, and went towards the riuer: some of them carying axes, other hatchets, other swords and speares, with their pottes to cary water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwise they could not come by it. A fewe of the barbarous people at the first fought with them, because the most parte of their company were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were still in the bath washing them selues, finding in that place many springes of hotte natural bathes. Thus the ROMANES founde many of the barbarous people makinge mery, and taking their pleasure about these bathes, for the great delite they tooke to consider the pleasantnes of the place: but when they heard the noyse of them that fought, they begante to runne one after an other vnto the place from whence the noyse came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for *Marius* any longer to keepe the ROMANE souldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their slaues should haue bene slaine of the barbarous people: and moreover, because the valliantest souldiers of their enemies called the AMBRONS (who before had ouercome *Manlius* and *Cepio*, two ROMANE Captaines with their armies, and that made of them selues thirty thousand fighting

Batabaces the
priest of the
mother of the
goddesses.

*Aulus Pom-
peius Tri-
bune.*

The enemies
campe were
remouing fixe
dayes toge-
ther.

*Marius tolde
wordes to his
souldiers, and
their answer.*

*Martha, a
wife woman
or propheticke.*

The attires of
Martha in
time of sacri-
fice.

A wonder of
the Vultures
shewed to
Marius.

¶ Vnder
some.

Battell be-
tweene the Am-
brons & Ma-
rius.

Marius over-
came the
Ambrons.

The manfull-
nes of the wa-
men.

men) ranne to armes, being very heavy of their bodies, as hauing filled their bellies well, but otherwise valliant and coragious fellows, and more liuely then they were wont to be, by reason of the wine they had dronke. They ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither did they crye out confusedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noyse with their harness all after one forte, they oft rehearsed their owne name AMBRONS, AMBRONS, AMBRONS which was, either to call one another of them, or else to feare the ROMAINES with their name only. The ITALIANS also on thother side, being the first that came downe to fight with them, were the LIGURIANS, dwelling vpon the coast of Genuoa, who hearing this noyse and crye of theirs, plainly vnderstanding them: answered them againe with the like noyse and crye, LIGURIANS, LIGURIANS, LIGURIANS, saying that it was the true surname of all their nation. And so before they ioyned together, this crye was redoubled many a time on either side: and the Captaines of both partes made their fouldiers crye out all together, contending for enuy one against another, who should crye it out lowdest. This contention of crying, inflamed the fouldiers corages the more. Now the AMBRONS hauing the riuier to passe, were by this meanes put out of order, and before they could put them selues in battell ray againe, after they had passed the riuier, the LIGURIANS ranne with great fury to set upon the forme: and after them, (to aide the LIGURIANS that had begun the charge) the ROMAINES them selues fell also upon the AMBRONS, comming downe from the places of aduantage vpon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backs, and fle. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortun'd vpon the bancke of the riuier, wherinto they thrust one another in such sorte, that all the riuier ran blood, being filled with dead bodies. And they that could get ouer the riuier againe, and were on thother side, durst not gather together any more to stand to defence: so as the ROMAINES slew them, and draue them into their campe, euen vnto their cariage. Then their women came out against them with swordes and axes in their handes, grinding their teeth: and crying out for sorrow and anger, they charged as well vpon their owne people that fled, as vpon them that chased them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies. Furthermore, they thrust them selues amongst them that fought, & strove by force to plucke the ROMAINES targets out of their handes, and tooke holde of their naked swordes bare handed, abiding with an inuincible corage to be hacked and mangled with their swordes. And thus was the first battell geuen (as they say) by the riuers side, rather by chance vnlooked for, then by any set purpose, or through the generals counsell. Now the ROMAINES, after they had overcome the most parte of the AMBRONS, retraying backe by reason the night had ouertaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had geuen such an ouerthrow) singes of victory and triumphe, nor make good chere in their tentes one with another, and least of all sleepe: (which is the best & sweetest refreshing for men that haue fought happily) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, because their campe was not trench'd and fortified, and because they knewe also that there remained almost innumerable thousandes of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: besides also, that the AMBRONS that had fled and scaped from the ouerthrow, did howle out all night with lowd cries, which were nothing like mens lamentacions and sighes, but rather like wilde beastes bellowing and roaring. So that the bellowing of such a great multitude of beastly people, mingled together with threates and waylinges, made the mountaines threabouts and the running riuier to rebounde againe of the founde and ecco of their cries maruelously: by reason whereof, all the valley that lay betweene both, thundered to heare the horrible and fearefull trembling. This made the ROMAINES fouldiers afeard, and Marius him selfe in some doubt: because they looked to haue bene fought withall the same night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not assault them that night, nor the next day following, but only prepared them selues vnto battell. And in the meane time Marius knowing that there was aboute the place where they were camped, certaine caues and litle valleyes couered with wodde: he secretly sent *Claudius Marcellus* thither with three thousand footemen well armed, and commaunded him to keepe close in ambushe, vntill he saw that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set upon their rearward. The residue of his armie, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed them selues.

Marius se-
conde battell
with the Teu-
tons.

A selues. The next morning at the breake of day, *Marius* brought his men into the fildes out of his forte: where he put them in order of battell, sending his horsemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmishe. The TEUTONS seeing them come, had not the pacience to tarry till the ROMAINES were come downe into the plaine fildes to fight without aduantage, but arming them selues in hast, and in a rage, ranne vp the hill to the ROMAINES, where they stood in battell ray. *Marius* taking good regard to that they did, sent here and there vnto the priuate Captaines, charging them they should not stirre, and onely to temporise and forbear, vntill the enemies came within a stones cast of them: and that they should then throw their darts at them, and afterwards drave their swordes, and repulse the barbarous people with their shieldes. For he did foresee before, that when they should clime vp against the hill (vpon the hanging whereof the ROMAINES had set their battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and ranckes could stand close together to any effect or purpose: because they could not haue sure footing, nor march assuredly, but would easily be throwe backward if they were neuer so litle repulsed, by reason of the hanging of the hill. *Marius* gaue this order vnto his folke and therewithall was him selfe the first man that put it in execution: for he was as trymme a warrior, and as valliant a fouldier, as any man in all his army: besides, not one amongst them all would venter furdre, and be more bolde then him selfe. So when the ROMAINES had resisted them, and stayed them sodainly, going with fury to haue wonne the hill, perceiving them selues to be repulsed, they gaue backe by litle and litle, vntill they came into the field: and then beganne the foremost of them to gather together, and to put them selues in C battell ray vpon the plaine, when sodainly they heard the noyse and charging of them that were in the tayle of their army. For *Claudius Marcellus* failed not to take the occasion when it was offered him, because that the noyse of the first charge comming vp against the hills thereabouts, vnder the which he lay in ambushe, gaue him aduertisement thereof: whereupon he caused his men presently to shew, and running with great cries, came to geue a charge vpon those which were in the tayle of the barbarous people, putting the hindmost to the swordes. They made their fellows whose backs were next vnto them, to turne their faces, & so from man to man, till at the length, in shorte time all their battell beganne to wauer in disorder: and they made no great resistance, when they saw they were so charged before and behind, but beganne straight to flie for life. The ROMAINES following them hard at the heeles, killed and D tooke prisoners about a hundred thousande of them, and tookeouer their cartes, their tentes and all their cariage. Which the whole army by consent agreed to present vnto *Marius*, excepting nothing, sauing that which was imbeaced and conueyed away vnder hande. Now, though this was a maruelous honorable & right noble present yet they thought it not a recompence sufficient for that he had deserued, for the valure he had shewed of a famous Captaine in leading of his army, & for the good order he kept in this warre: so happy thought they them selues to haue escaped so great a daunger. Notwithstanding, some wryters do not agree, that the spoyle of the barbarous people was geuen vnto *Marius*: nor that there were also so great a number of men slaine as we haue spoken of. But they say, that after this battell the MARCELLIANS did inclose their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that E the bodies being rotten and consumed vpon the fildes through the great raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed so fatte, and did sike the greafe so deepe in the same, that the sommer following they did beare an vncredible quantity of all sortes of frutes. And by this meanes were *Archilocus* wordes proued true, that the errable land doth waxe fat with such rottenesse or purtification. And it is sayd also, that so ordinary after great battells, there falleth great store of raine. Either it is by meane of some god that powring downe pure raine water doth purifie, wash, and clesne the groundes, defiled and polluted with mans blood, or else it happeneth by naturall cause. For that the ouerthrow of so many dead bodies, and of the blood spilt, engendreth a moyst, grosse, and heauy vapoure, which doth thicken the ayer (that by nature is chaungeable, and easie to alter) from a very small or litle beginning, vnto an F exceeding great chaunge. After this battell, *Marius* caused the harness and spoyles of the barbarous people to be layed aside, that were left whole and fayer to fight, to beautifie & enrich the pompe of his triumphe. Then he caused the rest to be gathered together on a great

Marius vi-
tory of the
Teutons and
Ambrons.

Much raine
followeth af-
ter great bat-
tles.

heape, and layed upon a stake of wodde, to make a noble sacrifice vnto the gods, all his army being armed about him, crowned with garlandes of triumphe, and him selfe apparellled in a long gowne of purple, according to the custome of the ROMAINES in such a case, and holding a torch burning in both his hands, which he first lifted vp vnto heauen. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the stake of wodde, they saw some of his friends a good way of a horse backe, comming post vnto him: then suddenly there was a great silence made of all the assembly, euery man desirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted of their horses, they ranne straight to embrace *Marius*, and brought him newes that he was chosen Consull the fift time: and presented him the letters sent him from ROME confirming the same. And thus, this new ioy falling out besides the victory, the private souldiers did thewe the great ioy and pleasure they tooke in both, with great shewes and beating vpon their harnesse: and the Capitaines also, they crowned *Marius* againe with new garlandes of laurell which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire vnder the stake of wodde, and ended his sacrifice. But that which neuer suffereth men quietly to enioy the good happe of any victory clearly, but in this mortall life doth euer mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortune or spight of fatall destinie, or else the necessitie of the naturall causes of earthly thinges: did shortly after this great ioy bring newes vnto *Marius*, of his companion *Catulus Lucatius* the other Consull, who was like a cloude in a fayer bright day, and brought the city of ROME againe into a new feare and trouble. For *Catulus* that went against the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keepe the straightes of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for passing: because that in so doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his army into many partes, and had weakened him selfe very much if he had taken that course. Wherefore comming a litle on this side the Alpes towards ITALIE, he planted him selfe vpon the riuier of Atheis, and built a bridge upon it, to passe and repasse ouer his men when he would, and sette vp at either end of the bridge two strong fortes well fortified, that he might more comodiously helpe the places on the other side of the riuier, if the barbarous people by chance would offer to force the, after they had gotten out of the straights of the mountaines. Now, these barbarous people had such a glory in them selues, and disdained their enemies so much, that more to shew their force and boldnes, then of any necessity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they suisted it to know upon them being starke naked, and did clime vp to the toppes of the mountaines, throw great heapes of life and snow. And when they were at the very toppes of all, they layed their long broad targets vnder their bodies, and lay all along upon them, sliding downe the steepe high rockes, that had certaine hanginges out of an infinite height. In the ende, they came to campe nere vnto the ROMAINES by the riuier side, and considered howe they might passe it ouer: and beganne to fill it vp, tearing downe (like gyants) great hills of earth which they founde thereabouts, brought thither great trees which they pulled vp whole by the rootes, threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake, and whole towers of earth after them, to stoppe and breake the course of the riuier. But besides all this, they threw great timber into the riuier, which being caried downe the streame, came with such a force, & hit against the postes of the bridge so violently, that they shaked the ROMAINES bridge maruelously. Whereupon many of the souldiers of the great campe were fraied, and forsaking it, beganne to retire. But then did *Catulus*, like a perfit good Capitaine shewe, that he made lesse account of his owne priuate honor and estimation, then he did of the generall honor of all his souldiers. For, seeing that he could not perswade his men by any reason to tary, and that in this feare they dislodged in disorder against his will: he him selfe commaunded the standerd bearer of the Eagle to marche on, and ranne to the foremost that went their way, and marched him selfe before them all, to the intent that the shame of this retire should altogether light vpon him, & not upon his contrie, and that it might appeare the ROMAINES did follow their Capitaine, and not sic away. The barbarous people therefore assailing the force at the end of the bridge of the riuier of Atheis, rooke it, & all the men that were in it. And because the ROMAINES defended it like valliant men, and had lustely ventured their liues to the death for defence of their contrie: the barbarous people let them go vpon coposition, which they sware to keepe faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull afterwards was taken

Marius the fift time Consul.

Atheis flum.

Catulus Lucatius the Consull, fledd from the Cimbres.

A when they lost the battell, and caried (as they say) into *Catulus Lucatius* house, as the chieftest thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the contry open without any defence, scattered here and there, and destroyed all where they came. Whereupon the ROMAINES sent for *Marius* to ROME to goe against them: and after he was arriued, euery man thought he shoulde haue entred in triumphe, because also the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not doe it, either because he would not deprive his souldiers and the Capitaines that had fought vnder him, of any parte of the honor that was due vnto them, they being absent: or because that he would warrant the people fro the present daunger they were in, by laying aside the glory of his former victories, into the hands of the good fortune of ROME, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwards, by a more honorable and perfit confirmation of the second. Wherefore, after he had made an oration to the people, and Senate according to the time, he went his way immediately towards *Catulus Lucatius*, whose comming did comforte him much: and sent also for his army that was yet in GAULE beyond the mountaines. And after his army was come, he passed the riuier of Po, to kepe the barbarous people from hurting ITALIE on this side the Po. Now, the CIMBRES still deferred to geue battell because they looked for the TEVTONS, and sayd: that they marueled much what they ment to tary so long: either because they knewe not in deede of their ouerthrowe, or else for that they would not seeme to knowe it, because they handeled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deaths. At the length, they sent vnto *Marius* to aske him landes and townes sufficient, to keepe them and their brethren. *Marius* asked their Ambassadors what brethren they ment. C They answered, that they were the TEVTONS. Whereat the standers by beganne to laugh: and *Marius* finely mocked them, saying. Care not for those brethren sayd he, for we haue gotten them ground enough, which they will kepe for euer. These Ambassadors found his mock straight, and beganne to reuile and threaten him, that the CIMBRES shoulde presently make him repent it, and the TEVTONS so soone as they arriued. Why, sayd *Marius* vnto them againe, they are come already: and there were no honesty in you, if you could geue your way & not salute them, since they are your brethren. And as he spake these wordes, he commaunded his men to bring him the kinges of the TEVTONS bounde and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the SEQUANI. The CIMBRES vnderstanding this by reporte of their Ambassadors, presently marched towards *Marius*, who stirred not at all, but only fortified and kept his campe. They say that it was for this battell that *Marius* first inuented the newe deuise he brought in for the darte which the ROMAINES were wont alwayes to throwe against the enemies at the first charge. For before, the staffe of the darte was fastned vnto the iron, and the iron vnto the staffe, with two litle iron pinnes that passed through the wodde: and then *Marius* left one of the iron pinnes as it was before, & taking away the other, put a litle thinne pinne of wodde, easie to be broken, in place of the same, making it craftely, to the end that when the darte was thrown, & stucke in the enemies target, it should not stand right forward, but bow downward towards the iron, that the wodden pinne being broken, the staffe of the darte should hang downewards, holding yet by the iron pinne running quite through at the poynte. So *Boerix* king of the CIMBRES, comming nere to *Marius* campe with a small number of horsemen, sent him defyaunce, & willed him to appoint a day & place for battell, that they might trye it out, who should be owners of the contry. Whereunto *Marius* made answer, that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to counsell with their enemies, of the time and place when they should geue battell: but neuertheless, he would not flie to pleasure the CIMBRES so much. And thus they agreed betwene them, that it should be the thirde day following, in the plaine of Verfelles, which was very commodious for the horsemen of the ROMAINES: and also for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. *Catulus Lucatius* the other Consull, had in his campe twenty thousand, and three hundred souldiers: and *Marius* had in his campe two and thirty thousand fighting men, which he placed in the two wings of the battell, shutting in *Catulus* with his men in the middest. As *Sylla* writeth it, who was present at the same: saying, that *Marius* did it of malice, for the hope he had to ouerthrowe his enemies with the two

Marius refused to enter in triumphe.

Marius went towards Catulus Lucatius to helpe him.

Marius mocked to the Cimbres.

The Cimbres march against Marius. Marius deuise for altering the darts in fight.

Boerix king of the Cimbres.

Two and fiftie thousand and three hundred men betwene Marius and Catulus.

The Romaines
battell.

The battell of
the Cimbrres.

A dust raised,
that neither
army could
see one an-
other.

The sunne sad
in the Cimbrres
faces.

The fildes
fought the
27. of Iuly.

Horrible cruel-
ty of women.

winges of the battell, to the end that the whole victory should light upon his two wings; and that *Catulus* & his men in the midst should have no parte thereof. For he could not so much as fronte the enemy, because that commonly when the fronte of a battell is of such a bredche, the two wings are euer stretched out before, and is made like the cressant of a moone, where the midst is thickest and fardest in. And it is written also in other stories, that *Catulus* him selfe accusing the malice of *Marius*, because he did so: spake it to excuse his owne dishonour. As for the *CIMBRRES*, the troups of their footemen coming out of their fortres leasurely, did put them selues into a Squadron, as broade as long, for in euery side they occupied almost thirty furlong: but their horsemen which were fiftene thousande, marched before in sumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heades facioned like wilde beastes neckes, and straunge beuers or buffes to the same, & ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, as they had bene wings: which to fight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curases on their backs, and caried great white targets before them: and for weapons offensue, euery man had two dartes in his hand to bestow a farr off, & when they came to hand strokes, they had great heauy swords which they fought with all neere hand. But at that time they did not marche directly in rancke against the army of the *ROMAINES*, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to inclose the *ROMAINES* betwene them and their footemen that were on the left hand. The *ROMAINE* Capitaines founde their policy straight, but they could not keepe their souldiers backe: for there was one that cried, the enemies fled, and immediatly all the rest beganne to runne after. In the meane time, the footemen of the barbarous people that were like to a sea before them, came forwards still: & then *Marius* hauing washed his handes, and lifting them vp to heauen, promised, and vowed a solemne sacrifice vnto the goddess of a hundred oxen. *Catulus* also made a vow, lifting vp his handes to heauen in like maner, that he would build a temple vnto fortune for that day: and it is reported, that *Marius* hauing sacrificed, when they shewed him the intralls of the beastes sacrificed: he cried out a lowde, the victory is mine. But when they came to geue the charge, *Marius* had a great misfortune happened him, powred upon him by goddes iustice, who turned his craft against him selfe, as *Sylla* wryteth: for there rose very credibly a great a dust, that both armies lost the sight one of another. And hereupon *Marius* being the first that ranne to beginne the charge, and hauing placed his men about him, mist to meete with his enemies and being passed beyonde their battell, wandred a great while vp and downe the field, whilst the barbarous people fought against *Catulus*. So that the greatest fury of the battell was against *Catulus* and his army: in the which, *Sylla* wryteth he was him selfe, and sayeth, that the heate and the sunne which was full in the *CIMBRRES* faces, did the *ROMAINES* maruelous pleasure at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard brought vp to away with cold (because they were borne and bred in a cold contry, shadowed altogether with woddes and trees as we haue sayd) were to the contrary very tender against the heate, and did melt with sweating against the sunne, and gaped straight for breathe, putting their targets before their faces: for it was also in the hart of sommer, about the feuen and twentie day of the moneth of Iulie, that this battell was geuen, and this dust also made the *ROMAINES* the bolder, and kept them that they could not see the innumerable multitude of their enemies farre from them. And euery man runninge to set upon them that came against them, they were ioyned together in fight, before that the sight of their enemies could make them afayed. And furthermore, they were so good souldiers, and so able to take paines, that how extreame soeuer the heate was, no man was sene sweate nor blow, though they ranne at the first to set upon them: & this hath *Catulus Lucatius* him selfe left in wryting vnto the praise of his souldiers. So were the most parte of the barbarous people, and specially of the best souldiers, slaine in the field. And because they should not open nor breake their rankes, the foremost rankes were all tyed & bound together with girdells, leather thongs, & long chaynes of iron: and they that fled, were chased & followed into their campe by the *ROMAINES*, where they met with horrible and fearefull things to beholde. For, their wiues being upon the toppes of their cartes, apparelled all in blacke, slew all those that fled, without regarde of perones: some their fathers, other their husbands or their brethren, and strangling the litle young babes with their owne handes, they cast them vnder

A vnder the carte wheeles, and betwene the horse legges, and afterwards slue them selues. And they say, that there was a woman hanged at the ende of a carte ladder, hauing hanged vp two of her children by the neckes at her heeles. And that the men also, for lacke of a tree to hang them selues on, tyed slipping halters about their neckes, vnto the hornes & feete of the oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwarde with goades to make them sing and leape so long, that dragging them all about, and treading them vnder teete, at the length they killed them. Now, though nũbers were slaine by this meanes, yet were there three score thousand of them taken prisoners, and the number of them that were slaine, came to twise as many moe. In this manner *Marius* souldiers spoyled the campe of the *CIMBRRES*: but the spoyles of dead men that were slaine in the fildes, with their ensignes and trompets, were all brought (as it is sayd) vnto *Catulus* campe, which was a plaine testimonie to shewe that *Catulus* and his souldiers had wonne the field. Strife rising thus betwene the souldiers of both camps about it, that the matter might be tryed firstly betwene them: they made the Ambassadors of *PARMA* their arbitratours, who were by chance at that time in the army. *Catulus Lucatius* souldiers led the Ambassadors to the place where the ouerthrowe was geuen, shewing them the enemies bodies pearced through with their pykes, which were easie to be knowne, because *Catulus* had made them graue his name upon their pykes. For all this, *Marius* went away with the honor of this great victory, as well for the first battell he wanne alone, when he ouerthrowe the *TEVTONS* and the *AMBRONAS* for his great calling, hauing bene Consul fift times. And furthermore, the common people at *ROME*, called him the third founder of the city of *ROME*, thinking them selues now deliuered from as great a daũger, as before time they had bene from the ancient *GAVLES*. And euery man feasting at home with his wife and children, offered the best dishes of meate they had to supper, vnto the goddess, and vnto *Marius*: and would needes haue him alone to triumphe for both victories. But he would not in any case, but triumphed into the city with *Catulus Lucatius*, meaning to shew himselfe courteous and moderate in so great prosperiety: and peradventure also fearing *Catulus* souldiers, who were in readinesse and prepared (if *Marius* would haue depriued their Captaine of that honor) to let him also of his triumphe. And thus you see howe he passed his fift Consulshippe. After that, he made more earnest sute for the sixt Consulshippe, then euer any other did for his first: seeking the peoples goodwilles by all the fayer meanes he could to please them, humbling him selfe vnto them, not only more then became his estate and calling, but directly also against his owne nature, counterfeiting a courteous populer mannet, being cleane contrarie to his disposition. His ambition made him timorous to deale in matters of the state concerning the city. For that corage and boldnesse which he had in battell against the enemy, he lost it quite when he was in an assembly of people in the city: and was easily put out of his byase, with the first blame or praise he heard geuen him. And though they reporte, that at a time when he made a thousande *CAMERINES* free of the city of *ROME*, because they had done valliant seruice in the warres, that there were some that did accuse him, saying, that it was a thing done against all law: he answered them, that for the noyse of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithstanding, it seemeth that in dede he was greatly afraid of the fury of the people in an assembly of the city. For in time of warres, he euer stode upon his reputacion and authority, knowing that they had neede of him: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, because he would rather be the chiefeft man then the honestest man, he would creepe into the peoples bosomes to get their fauor and goodwill. And thus through his euill behavior, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. But he feared nor mistrusted none so much, as he did *Metellus*, for the great vnthankfull parte he remembered he had played him: and the rather also, because he knew him to be iust & true dealing man, and one that was euer against these people pleasers and flatterers. *Marius* therefore practised all the wayes he could, to get *Metellus* to be banished *ROME*. Wherefore, to compass his intent, he fell in frendship with *Glancia*, and one *Saturninus*, two of the most boldest, most desperate, and most hardbraind young men, that were in all *ROME*: who had all the rablement of rogues and beggers, and such tumultuous people at their commandement, by whose meanes he made new populer lawes, and caused the souldiers to be called home out of the warres, & mingled them with the people of the city in common assemblies, to trouble and

Prisoners 60.
thousand.
Men slaine
six score thousand.

*
Might over-
come right.

Metellus a-
gainst people
pleasers.

veze *Metellus*. Moreouer *Rutilius*, an honest and true writer, (howbeit an enemy vnto *Marius*) A
wryteth, that he obtained his first Consulshippe by corruption of money, which he caused
be distributed amongst the tribes of the people: & that he bought it for ready money to put
by *Metellus*, and to haue *Valerius Flaccus* not for his fellowe and companion in the Consul
shippe, but rather for a minister of his will. There was neuer ROME to whom the people
granted the Consulshippe six times, except it were vnto *Valerius Corvinus* only. But for him,
they say that there was fue and forty yeares betwene his first Consulship and the last. Where
Marius was the first year of his Consulshippe, continued five yeares together by good fortune
one after another. But in his last Consulship, he wanne him selfe great hate and malice,
bicause he did many fowle faultes to please *Saturninus* withall: as amongst others, when he
bare with *Saturninus*, who murdered *Nonius* his competitor in the Tribuneship. Afterwards
when *Saturninus* was chosen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for distribution of
the landes among the common people, and vnto that law he had specially added one article: that
all the Lords of the Senate should come openly to sweare, that they should kepe and obserue
from point to point that which the people by their voyces should decree, and should not
deny it in any iorte. But *Marius* in open Senate, made as though he would withstand this arti
cle, saying, that neither he nor any other wise man of iudgement would take this othe: for said
he, if the law be euill, then they should doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force
to graunt it, and not of their owne goodwills. But he spake not that, meaning to do as he said
for it was but a bayte he had layed for *Metellus* only, which he could hardly escape. For ima
gining that to tell a fine lye, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was thoroughly resol
ued with him selfe, not to passe for any thing he had spoken in the Senate. And to the contrary
also, knowinge well enough that *Metellus* was a graue wise man, who esteemed that to be
iust and true (as *Pindarus* sayd) is the beginning and foundation of great vertue: he thought he
would outreach him, makinge him affirme before the Senate that he would not sweare, know
ing also that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwarde to sweare.
And so in dede it happened. For *Metellus* hauing assured them then that he would not sweare,
the Senate brake vp vpon him. And shortly after, *Saturninus* the Tribune calling the Senators
vnto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to sweare before the people: *Marius* went thi
ther to offer him selfe to sweare. Whereupon the people makinge silence, listned attentively
to heare what he would say. But *Marius* not regarding his large promise & bragges made be
fore the Senate, sayed then, his necke was not so long, that he would preiudice the common
wealth in a matter of so great importance: but that he would sweare, and obey the lawes, if
were a law. This shifting subtilty he added to it, to cloke and couer his shame: and when he
had sayd so, he tooke his othe. The people seeing him sweare, were maruelous glad, and prai
sed him with clapping of their hands: but the nobility hanging downe their heads were affrai
med of him, and were maruelous angry in their hartes with him, that he had so cowardly and
shamefully gone from his word. Therupon all the Senate tooke their othes, one after another
against their wills, bicause they were afrayed of the people. Sauing *Metellus*, whome, neither
parentes nor frendes perswasion and intreaty could moue to sweare, for any punishment
that *Saturninus* had imposed vpon them, which refused to take the othe, but continued one
man still according to his nature, and would neuer yelde vnto it, offering to abide any payne,
rather then to be brought to consent to a dishonest matter vnbecoming his estate. And there
upon went out of the assembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them,
that to doe euill, it was too easie a thing: and to doe good without daunger, it was also a com
mon matter: but to doe well with daunger, that was the parte of an honest and virtuous man.
Saturninus then commaunded the Consuls by edict of the people, that they should banish
Metellus by founde of trompet, with special commaundement, that no man should let him
haue fire nor water, nor lodge him priuately nor openly. The common people, they were read
y to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noble men being offended for the
injury they had offered him, gathered together about him to saue him, if any would offer him
violence. *Metellus* him selfe was so good a man, that he would not any ciuill diffention should
rise for his sake: and therefore he absented him selfe from ROME, wherein he did like a wise
man.

*Valerius
Flaccus Con
sull with Ma
rius the first
time.
Valerius Cor
vinus fixe
siner Consull.*

*The law A
graria.
An article for
the othe of
the Senate to
confirm what
the people
should passe
by voyce.
Marius double
dealing.*

*To lye cunning
ly, Marius
speaketh
it for a vertue.*

*Timorous po
lity causeth
periuery.*

*Metellus con
sist in ver
tue.*

*Metellus wife
saying, ran
ching well do
ing.
Metellus ban
ishment.*

man. For sayd he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting them selues of the
wrong they haue done me, will call me home againe: or else things standing as they do now,
it shalbe best for me to be furthest of. But for his trauaill in his exile, howe much he was be
loued and honored, and how sweetely he passed his time studying philosophie in the citie of
RHODES, shalbe declared more at large in his life. Now on the other side, *Marius* to recom
pence the pleasure *Saturninus* had done him, being driven to let him haue his will in all things:
did not foresee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the common wealth, geuing the
brydle to a desperate man, who euery way, by force, by sword and murder, plainly sought to
vnturne the power, with the vtter destruction and subuersion of the whole common
weale. And so bearing reuerence of the one side vnto the nobility, and desiring on the other
side to gratifie the common people: he played a shameful parte, and shewed him selfe a dou
ble dealing man. For one night the nobilitie and chiefe citizens comming to his house, to
perswade him to brydle *Saturninus* insolencie and boldnes: at the selfe same time also *Saturni
nus* going thither to speake with him, he caused him to be let in at a backe dore, the noble men
not being priuie to his comming. And so *Marius* telling the nobility, and then *Saturninus*, that
he was troubled with a losenes of his body, vnder this pretence whipped up and downe, now
to the one, then to the other, and did nothing else but fer them further out one against an o
ther, the they were before. Neuertheles, the Senate being maruelous angry with his naughty
double dealing, and the order of knights taking parte with the Senate, *Marius* in the ende
was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to suppress them that were vp, and
C drawe them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to yelde them
selues at the length, bicause he had cut of the pypes and conduits by the which the water ran
vnto the Capitoll. By reason whereof, they being vnable to continue any longer, called *Saturni
nus* vnto them, and yellected them selues to him, vnder the assurance of the faith of the common
people. But although *Marius* did what he could possible to his vttermost power to saue them,
he could not preuaile, nor doe them pleasure: for they were no sooner come downe into the
market place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he hauing now purchased him selfe
the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Censors should
be chosen, euery man looked that he would haue bene one of the futers: howbeit he sued not
for it, for feare of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of farre lesse dignity and calling then
D him selfe. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, saying that he would not fue to be Censor,
bicause he would not haue the ill will of many, for examining too straghtly their liues & man
ners. Again, a decree being preferred to repeale *Metellus* banishment, *Marius* did what he
could possible by word and deede to hinder it: howbeit, seeing in the end he could not haue
his will, he let it alone. The people hauing thus willingly reuoked *Metellus* banishment, *Ma
rius* hart would not serue him to see *Metellus* returne againe, for the malice he bare him: where
fore, he tooke the seas to goe into CAPPADOCIA and GALATIA, vnder colour to pay certaine
sacrifices to the mother of the goddess, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the
very cause that made him to vndertake this iorney, for he had an other secret meaning in it.
For his nature not being framed to liue in peace, and to gouerne ciuill matters, and hauing at
E tained to his greatnes by armes, and supposing that his glorie & authority consumed and de
creased altogether liuing idly in peace: he fought to deuise new occasion of warres, hoping
if he could stirre vp the kinges of ASIA, and specially *Mithridates* (who without his procure
ment was feared much, that one day he would make warres against the ROMANES) that he
should then vndoubtedly without let of any man be chosen Generall to make warres with him,
and withall also; that by that meanes he should haue occasion to fill the citie of ROME with
newe triumphes, and his house with the spoyles of the great kingdome of PONTA, and with
the riches of the king. Now *Mithridates* disposing him selfe to entertaine *Marius*, with all the
honor and curtesies he could possibly shew him: *Marius* in the ende notwithstanding would
not once geue him a good looke, nor a courteous word againe, but churlishly sayd vnto *Mithri
F dates* at his departure from him. Thou must determine one of these two, king *Mithridates*: ei
ther to make thy selfe stronger then the ROMANES, or else to looke to doe what they com
maund thee, without resistance. These wordes amazed *Mithridates*, who had heard say be
RR

*Marius double
dealing be
tweene the no
bilitie and
people.
Marius pro
uoketh sediti
on at Rome.*

*No must in the
faith of the
common people.*

*Metellus re
turne from
banishment.
Marius iorney
into Cappadoc
ia and Galatia.*

*Marius
proced wordes
to Mithrida
tes.*

fore that the ROMAINES would speake their mindes freely: howbeit he neuer saw nor perceived it before, vntill that time. After *Marius* was returned vnto Rome, he built a house neere vnto the market place, because he would not (as he said himselfe) that such as came vnto him should trouble them selues in going farre to bring him home to his house: or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that diuerse would come to salute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit that was not the cause in deede, but the onely cause was, for that he had no naturall graceron ciuility to entertaine men courtously that came vnto him, and that he lacked beuor besides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, then they did of an old rusty harnesse or implement that was good for nothing, but for the warres only. And for all other that professed armes as him selfe did, no man grieved him so much to be called forward to office and state before him selfe, as *Sylla* did. For he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the noble men did all what they could to preferre *Sylla*, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that *Sylla*es first risinge and preferment grew, by the quarrells and contentions he had with him. And specially when *Boethius* king of *NVMIDIA* was proclaimed by the Senate, a frende and confederate of the ROMAINES people, he offred vp statues of victories, carying tokens of triumphe, into the temple of the Capitoll: and placed neere vnto them also, an image of gold of king *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered by his owne handes vnto *Sylla*. And this made *Marius* starke madde for spite and ielousie, and could not abide that an other should take vpon him the glory of his doings: inso much as he determined to plucke those images downe, and to cary them away by force. *Sylla* on the other side stomaked *Marius*, and would not suffer him to take them out of the place where they were: so that this ciuill sedition had taken present effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betwene, and restrained them for a time. For the best fouldiers and most warlike people of all *ITALIE*, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the ROMAINES, and had well neere ouerthrowen their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force and power, and well armed: but their Captaines also, for valliantes and skill, did in manner equal the worthines of the ROMAINES. For this warre fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calamity and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne *Sylla* as much fame and reputation, as it did *Marius* shame and dishonor. For he shewed him selfe very colde and slow in all his enterprises, still delayinge time, either because age had mortified his aduie heate, and killed that quick ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then about three score and five yeare olde: or else as he sayd him selfe, because he was waxen gowty, and had ache in his vaines & sinewes, that he could not well stirre his body, and that for shame, because he would not tary behinde in this warre, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were slaine six thousande of their enemies: and so long as the warres endured, he neuer gaue them aduantage of him, but patiently suffred them sometime to intrench him, and to mocke him, and geue him vile wordes, chalenging him out to fight, & yet all this would not prouoke him. It is sayd also, that *Pompeius Silo*, who was the chiefe Captaine of reputation & authority the enemies had, said vnto *Marius* on a time: if thou be *Marius*, so great a Captaine as they say thou art, leaue thy campe, & come out to battell. Nay, said *Marius* to him againe: if thou be a great Captaine, plucke me out by the eares, & copell me to come to battell. An other time when the enemies gaue them occasion to geue a great charge vpon them with aduantage: the ROMAINES were fainte hearted, and durst not let vpon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were reueryed, *Marius* caused his men to assemble, and spake vnto them in this sorte. I can not tell which of the two I should reckon most cowardes: you your selues, or your enemies: for they durst not once see your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to resigne his charge, being able to serue no longer for the weakenesse and debilitye of his body. Now, all the rebels of *ITALIE* being put downe, many at Rome (by the orators meantes) did sue to haue the charge of the warres against *Mithridates*: and among them, a Tribune of the people called *Sulpitius*, a very bold and rash man, beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred *Marius*, and perswaded them to geue him the charge of these warres, with title and authority of vice Consull. The people thereupon were deuided in two parties: for the one side

The cause of the diffention betwixt *Marius* & *Sylla*.

The warre of the confederates.

Silloes stowe challenge and *Marius* answer.

A stood for *Marius*, and thother would haue *Sylla* take the charge, saying, that *Marius* was to thinke nowe vpon the hottie bathes at Baies, to looke to cure his olde bodie, brought lowe with rewme and age, as him selfe sayd. For *Marius* had a goodly stately house in those partes neere vnto the mount of Milene, which was fatte more fine and curiously furnished, then became a Captaine that had bene in so many foughten battells and daungers: They say that *Cornelia* afterwards bought that fine house for the summe of seuen thousande five hundred crownes, and shortly after also, *Lucullus* bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thousand crownes: to so great excelle was vanitie and curiositie growen in very shorte time at Rome. Notwithstanding all this, *Marius* too ambitiously struing like a passioned young man against the weakenesse and debilitye of his age, neuer misfed day but he would be in the field of *Mars* to exercise him selfe among the young men, shewing his body disposed and ready to handle all kinde of weapons, and to ryde hories: albeit that in his latter time, he had no great health of body, because he was very heauy and sad. There were that liked that passing well in him, and went of purpose into the field to see the paines he tooke, struing to excell the rest. Howbeit those of the better sorte were very lory to see his avarice and ambition, considering specially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane persone a great estate; that he could not now containe his prosperity within reasonable boundes, nor content him selfe to be esteemed and honored, quietly enioyinge all he had wonne, and which at that present he did possesse: but as if he had bene very poore and needy, after he had receiued such great honor and triumphes, would yet cary out his age so slowly, euen into *CAPPADOCIA*, and vnto the realme of *PONT*, to goe fight there against *Archelaus*, and *Neopolemus*, Ligu tenants of king *Mithridates*. In deede he alleaged some reasons to excuse him selfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he sayd that he desired in person to bring vp his sonne in exercise of armes, and to teach him the discipline of warres. That discouered the secret hidden plague, which of long time hath lurked in Rome, *Marius* specially hauing now met with a fit instrument, and minister to destroy the common wealth, which was, the insolent and rash *Sulpitius*: who altogether followed *Saturninus* doings, lauing that he was found too cowardly & fainte hearted in all his enterprises, and for that did *Marius* iustly reprove him. But *Sulpitius*, because he would not dally nor delay time, had euer fixe hundred younge gentlemen of the order of knights, whome he vied as his gard about him, and called them the gard against the Senate. D And one day as the Consulls kept their common assembly in the market place, *Sulpitius* coming in armed upon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Consulls sonnes being taken tardy, was slaine, *Sylla* being thother Consull, and perceiving that he was followed hard at hand vnto *Marius* house, ranne into the same against the opinion of all the world: wherof that they ranne after him nor being aware, passed by the house. And it is reported that *Marius* him selfe conueyed *Sylla* safelie out at a backe dore, and that he being scaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* him selfe in his commentaries doth not say, that he was saued in *Marius* house when he fled: but that he was brought thither to geue his consent vnto a matter which *Sulpitius* would haue forced him vnto against his will, presenting him naked swordes on euery side. And he wryteth E also, that being thus forcibly brought vnto *Marius* house, he was kept there in this feare, vntill such time as returning into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adomement of iustice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done, *Sulpitius* then being the stronger, caused the commission & charge of this warres against *Mithridates* to be assigned vnto *Marius* by the voyce of the people. Therefore *Marius* geuing order for his departure, sent two of his Colonels before to take the army of *Sylla*: who hauing wonne his fouldiers harts before, and stirred them vp against *Marius*, brought them on with him directly towards Rome, being no lesse then five and thirty thousand fighting men: who setting upon the Captaines *Marius* had sent vnto them, slew them in the field: In reuenge whereof, *Marius* againe in Rome put many of *Sylla*es frendes and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by sound of trumpet, to all slaues and bondmen that would take armes for him: but there were neuer but three only that offered them selues. Whereupon, having made a litle resistance vnto *Sylla* when he came into Rome, he was soone after compelled to

Mons Misenus.

Marius ambition.

Sulpitius gard of fixe hundred knights.

Marius sedition.

*Marius fliech
from Rome.*

runne his way. *Marius* was no sooner out of the citie, but they that were in his company for-
saking him, dispersed them selues here and there being darke night: and *Marius* him selfe got
to a house of his in the contrie, called *Salonium*, and sent his sonne to one of his father in
law *Mutius* farmes not farre from thence, to make some prouision for vittells. But *Marius* in
the meane time, went before to *Ostia*, where one of his frendes *Numerius* had prepared
him a shippe, in the which he embarked immediatly, not tarying for his sonne, and hoised saile,
hauiing only *Granius* his wiues sonne with him. In the meane time the younger *Marius* beinge
at his father in law *Mutius* farme, stayed so long in getting of prouision, in trussing of it vp, and
carying it away, that broode day light had like to haue discovered him: for the enemies had
aduertisement whether he was gone, whereupon certaine horsemen were sent thither suppo-
sing to haue found him. But the keeper of the house hauing an inkling of their comminge,
and preventing them also before they came, sodainly yoked his oxen to the carte which he
loded with beanes, and hidde this younger *Marius* vnder the same. And prickinge the oxen
forward with his goade, set out, and met them as he went towards the city, and deliuered *Ma-
rius* in this sorte into his wiues house: and there taking such things as he needed, when the
night following came, went towards the sea, & tooke shippe, finding one crosse sayled, bound
towards *AFRICK*. *Marius* the father saylinge on still, had a very good winde to poyntea-
longest the coast of *ITALIE*: notwithstanding, being afrayed of one *Geminus*, a chiefe man of
TERRACINE, who hated him to the death, he gaue the maryners warning thereof betimes,
and willed them to take heede of landing at *TERRACINE*. The maryners were very willing to
obey him, but the winde stoode full against them comming from the mayne, which raised a
great storme, and they feared much that their vessell which was but a bote, would not brooke
the seas, besides that he him selfe was very sicke in his stomake, and sore sea beaten: notwith-
standing, at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recovered the coast-
ouer against the city of *CIRCES*. In the meane time, the storme increased still, and their vi-
tells failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp & downe
not knowinge what to doe, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in such li-
cates of extremitie, they thought it alwayes the best safetie for them, to flie from the place
where they were, and to hope of that which they saw not: for if the sea were their enemy, the
lande was so likewise. To meete with men, they were afrayed: and not to meete with them on
thother side lacking vittells, was in dede the greater daunger. Neuerthelesse, in the end they
met with heard men that could geue them nothing to eate, but knowing *Marius*, warned him
to get him out of the way as soone as he could possible, because it was not longe since that
there passed by a great troupe of horseme that sought him all about. And thus being brought
vnto such perplexity, that he knew not where to bestowe him selfe, and specially for that the
poore men he had in his company were almost starued for hunger: he got out of the high way
notwithstanding, and sought out a very thicke wodde where he passed all that night in great
sorrow, and the next morninge beinge compelled by necessity, determined yet to employ his
body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandered on alongest the sea coast, still comfort-
ing them that followed him the best he could, & praying them not to dispayre, but to restore
them selues to him, euen vntill the last hope, trusting in certaine prophecies which the Sooth-
sayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in
the contrie, he gathered vp in the lappe of his gowne, the ayrie of an Eagle, in the which were
seuen young Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the Soothsayers
what that ment. They answered, that their sonne one day should be one of the greatest men in
the world, and that out of doubt he should obtaine seuen times in his life the chiefe office of
dignity in his contry. And for that matter, it is sayd that so in dede it came to passe. Other hold
opinion, that such as were about *Marius* at that time, in that present place, and else where,
during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, beleued it, and afterwards put
it downe in wrytinge, as a true thinge, although of trothe it is bothe false and fayned. For
they say, that the Eagle neuer getteth but two younge ones: by reason whereof it is sayd
rayned also, that the Poet *Museus* hath lyed, in that which he hath wryten in these
veries.

*Marius found
an ayrie of
Eagles.*

A

*The Eagle layes three egges, and two she hatcheth forth:
But yet she bringeth vp but one, that any thing is worth.*

*How many
egges the
Eagle layeth.*

Howsoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Marius* many times during the time of his flying sayd,
that he was assured he should come vnto the seuenth Consulship. When they were come
neere now to the city of *MINTURNES*, about a two myle & a halfe fro it, they might perceiue
a troupe of horsemen comming by the sea side, and two shippes on the sea that fell vpon the
coast by good happe. Wherefore they all beganne to runne (so long as they had breath and
strength) towards the sea, into the which they threw them selues, and got by swimming
vnto one of the shippes where *Granius* was: and they crossed ouer vnto the Ile that is right a-
gainst it called *ENARIA*. Now for *Marius*, who was heauy and sicke of body, two of his ser-
uantes holpe to holde him vp alwayes aboue water, with the greatest paine and difficultie in
the worlde: and at the last they labored so thoroughly, that they put him into the other shippe
at the selfe same present, when the horsemen came vnto the sea side, who cried out alowde to
the maryners, to lande againe, or else throw *Marius* ouer borde, and then to goe where they
would. *Marius* on thother side humbly besought them with teares, not so to do: whereby the
masters of the shippe in a shorte space were in many mindes whether to doe it, or not to doe
it. In the ende notwithstanding, they answered the horsemen they would not throw him o-
uer the borde: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soone as they were gone,
the masters of the shippe chaunging minde, drew towards lande, and cast anchor about the
mouth of the riuer of *Liris*, where it leaueth her bankes, and maketh great marishes: & there
C they tolde *Marius* he should doe well to goe a land to eate somewhat, and refresh his sea sicke
body, till the winde serued them to make saile, which doubtlesse sayed they, will be at a cer-
taine hower when the sea winde falles and becomes calme, and that there nixeth a litle winde
from the lande, ingendred by the vapours of the marishes, which will serue the turne very well
to take seas againe. *Marius* following their counsell, and thinking they had ment good faith,
was set a lande vpon the riuers bankes: and there layed him downe upon the grasse, nothing
suspecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners presently taking their shippe
againe, and hoysing vp their ankers, failed straight away, and fled: iudging it no honesty for
them to haue deliuered *Marius* into the hands of his enemies, nor safetie for them selues to
haue faued him. *Marius* finding him selfe all alone, & forsaken of euery man, lay on the ground
D a great while, and sayd neuer a word: yet at the length taking harte a litle to him, got vp once
againe on his feete, and painefully wandred vp and downe, where was neither way nor path
at all, ouerthwart deepe marishes and great ditches, full of water and mudde, till he came at the
length to a poore olde mans corage, dwelling there in these marishes, and fallinge at his feete,
besought him to helpe to saue and succour a poore afflicted man, with promise that one day
he would geue him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present
daunger wherein he was. The olde man whether for that he had known *Marius* aforetime,
or that seeing him by coniecture only iudged him to be some great personage: told him that
if he ment but to lye downe and rest him selfe a litle, his poore cabyne would serue that turne
reasonably well: but if he ment to wander thus, to sic his enemies that followed him, he would
E then bring him into a more secret place, and farder off from noyse. *Marius* prayed him that
he would so much doe for him: and the good man brought him into the marishes, vnto a low
place by the riuers side, where he made him lye downe, and then couered him with a great
deale of reede and bent, and other such light thinges as could not hurte him. He had not long
bene there, but he heard a great noyse comming towards the cabin of the poore old man: for
Geminus of *TERRACINE* had sent men all about to seeke for him, whereof some by chance
came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatened him that he had receiued and
hidden an enemy of the *ROMAINES*. *Marius* hearing that, rose out of the place where the
old man had layed him, and stripping him selfe stark naked, went into a parte of the marish
where the water was full of myre and mudde, and there was founde of those that searched for
F him: who takinge him out of the slime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of *MINTURNES*,
and deliuered him there into the gouernours hands. Open proclamation was made
by the Senate through all *ITALIE*, that they should apprehend *Marius*, and kill him where-
RR iij

Liris fl.

*Marius set a
land, and for-
saken of the
mariners.*

*Marius hid-
den in the
marishes.*

Marius seekt.

THE

fewer they founde him. Notwithstanding, the gouernors and magistrates of MINTURNES thought good first to consult therupon amongst them selues, & in the meane time they deliuered him into the safe custody of a woman called *Fannia*, whom they thought to haue bene a bitter enemy of his, for an old grudge she had to him, which was this: *Fannia* sometime had a husband called *Tinnius*, whom she was willing to leaue for that they could not agree, and required her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husbande againe sayed, she had played the whore. The matter was brought before *Marius* in his sixt Consulshippe, who had geuen iudgement upon it. Both parties being heard, and the law prosecuted on either side, it was found that this *Fannia* was a naughty woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it well enough before he married her, yet tooke her with her faultes, and long time liued with her. Wherefore *Marius* beinge with them both, gaue sentence that the husband should repay backe her dower, and that for her naughty life, she should pay foure farthings. This notwithstanding, when *Fannia* saw *Marius*, she grudged him not for that, and least of all had any reuenging minde in her towards him, but contrarily did comforte and helpe him what she could with that she had. *Marius* thanked her maruelously for it, and bad her hope well because he met with good lucke as he was comming to her house, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neere to *Fannias* house, her dore being open, there came an affe running out to go drinke at a conduit: not farre from thence: and meeting *Marius* by the way, looked upon him with a liuely ioyfull countenance, first of all stopping sodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out alowde, and to leape and skippe by him. Whereupon *Marius* straight coniecturing with him selfe, said, that the goddess did signifie vnto him, that he should saue him selfe sooner by water then by lande: because that the affe leauing him, came to drinke, and cared not to eate. So when he had tolde *Fannia* this tale, he desired to rest, and prayed them to let him alone, and to shut the chamber dore to him. But the magistrates of the citie hauing consulted together about him, in the ende resolued they must deferre no longer time, but dispatche him out of the way presently. Now when they were agreed upon it, they could not finde a man in the citie that durst take upon him to kill him: but a man of armes of the *GAULES*, or one of the *CIMBERS* (for we finde both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his sword drawn in his hande. Now, that place of the chamber wherein *Marius* lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he saw two burninge flames come out of *Marius* eyes, and heard a voyce out of that darke corner, saying vnto him: O fellowe, thou, darest thou come to kill *Caius Marius*? The barbarous *GAULE* hearing these wordes, ranne out of the chamber presently, casting his sword in the midst of the flower, and crying out these wordes onely: I can not kill *Caius Marius*. This made the *MINTURNIANS* afraied in the city at the first, but afterwards it moued them to compassion. So they were angry with them selues, and did repent them that they conuerted their counsell to so cruell and vnkinde a deede, against one that had preferred all *ITALIE*: and to deny him aide in so extreame necessary, it was too great a sinne. Therefore let vs let him go, sayed they to them selues, where he will, and suffer him take his fortune appointed him else where: and let vs pray to the goddess to pardon this offence of ours, to haue thrust *Marius* naked and beggerly out of our city. For these considerations, the *MINTURNIANS* went altogether to *Marius* where he was, and stood about him, determining to see him safely conducted vnto the sea side. Now though euery man was ready, and willing to pleasure him, some with one thing, some with another, and that they did hasten him all they could possible, yet they were a good while a going thither: because there was a wodde called *Marica*, that lay right in their way betwene their city and the sea coast which they greatly reuerence, & thinke it a scriledge to cary any thing out of that wodde, that was once brought into it. On thother side, to leaue to goe through this wodde, and to compasse it rounde about, it would aske maruelous long time. So they standing all in doubt what they should doe, one of the ancientest men of the city, spake alowde vnto them, and said: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to saue *Marius* life. Then *Marius* him selfe being the foremost man, taking vp some of the fardells which they caried with him, to pleasure him in the ship, went through the wodde. All other things necessary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwill,

Fannias comforted *Marius*.

One hired to kill *Marius*.

The *Minturnians* suffered *Marius* to go his way with safety.

Marica Sylva.

A and specially the shippe which one *Bellus* had ordained for him: he caused all this storie to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke shippe. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune caried him into the Ile of *ENARIA*, where he founde *GRAMIN* and some other of his frendes, with whom he tooke feagaine, and pointed towards *AFRICK*. But lacking water, they were compelled to lande in *SICILIA*, in the territory of the city of *ERIX*: where by chance there laye a *ROMAINE* Quæstor, who kept that coast. *Marius* being landed there, escaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he slue sixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So *Marius* getting him thence with all speede, crossed the seas, vntill he arrived in the Ile of *MENYNGE*, where he first vnderstoode that his sonne was saued with *Cethegus*, and that they were both together gone to *Hiempsal* king of the *NUMIDIANS* to beseeche him of ayde. This gaue him a litle corage, & made him bold to passe out of that Ile, into the coast of *CARTHAGE*. Nowe at that time, *Sextilius* a *ROMAINE* Prætor was gouernor of *AFRICK*, vnto whom *Marius* had neuer done good nor hurt, & therefore he hoped, that for pity only he might perhaps haue helpe at his hande. Howbeit he was no sooner landed with a few of his men, but a sergeant came straight and sayd vnto him: *Sextilius*, Prætor and gouernor of *LIBYA*, doth forbid thee to lande in all this prouince: otherwise he telleth thee, that he will obay the Senates commaundement, and pursue thee as an enemy of the *ROMAINE*s. *Marius* hearing this commaundement, was so angry and fory both, that he coulde not readily tell what answer to make him, and pawled a good while and sayd neuer a word, still eying the sergeant with a grimme looke: vntill he asked him, what answer he would make, to the Prætors commaundement. *Marius* then fetching a deepe sigh from his harte, gaue him this answer. Thou shalt tell *Sextilius*, that thou hast seene *Caius Marius* banished out of his countrey, sitting amongst the ruines of the city of *CARTHAGE*. By this answer, he wisely layed the example of the ruine and destruction of that great city of *CARTHAGE*, before *Sextilius* eyes, and the change of his fortune: to warne *Sextilius* that the like might fall vpon him. In the meane time, *Hiempsal* king of the *NUMIDIANS*, not knowing how to resolue, did honorably increate young *Marius* and his companie. But when they were willing to goe their way, he alwayes founde newe occasion to stay them, and was very glad to see that he started not for any opportunity or good occasion that was offered: notwithstanding, there fortuned a happy meane D vnto them, whereby they saued them selues. And this it was. This *Marius* the younger being a fayer complexioned young man, it pitied one of the kinges concubines to see him so hardly delid withall. This pity of hers was a shadow to cloke the loue she bare him: but *Marius* would not hearken at the first to her intimentes, and refused her. Yet in the ende, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and considering that he did all things for their auail, more diligently and louingly then he would haue done, if the had not ment further matter vnto him, then only to enioy the pleasure of him: he then accepted her loue and kindnesse, so as at the length he taught him a way howe to fflye, and saue him selfe and his frendes. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had embraced and saluted eche other, going alongest the sea side, they founde two *Scorpions* fightinge together. *Marius* tooke this E for an ill signe: wherupon they quickly tooke a fisher boate, and went into the Ile of *CHERTINA*, which is no great distance of from firme lande. They had no sooner hoised vp anchor, but they sawe the horse men which kinge *Hiempsal* had sent vnto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greatest daungers that *Marius* euer escaped. In the meane time there was newes at *ROME*, that *Silla* made warre against kinge *Mithridates* *LEUCOTENANTES*: and furthermore, that the Consulls being vp in armes thoe against thother, *OSTIENS* wanne the battell, and being the stronger had driuen out *Cinna*, who sought to haue usurped tyrannicall power, and had made *Cornelius Murela* Consul in his place: and that *Cinna* on thother side leauied men out of other partes of *ITALIE*, and made warres vpon them that were in *ROME*. *Marius* hearing of this diffention, thought good to returne as soon as he F could possible into *ITALIE*. And assembling certaine horsemen of the nation of the *MAVRSIANS* in *AFRICK*, & certaine *ITALIANS* that had saued them selues there, vnto the number of a thousand men in all: he tooke sea, & landed in a hauen of *THYSCANS* called *TELEMON*,

Marius the elder fleeth into *Africke*.

Marius wife answers of fortune inconsistency.

Marius the younger escapes by *Hyeron*'s hands.

Cinna driven out of *Rome* by *Ostiens*.

and being landed, proclaimed by founde of tromper, liberty to all slaues and bonde men that A would come to him. So the laborers, heard men, and neateheardes of all that marche, for the onely name and reputation of *Marius*, ranne to the sea side from all partes: of the which he hauing chosen out the stoutest and lustiest of them, wanne them so by fayer wordes, that hauing gathered a great companie together in fewe dayes, he made fortie fayer of them. Furthermore, knowing that *Ottavius* was a maruelous honest man, that would haue no authoritie otherwise then law & reason would: and that *Cinna* to the contrarie was suspected of *Sylla*, and that he sought to bring in change and innouation to the common wealth, he determined to ioyne his force with *Cinna*. So *Marius* sent first vnto *Cinna*, to lette him vnderstande that he would obay him as Consul, and be ready to do all that he should commaunde him. *Cinna* receiued him, and gaue him the title and authoritie of Viceconsull, and sent him sergeants to carie axes and rodde before him, with all other signes of publicke authoritie. But *Marius* refused them, and sayed, that pompe became not his miserable fortune: for he euer went in a poore threede bare gowne, and hadler his heare grow still after he was banished, being about three score and tenne yeare olde, and had a fober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that sawe him. But vnder all this counterfeite pitie of his, he neuer changed his namall looke, which was euer more fearefull and terrible, then otherwise. And where he spake but litle, & went very demurely & soberly: that shewed rather a cankered corage within him, then a minde humbled by his banishment. Thus when he had saluted *Cinna*, and spoken to the souldiers: he then beganne to set things abroache, and made a wonderfull change in fewe dayes. For first of all, with his shippes he cut off all the vittells by sea, & robbed the marchants that caried corne and other vittells to Rome: so that in a shorte space he was master purueyer for all necessarie prouision and vittells. After this he went alongest the coast, and tooke all the cities upon the sea side, and at the length wanne O SYRIA also by treason, put the most parte of them in the towne to the sword, and spoyled all their goodes: and afterwards making a bridge upon the riuier of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to haue any manner of prouision by sea. That done, he went directly towards Rome with his armie, where first he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through *Ottavius* faulte: who ouerthrew him selfe in his doings, not so much for lacke of reasonable skill of warres, as through his vnprofitable curiositie and stinnes in obseruing the law. For when diuerselie did perswade him to set the bond men at liberty, to take armes for defence of the common wealth: he aunswered, that he would neuer geue bond men the law and priuiledge of a ROMEINE citizen, hauing driuen Caius Marius out of Rome, to maintaine the authoritie of the lawe. But when *Casilius Metellus* was come to Rome, the sonne of that *Metellus Numidicus*, that hauing begonne the warres in LIBYA against king *Iugurthe*, was put out by *Marius*: the souldiers forooke *Ottavius* immediatly, and came vnto him, because they tooke him to be a better Capitaine, and desired also to haue a leader that could tell how to commaund them, to saue the citie, and the common wealth. For they promised to fight valiantly, & perswaded them selues that they should overcome their enemies, so that they had a skilfull & valiant Capitaine that could order them. *Metellus* mistaking their offer, commaunded them in anger to returne againe vnto the Consul: but they for spite went vnto their enemies. *Metellus* on thother side, seeing no good order taken in the citie to resist the enemies, got him out of Rome. But *Ottavius* being perswaded by certaine Soothsayers and CHALDEAN sacrificers, who promised him all should goe well with him, taried still in Rome. For that man being otherwise, as wise as any ROMEINE of his time, and one that delt as vprightly in his Consulshippe, not caried away with flattering tales, and one also that followed the auncient orders and customes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any parte thereof: me thinks yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the Soothsayers, wise men, and astronomers, more then men skilfull in armes and gouernment. Wherefore, before that *Marius* him selfe came into the citie, *Ottavius* was by force pluckt out of the pulpit for orations, and slaine presently by *Marius* souldiers, whome he had sent before into the citie. And it is sayed also, that when he was slaine, they founde a figure of a CHALDEAN prophecie in his bosome: and here is to be noted a great contrarietie in these two notable men, *Ottavius* and *Marius*. The first lost his life, by trusting to soothsaying: and the seconde prospered,

Marius ioy-
neth force
with *Cinna*.

Ottavius ne-
gligence in
defence of
the citie of
Rome, against
Cinna & *Ma-
rius*.

Ottavius too
much given
to Soothsayers.
Ottavius ver-
ue end im-
perfection.

Ottavius
slaine by *Ma-
rius* souldiers.
A great con-
trariety in a
fyrmyng.

A prospered, & rose againe, because he did not despise the arte of diuination. The state of Rome standing then in this manner, the Senate consulting together, sent Ambassadors vnto *Cinna* and *Marius*, to pray them to come peaceably into Rome, and not to embroile their hands with the blood of their citizens. *Cinna* sitting in his chayer as Consul, gaue them audience, & made them a very reasonable and courteous aunswere. *Marius* standing by him, spake neuer a worde: but hewed by his fower looke that he would straight fill Rome with murder and blood. So when the Ambassadors were gone, *Cinna* came into Rome enuironned with a great number of souldiers: but *Marius* stayed sodainly at the gate, speaking partly in anger, and partly in mockerie, that he was a banished man, and driuen out of his contrie by law. And therefore if they would haue him come into Rome againe, they should first by a contrarie decree abolish B and reuoke that of his banishment, as if he had bene a religious obseruer of the lawes, and as though Rome had at that present enioyed their freedom and libertie. Thus he made the people assemble in the market place to proceede to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to geue their voices, disguising the matter no longer, and showing plainly that he ment not to be lawfully called home againe from exile: he came into Rome with a garde about him, of the veriest rascalls, & most shamelesse slaues, called the BARDIOEANS, who came to him from all partes: and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinkling of his eye, or at a nodde of his head made to them, flew many men through his commaundement, and at the length slew *Ancharius* a Senator (that had bene Praetor) at *Marius* feete with their swordes, because only that *Marius* did not salute him when he came one C day to speake with him. After this murder, they continued killinge all them that *Marius* did not salute, and spake vnto: for that was the very signe he had geuen them, to kill them openly in the streetes before euery man, so that his very frendes were asfearde of being murdered, when they came to salute him. Thus being a great number of men slaine, *Cinna* in the end beganne to be satisfied, and to appease his anger. But *Marius* anger and vnstable desire of reuenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him neuer so litle: and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skowtes & spies, to hunt them out that hidde them selues and fled. Then experience taught them, that no frende is faithfull, and to be trusted, if fortune especially frowne neuer so litle: for there were very fewe that did not betray their frendes that fled to them for succor. And therefore doe *Cornelius* seruantes so D much the more deserue praise, who hauing secretly hidden their master in his house, did hang vp the dead body of some common persone by the necke, and hauing put a golde ring on his finger, they shewed him to the BARDIOEANS, *Marius* garde, and buried him in steade of their owne master, without suspition of any man that it was a fained thing: and so *Cornelius* being hidden by his seruantes, was safely conueyed into the contrie of GAULE. Marke *Anthony* the Orator had also founde out a faithfull frende, yet was he vnfortunate. This faithfull frend of his, was a poore simple man, who hauing receiued one of the chiefe men of Rome into his house to kepe him close there: he being desirous to make him the best chere he could with that litle he had, sent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetch wine, and raising the wine more curiously then he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer asked him, why E the new ordinary wine would not serue him, but he must needs haue of the best and dearest: the foolish fellow simply aunswered him (telling him as his familiar frend) that his master did feast Marke *Anthony*, who was hidden very secretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his wine, & his backe turned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne vnto *Marius*, who was set at supper when he came. The drawer being brought to him, promised him to deliuer Marke *Anthony* into his handes. *Marius* hearing that, was so ioconde, that he cried out, and clapt his handes together for ioy: and would haue risen from the borde, and gone thither him selfe in person, had not his frendes kept him backe. But he sent *Annus* one of his Capitaines thither with a certaine number of souldiers, and commaunded them to bringe him his head quickly. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had F brought them to, *Annus* taried beneath at the dore, and the souldiers went vp the stayers into the chamber, & finding *Anthony* there, they beganne to encourage one an other to kill him, not one of them hauing the harte to lay handes vpon him. For *Anthones* tongue was as

Cinna and
Marius entry
into Rome.

Bardioi,
Marius can-
sed greuous-
der in Rome.

Marius
cruelitie.

Small trust of
frendes in ad-
uersitie.
The faithfull-
nes of *Cornelius*
seruantes
to their mas-
ter.

M. Antonius
the Orator,
betrayed by a
taverner.

The force of eloquence.

Catulus Lucatius killed him selfe.

The Bardi-ans slaine of their Captains for their crueltie.

Marius se-wards Consul-ship.

Marius thought and feared.

Dreife to winne sleepe.

sweete as a Sirene, and had such an excellent grace in speaking, that when he began to speake vnto the fouldiers, and to pray them to faue his life: there was not one of them so hard hearted, as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewardes, selt weeping. *Annus* perceiving they taried long, and came not downe, went him selfe vp into the chamber, and found *Anthony* talking to his fouldiers, and them weeping, his sweete eloquent tongue had so melted their hartes: but he rating them, ranne furiously apon him, and strake of his head with his owne handes. And *Catulus Lucatius* also, that had bene Consul with *Marius*, and had triumphed ouer the *CIMBERS* with him, seeing him selfe in this perill, set men to intreate *Marius* for him: but his aunswere was euer, he must needs dye. So *Catulus* locked him selfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the smoke thereof choked him selfe. Now after their heades were cut of, they threw out the naked bodies into the streetes, and trode them vnder their feete: the which was not onely a pitiefull, but a fearefull sight to all that sawe them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieved the people so much, as the horrible lechery & abhominable cruelty of this gard of the *BARDIANS*, who coming into mens houses by force, after they had slaine the masters, desiled their young children, and rauished their wiues and maidens, & no man would once reprove their crueltie, lecherie, and vnstatiable auarice: vntill *Cinna* and *Sertorius* in the end set apon them as they slept in their campe, and slewe them euery one. But in this extremitie, as if all things had bene restored vnto their first estate, newes came againe from all partes to *ROME*, that *Sylla* hauing ended his warre against king *Mithridates*, and recouered the prouinces which he had vsurped: returned into *ITALIE* with a great power. This caused these euills and vnspokeable miseries to cease a litle, because the wicked doers of the same looked they should haue warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereuppon *Marius* was chosen Consul the seuenth time. He going out of his house onely the first day of Ianuarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take possession of his Consulshippe: caused one *Sexus Lucius* to be thrown downe headlong from the rocke *Tarpeian*, which seemed to be a great signe and certaine token of the euills and miseries, that fell out afterwards the selfe same yeare apon them of their faction, and vnto all the citie beside. But *Marius* being fore broken with his former troubles, and his minde oppressed with extreame sorow and griefe, could not now at this last time of neede plucke vp his harte to him againe, when he came to thinke of this newe toward warre that threatened him, and of the daungers, griefes, and troubles he should enter into, more great and perillous then any he had passed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he beganne to thinke of it, considering that he had to fight, not with *Octavius*, nor with *Mercula*, Captaines of a companie of rebels gathered together: but with anoble *Sylla*, that had driuen him out of *ROME* before, and that came now from driuing the puissant king *Mithridates*, vnto the furddest parte of the realme of *PONT*, and of the sea *Euxinum*. Thus, deeply waying and considering the fame, and specially when he looked backe vpon his long time of banishment, how vacabondlike he wandered vp and downe in other contries, and remembered the great misfortunes he had passed, and the sundrie daungers he fell to often into, being pursued still by sea and by land: it grieved him to the harte, and made him so vnquiet, that he could not sleepe in the night, or if he slept, he had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voyce buffing in his eares.

A Lyons very denne, is dreadfull to behold:

Though he him selfe be gone abroade, and be not therein hold.

But fearing most of all that he should no more sleepe and take his rest, he gaue him selfe to make vnreasonable bankets, and to drinke more then his yeres could beare, seeking to winne sleepe by this meanes, to auoyde care the better. But at the length there came one from the sea, that gaue him certaine intelligence of all: & that was an increase of a new feare vnto him. And thus he being now extremely troubled, partly for feare of the thing to come, & partly also for the ouer heauie burden of his present ill, there needed but litle more aggravation, for fall into the disease whereof he dyed, which was a pleurisie: as *Polidonius* the Philosopher wryteth, who sayeth plainly that he went into his chamber when he was sicke, and spake vnto him

A him about matters of his Ambassade, for the which he came to *ROME*. Yet an other historiographer *Caius Pifowryteth*, that *Marius* walking one day after supper with his frendes, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him: concluding, that it is no wife mans parte to trust her any more. So when he had done, he tooke his leaue of them, and layed him downe vpon his bed, where he lay sicke seuen dayes together, and on the seuenth day dyed. Some wryte that his ambition appeared plainly, by a straunger rauiing that tooke him in his head during his sickenes. For he thought that he made warres with *Mithridates*, and shewed in his bed all his gestures and moouings of his bodie, as if he had bene in a battell, crying the selfe same cryes out alowde, which he was wont to crie when he was in the extreamest fight. The desire he had to haue taken this charge in hande against *Mithridates*, was so deeply settled in his minde through extreame ambition and ieaousy that posselt him: that being then three score and ten yeare old, after he had bene the first man that euer was chosen seuen times Consul in *ROME*, and also after that he had gotten a world of goodes and richesse together that might haue sufficed many kinges: yet for all this he dyed for sorrowe, lamenting his harde fortune, as if he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had desired. But this was cleane contrarie vnto that the wise *Plato* did, when he drew neere to his death. For he gaue God thanks for his fatal end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reasonable man, and no brute beast: secondly, a Greke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in *Socrates* time. It is reported also, that one *Antipater* of *THARSIS*, calling to mind a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forgette amonge other things, to tell of the happie navigation he made, coming from his contrie vnto *ATHENS*: which did witnesse that he put vpon the fyle of his good accompts for a singular great grace, all fauor fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetual memorie, being the onely and most assured treasure a man can haue, to kepe those gifts that nature or fortune doe bestowe vpon him. But contrariwise, vnthankfull fooles vnto God and nature both, doe forget with time the memory of their former benefittes, and laying vp nothing, nor keeping it in perpetuall memory, are alwayes voyde of goodes and full of hope, gaping still for things to come & leauing in the meane time the things present, though reason perswades them the contrary. For fortune may easily let the of the thing to come, but she can not take that from the which D is already past: and yet they vtterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging vnto the, & dreame alwayes of that which is vncertaine. And sure it chaunceth to them by great reason. For, hauing gathered outward goodes together, and locking them vp before they haue built and layd a sure grounded foundation of reason through good learning: they can not afterwards fill nor quenche their vnstatiable greedie couetous minde. Thus ended *Marius* his life, the seuenteenth day of his seuenth Consulshippe, whereof all the citie of *ROME* was not a litle glad, and tooke harte againe vnto them, supposing they had then bene deliuered from a bloodie cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their cost, that they had chaunged an olde master taken out of the worlde, for a younger that came but newly to them: such extreame vnnaturall cruelties, & murders did *Marius* the younger commit, after the death of his father *Marius*, murdering in manner all the chiefe noble men of *ROME*. At the first, they tooke him for a valliant and hardy young man, whereuppon they named him the sonne of *Mars*: but shortly after his deedes did shew the contrary, and then they called him the sonne of *Venus*. In the end he was shut in, and besieged by *Sylla* in the city of *PERYSTIA*, where he did what he could possible to faue his life, but all was in vaine: & lastly, seeing no way to escape, the city being taken, he slewe him selfe with his owne handes.

The end of Caius Marivs life.

Marius the fathers death.

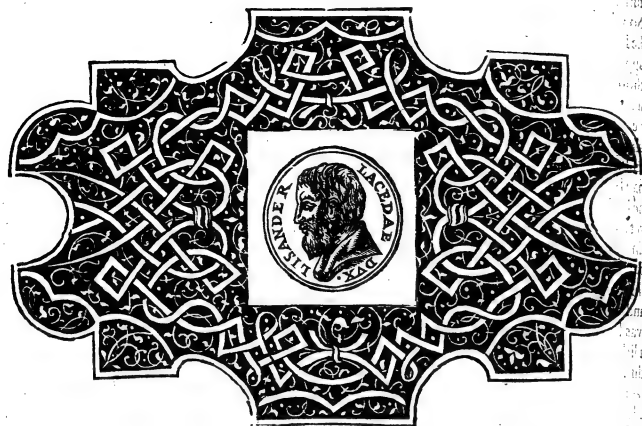
Marius mad ambition.

A more against the ambitious.

Platoes words at his death.

Notice that in *Syllas* life following in apperth, that *Marius* the younger was besieged in the city of *Perustia*, and not in *Perusia* as verwell here. So as the city seemeth to be miswrit in one of these lines.

THE LIFE OF Lysander.



Lysander
image.

Lycurgus the
author of
wearing long
haire.
The com-
dise of wea-
ring long
haire.
Lysander
kined.

The educa-
on of the La-
conian chil-
dren.

IN the treasure of the A CANTHIANS, which is in the temple of Apollo at DELPHES, there is this inscription: *Brasidas*, and the A CANTHIANS, with the spoile of the A THENIANS. That inscription maketh many men thinke, that the image of stone that standeth within the chamber by the dore thereof, is the image of *Brasidas*: howbeit in truth it is the liuelike image of *Lysander* him selfe, made with a great bush of haire, & a thicke long beard after the old auncient facion. And where some say that the ARGIVES, after they were overcome and had lost a great battell, did all of them shawe them selues in token and signe of common sorrow: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS on thother side to shewe the ioy of their victory, did all let their heares growe, that is not true. No more then this is true which other do reporte of the BACCHIADÆS: who being fled from CORINTHE VNTO LACEDÆMON, the LACEDÆMONIANS founde them so ill fauoredly disguised and deformed, because their heares were all shauen, that thereupon they had a desire to let their heare and beards grow. For this was one of the ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, who sayd that the long bushe of haire, maketh them that are naturally fayer, the pleasaunter to looke vpon: and those that are ill fauored, more ougly and fearefull to see to. And furthermore, it is sayd that *Aristoclitus*, the father of *Lysander*, was not of the royall blood of the kinges of SPARTA, though he came of the race of the *Heraclides*: and that his sonne *Lysander* was very meanelly and poorly brought vp; being as obedient to the lawes and statutes of his contrie, as any other man was, showing him selfe alwayes very strong and constant against all vanitie and pleasure, sauing only in matters of honor and curtesie, which they offer vnto those that deserue well. For they thinke it no shame nor dishonour in SPARTA, that the young men doe suffer them selues to be overcome with that delite and pleasure: but doe so bring vp their children, that from their youth they would haue them to haue some taste and feeling of honor, delighting to be praised, and forie to be discomended. For they make no accompt of him that is not moued with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to doe good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and stownesse that was bred in *Lysander*, pro-
ceded

A seed of the LACEDÆMONIALL discipline and education he had; and not so much of his owne nature. But in dede of his owne nature he was a right courtier, & could tell howe to entertaine and flatter great states and nobility, farre better then the common manner of the NATURAL SPARTANS: and moreover for his priuate benefit, he could easily beare with the flowryes of greater men of authority then him selfe, which some iudge to be a great poynt of wisdom; to know how to deale in matters of state. *Aristotle* in a place where he layeth, that the greatest wittes commonly are subiect vnto melancholye; (as *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) wryteth, that *Lysander* in his later age fell into the melancholy disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift aboue all other, that in his pouerty he alwayes kept that honest modesty with him; as he would neuer be overcome nor corrupted with gold nor silver: and yet he filled his contrie with riches and couetousnes, which lost him the reputation he had wonne; because him selfe made none accompt of riches nor getting. For bringing store of golde and silver into his contrie after he had ouercomen the A THENIANS, he refused not vnto him selfe one Drachma only. And furthermore, when *Dionysius* the tyrant of SYRACUSA, had on a time sent goodly riche gownes out of SICILIA to his daughters: he refused them, saying, that he was affrayed such gownes would make them fowler. Neuerthelesse, shortly after being sent Ambassadors out of his contrie vnto the same tyrant, *Dionysius* sending him two gownes, praying him to chooseth which of the two he would cary to his daughter: he answered, that she her selfe could best chooseth which was the fitter, and so caryed both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes: the warres of PELOPONNESVS fell out maruelous long. For after the overthrow of the armie which the A THENIANS had sent into SICILIA, when euery man thought they had vterly lost all their force by sea, and that by all coniecture they shoulde soone after loose all by lande also: *Alcibiades* returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the state, made an exceeding great chaunge and alteration. For he set the A THENIANS a flote againe, and made them as strong by sea as the LACEDÆMONIANS: who thereupon beganne to quake for feare, and to looke eftsoones for a freshe warre, perceiuing that they stood in neede of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Whereupon they made *Lysander* their Admirall, who arriuing in the citie of EPHEVS, founde them very well affected towards him, and maruelous willing and ready to take the LACEDÆMONIANS parte: howbeit otherwise in very pouere state, and ready almost to take vp all the barbarous manners and facions of the PERSIANS, because they did continually frequent them, being enuironned round about with the contry of LYDIA, where the king of PERSIAES Capitaines were euer resident. Wherefore, hauing planted his campe there, he brought thither marchauntes shippes out of all partes, and sette vp an arsenal or store house to builde gallies in: so that in shorte space, by oft recourse of marchauntes that beganne to trade thither, he quickened their hauens, and let vp their staple againe for trafficke of marchaundise, and filled euery priuate artificers house with an honest trade to make them riche by, so that euer after it grewe in continuall hope to come vnto that flourishing state and greatnes, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, *Lysander* being aduertised that *Cyrus*, one of the great king of PERSIAES sonnes, was come vnto the city of SARDIS, he went thither to speake with him, and to com-
E plain of *Tisaphernes*: who hauing commaundement geuen him from the king to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and to helpe to expulse the A THENIANS, and to driue them from the sea, seemed to deale but coldly and faintly against them, for the fauor he bare to *Alcibiades*. For, furnishing the LACEDÆMONIANS very scantily with money, was an occasion that all their armie by sea went to wracke. *Cyrus* for his owne parte was very glad that he heard complaintes of *Tisaphernes*, and that they spake against him: because he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had him selfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherefore he loued *Lysander* maruelous well, as well for the complaintes he made of *Tisaphernes*, as also for the pleasure he tooke in his companie, because he was a man that could wonderfully please & delite noble men: by which means hauing wonne the fauor of this young Prince, he did perswade, and also incourage him to follow this warre. And when *Lysander* was vpon his departure to take his leaue of him, *Cyrus* sealed him, and afterwards prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberalitie, and that was: that he would freely aske him what he would, assuring him he should not be denied any
SS

Lysander
manners.

Lysander
manners.
Lysander a
despiser of
riches.

Lysander
words of Dio-
nysius libera-
lie.

Lysander
admirall for the
Lacedæmonians
as by sea.

Lysander
admirall for the
Lacedæmonians
as by sea.

Lysander
enlargeth the
cite of Ephesus.

Sardis a cite
in Lydia.

*Lysander
sight money
for paye of his
souldiers.*

*Lysanders
victorie of
the Atheni-
ans by sea.*

*Cheronefus
a contry in
Thracia.*

*Callicratidas
Lysanders
successor in
his office of
admirallie.
Plenies
commended for
a vertue, but
liked as an
old image of
a god that
had bene ex-
cellent faier.
The flight
of Lysander
to Callicra-
tid.*

thing. Wherunto *Lysander* answered him. *Sithence I see Cyrus* you are so willing to please vs, I beseeche you, and doe also counsell you then to increase the ordinarie pay of our maryners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they haue but three halfe pence, they may thenceforth receaue two pence a day. *Cyrus* was glad to heare *Lysanders* bouny, and the increase that he would make, and caused tenne thousande Darickes to be deliuered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinarie pay of the maryners, the increase of a halfe penny a day. This liberality, within few dayes after, emptied all their enemies galleies of their men. For, the most parte of their maryners & galley men went where they might haue the best pay: and such as remained behinde, became very dull, lasie, and seditious, dayly troubling their Capitaines and gouernors. Now though *Lysander* had drawn his enemies men from them by this policie, and had done this great hurte, yet he durst not fight it out by sea, fearing the worthines of *Alciades*: who was a valliant man, and had greater store of shippes then he had, and besides that, was neuer overcome by lande nor by sea, in any battell where he was General. So it chanced, that *Alciades* went out of the Ile of *Samos*, vnto the city of *Phocæa*, which standeth vpon firme lande directly ouer against *Samos*, and leauing the whole charge of his flecte in his absence, with *Antiochus* his pylot: he being more hardie then wife, in some derision of *Lysander*, went with two galleies only into the haven of *Ephesus*, and went by the arifenal (where all their shippes lay in docke) with great noyse and laughing. This put *Lysander* in such a heate and chafe, that first of all he put a fewe galleies to the sea, and had him in chafe with them. But afterwards, perceiving that the other Capitaines of the *Athenians* came out one after another to the rescue, he armed other galleies also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at the length they came to a maine battell, which *Lysander* wanne, & hauing taken fiftene of their galleies, he set vp a token of triumphe and victory. When the peoples *Athenians* heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were so angrie with *Alciades*, that they discharged him presently of his charge: and the souldiers also that lay in campe in the Ile of *Samos*, beganne to mislike him, and to speake ill of him. Whereupon he presently left his campe, and went into the contry of *Cheronefus* in *Thracia*. This battell was more spoken of then there was cause, by reason of *Alciades* reputation. Furthermore, *Lysander* causinge the stowttest and boldest men of euery city, aboue the common sorte, to come to *Ephesus* vnto him: layed there secret foundations of great change and alteration, which he stablished afterwarde in the gouernmentes of cities. For he perswaded his priuate frendes to make tribes amongst them selues to winne them frendes, and to practise to gette the rule of their cities into their handes: promising them, that so soone as the *Athenians* were ouerthrowen, they them selues also should be deliuered from subiection of their people, and euery one of them should beare chiefe rule in their contry. And this he performed to them all, and made euery one of them proue his wordes true. For he preferred all them that had bene his olde frendes, vnto the best offices and charges: not sparing to doe against all right and reason, so that they were aduanced by it. And thus by this meanes, euery man came to take his part, and they all sought and desired to gratifie and please him: hoping, that what great matter soeuer fell out, they assured theselues in manner that they should obtaine it of him, when he came to haue the gouernment in his owne handes. And therefore they nothing reioyced at *Callicratidas* comming, who came to succede him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and iust a man as coulde be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerninge which was plaine, and without any arte or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his vertue, as they would haue done the image of some demy god made after the olde facion, which had bene of singular beawty. But in the meane time, they wished for *Lysander*, as well for the tender loue and good will he bare to his frendes and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him. So when *Lysander* tooke the seas to returne home againe, all they that were in the campe, were as sory as could be possible, inso much as the teares stooode in their eyes: and he on thother side, studied to make them worse affected vnto *Callicratidas*. For amongst many other things, he sent the rest of the money backe againe to *Sardis*, which *Cyrus* had geuen him to pay the maryners: saying, that *Callicratidas* should go him selfe to aske it, if he would haue it, and finde the meanes to entertaine his

A his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliuer, leaue, and assigne ouer the armie into his handes, commanding all the sea. But *Callicratidas*, to ouercome his false ambition, and fowle boasting lyed answered him againe, and saied. If that be true thou saiest, come then and deliuer me the galleies in the city of *Miletum*, as thou goest by, before the Ile of *Samos*: for sith thou commandeest all the sea, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in *Samos*. *Lysander* thereto replied, that the armie was no more at his commaundement, and that he had the charge ouer them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly vnto *Pheloponnessus*, and left *Callicratidas* in great perplexity. For he had brought no money out of his contry with him, neither would he compell the cities to furnishe him with any, feelinge that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to goe to the Lieutenantes of the king of *Persia*, to aske them money as *Lysander* had done. But he was the vnmeettest man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberrall nature, and thought it lesse dishonor & reprocche vnto the *Grecians*, to be overcome by other *Grecians*, then to goe flatter the barbarous people, and seeke to them that had gold & siluer enough, but otherwise, no goodnes nor honesty. In the end notwithstanding, making vertue of necessity, he tooke his iorney towards *Lydia*, and went directly to *Cyrus* court: where at his first comming he willed them to let him vnderstand, that *Callicratidas* the Admirall of the *Lacedæmonians* would speake with him. One of the souldiers that warded at the gate, told him: my frende, syr straunger, *Cyrus* is not at leasure nowe, for he is set at dinner. *Callicratidas* answered him plainly againe: no force, I willy tarry here till he haue dined. The barbarous *Persians* hearing this, tooke him for some plaine lowte, and so he went his waye the first time with a mocke at their handes. But the second time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and returned backe (as he came) to the cite of *Ephesus*, cursing and banning them that at the first had so much embased them selues, as to goe sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proud and stately for their goodes and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soone as he came to *Sparta* againe, he would doe all that he could possible to pacifie the *Grecians*, & let them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, & also that they should medle with them no more, nor neede their aide to destroy one another. But *Callicratidas* hauing the noble hate of a *Spartan*, and being to be compared in iustice, valliancy, and greatnes of corage, with the most excellent *Grecians* in his time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost vpon the Iles *Arginuses*. Wherefore, the confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* seeing that their state was in declining, they all together sent an Ambassade vnto *Sparta*, by whom they made request to the counsell, that they would send *Lysander* againe for their Admirall, promising that they would do all things with better corage & goodwill vnder his conduction, then they would vnder any other Capitaine they could sende them. So much did *Cyrus* also wryte vnto them. But because there was an expresse law forbidding that one man should be twice Admirall, and besides, they being willing to graunt the request of their confederats, made one *Arachus* their Admirall, but in effect gaue *Lysander* the whole authoritie of all things. Who was maruelous welcome vnto them, and specially vnto the heades and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for his comming: because that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and open magnanimite in the nanners of a gouernor and generally, when they came to compare *Lysander*, with *Callicratidas*: they founde that *Lysander* had a fine subtil head, and did more in warres with his policy and subtiltie, then by any other meanes. And moreover, that he esteemed iustice, when it fell out profitable: and tooke profit, for iustice and honestie, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then craft, but measuring the value of the tone and thother, by the profit that came out of them, and mockinge of them that sayed that the race of *Hercules* should not make warres with craft and subtilty. For sayd he, when they loons skin I will not serue, we must help it with the cefe of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they wryte he did in the cite of *Miletum*. For his frendes and familiars to whome he had promised aide for destruction of the peoples authority, and to driue their enemies out of the city:

*Nothing offered with the
barbarians
but money.*

*Callicratidas
pacience.*

*The death of
Callicratidas.*

*Lysander
crafty and
deceitfull.*

*A wise saying
of Lysander.*

they hauing changed their mindes, and being reconciled vnto their aduersaries, he openly made great shewe of gladnes, and seemed as though he would helpe to agree them together; but secretly being alone, he tooke them vp sharply, and told them that they were cowards to doe it, and did procure them to the contrary, to set upon the people. And then when he understood that there was commocion among them in the citie, he ranne thither sodainly as it were to appease it. But when he was also comen into the citie, the first he met with of them that would alter the state of gouernement, and take the authority from the people: he fell out withall, and gaue them rough wordes, commanding with extremitie that they should follow him, as though he would haue done some great punishment. And againe, meeting with them on the contrary parte, he willed them also that they should not be afrayed, nor doubt that any man should doe them hurte where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practise of him, to stay the chieftest of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to the ende that afterwards he might put them all to death as he did. For they that trusting to his words remained quiet in the citie were all put to death. Moreover, *Androclidas* touching this matter, hath left in writing that which *Lysander* was wont to say: by the which it appeareth, that he made very litle reckning to be periured. For he sayd, that children should be deceiued with the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein *Polyrates*, the tyrant of *Samos*, but without reason: for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent usurper of tyrannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true *LACONIAN*, to behaue him selfe towards the goddes none otherwise, then towards men, but rather worse, & more inuiously. For he that deceiueh his enemy, & breaketh his othe to him: sheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God. *Cyrus* therefore hauing sent for *Lysander* to come to *SARDIS* to him, gaue him money largely, and promised him more: and because he would more honorably thewe the good will he had to gratifie him, tolde him, that if the kinge his father would geue him nothing, yet he would geue him of his owne. And furthermore, when all othe meanes failed to helpe him with money, that rather then he should lacke he would make his owne chayer to make money off, which heate in when he gaue audience in matter of iustice being altogether of gold and silver. And to be shorte, when he was going into *MEDIA* to the king his father, he gaue *Lysander* power to receiue the taxes and ordinary tributes of the cities vnder his gouernment, and made him Lieutenant of all his contry. And lastly, bidding him farewell, praised him that he would not geue battell by sea vnto the *ATHENIANS*, until he returned from the court: and that before his coming againe he would haue authority to leaue a greate number of shippes, as well out of *PHOENICIA*, as out of *CILICIA*. Wherefore whilest *Cyrus* was in his iorney, *Lysander* not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of shippes, nor also to lye still and doe nothing with so good a number of gallies, went and scowred the seas, where he tooke certaine Ilandes, and robbed also *BEGINA* and *SLAMINA*. From thence he went & landed on the firme lande in the contry of *ATTICA*, and did his dutie there vnto *Agis* king of *LACEDAMONIA*, who came purposely from the fort of *Declea* to the sea side to see him, because their armye by lande also should see what power they had by sea, and howe it ruled more by sea then they would. Neuertheles, being aduertised that the fleet of the *ATHENIANS* followed hard after him, he tooke an other course to flye backe againe into *ASIA* by the Illes: and returninge againe, founde all the conny of *HELLSPONT* without men of warre. So he laied siege before the citie of *LAMPACVS*, and did assault it with his gallies by sea: and *Thorax* being come thither also at the selfe same time in great haist with his armye by land, gaue chaffault on his side. Thus was the citie taken by force, which *Lysander* left to the spoile of the souldiers. Now in the meane time the fleet of the *ATHENIANS* (which was a hundred and foure score saile) came to an anker before the citie of *ELEVENTE*, in the contry of *CHERRONESVS*: and newes being broughte them that the city of *LAMPACVS* was taken, they came with all speede possible vnto the citie of *SARDIS*, where getting freshe acates and vitelles, they coasted all alongest the coast vnto a certaine place called the goates riuer, directly ouer against the fleet of their enemies, which laye at anker before the citie of *LAMPACVS*. Now there was a captaine of the *ATHENIANS* amongst other called *Philocles*, he that perswaded the *ATHENIANS* to cut off the prisoners

The wicked dissimbling and double dealing of *Lysander*.

Lysander rewarded no promise, following the example of *Polyrates* the tyrant of *Samos*.

Cyrus liberallye to *Lysander*.

Lysander after by sea.

Philocles cruel aduise vnto the *ATHENIANS*.

A thumbe of their right handes that were taken in the warres, to thend they should no more handle the pyke, but only serue to pull the ower. Both the tone and the tother rested that day, hoping to haue battell without faile the next morning. But *Lysander* hauing an other meaning with him, commaunded the maisters and maryners notwithstanding, that they should haue their gallies ready to geue battell the next morninge by breake of day, because euery man should get a bord betimes, and should keepe them selues in order of battell, making no noyse at all, attending what he would commaunde them: and further, made the armie by lande also to be ranged in battell ray, by the sea side. The next morning at sunne rising, the *ATHENIANS* beganne to row with all their gallies set in order of battell in a fronte. But *Lysander*, though he had his shippes in order to fight, the proes lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not for all that against them, but sending out pynnales vnto the first gallies, commaunded them straightly that they should not stirre at all, but keepe them selues in order, making no noyse, nor rowing against the enemy. Though the *ATHENIANS* also were retired in the night, he would not geue the souldiers leaue to come to lande out of the gallies, before he had sent first two or three gallies to discrie the fleet of his enemies: who brought him word that they had seene the *ATHENIANS* take laude. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth also all in one forte: so that the *ATHENIANS* beganne to be bold of them selues, and to despise their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for feare of them, and durst not come forward. In the meane time, *Alcibiades* (who lay at that time in the contry of *CHERRONESVS*) in certain places which he had conquered came ryding to the campe of the *ATHENIANS*, to tell the Captaines and generalls of the armie, the great fautes they committed. First, for that they had cast anker, and kept their shippes in an open place, where there was no manner of succor, nor harbor to retire vnto vpon any forme: and worst of all, because that they were to fetch their vittells farre of, at the citie of *SESTOS*, vnto which haue they should rather draw them selues vnto, considering that they had but a litle way to go, & also that they should haue the citie to backe them, which would furnish them with all things necessarie: and beside that, they should be further of from their enemies, which were gouerned by one generally that did commaund them all, and were so well trained, that at a whistle they were ready straight to execute his commaundement. *Alcibiades* perswasions to these Captaines of the *ATHENIANS* were not only misliked, but furthermore there was one called *Thydem*, that answered him very lowly: that he had nothing to doe to commaunde the armie, but other that had the charge of them. *Alcibiades* mistrusting thereby some treason, quietly went his way. The fifth day, the *ATHENIANS* hauing made the same countenance to present battell vnto their enemies, and retrying the same night as of custome very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckning of their enemies: *Lysander* sent againe certaine galliots to discrie them, commaunding the Captaines of the same, that when they perceiued the *ATHENIANS* had left their gallies and taken lande, they should then returne backe with all possible speede they could, and being mid way ouer the straights, that they should lift vp a copper target into the ayre, upon the top of a pyke in the foredecke, for a signe to make all the whole fleet to row in battell. Now *Lysander* him selfe in the meane time went in person from galley to galley, perswading & exhorting euery Captaine that they should put their galliots, maryners, and souldiers in good readines, to thend that when the signe should be lifted vp, they should rowe with all their might in battell against the enemies. Wherefore, so soone as the copper target was set vp in the ayre, and that *Lysander* had made his trompet sound out of the Admirall, for a token to hale out into the sea the gallies immediatly beganne to row for life in enuy one of an other, and the footemen that were upon the lande, ranne with speede also to the toppes of a high cliffe neere vnto the sea, to see what would be the ende of his fight, because the distance from one side to the other in that place was not fully two myles, which they had gone out, and in a litle space, through the great diligence & force of rowing with their owers. So *Conon* the chiefe Captaine of the *ATHENIANS* perceiuing from the shore this great fleet coming with a full force to assault them: he then cried out to the souldiers that they should runne to their shippes, and being in a rage to see things in this daunger, called some by their names, others he intreated, and the rest he compelled to take their gallies. But all his diligence

Lysander craft in making fight.

Alcibiades gaue good aduise to the Captaines of the *ATHENIANS*.

A copper target lift up the signe of battell by sea.

Conon, Admirall of the *ATHENIANS*.

was to no purpose, because the souldiers were wholly scattered here and there. For so soon as they were set a lande out of their gallies at their returne, some went to buy provision, some went a walking in the fieldes, some were set at supper in their cabines, and other were layd downe to sleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignorance and lacke of experience. But when the enemies were ready to ioyne and fall vpon them with great cries and noyse of owers, *Conon* hauing eight gallies, itale secretly out of the fleet, and flying vnto *Enagoras*, laued him selfe in the Ile of *CIPRVS*. In the meane time, the *PELOPONNESIANS* falling apon the other gallies, tooke some of them emptie, and brake the others as the souldiers beganne to come aborde apon them. And as for the men, some were flaine by their shippes as they ranne vnto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to haue saued them selues: other were killed in flying, because the enemies landed and had them in chafe. And there were taken aliue of them, three thousand prisoners with the Captaines. *Lysander* moreover tooke all the whole fleet of their shippes, the holie galley excepted called *Paralos*, and the eight that fled with *Conon*: and after he had destroyed all the campe of the *ATHENIANS*, he fastened the gallies that were taken, vnto the keele of his gallies, and returned with fonges of triumphe, with the sound of flutes and hoboyes, towards the citie of *LAMPACVS*, hauing wonne a great victory with litle labor, and had cut of in a small time, the long continuing and most diuerse warre that euer was, and had brought forth so many sundrie strange euentures of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene infinite battells fought both by sea and lande, and had altered many sundry times, and there was flaine at that time more Captaines, than in all the other warres of *GREECE* together: all which were at the length brought to ende and determined, by the good wisdom and conduction of one onely man. And therefore some thought, that this great overthrow was geuen by the gods, and sayd: that at the departure of *Lysanders* fleet out of the haue of *LAMPACVS*, to get set apon the fleet of the enemies, they perceaued ouer *Lysanders* galley the two fires, which they call the starres of *Castor* and *Pollux*: the one on the one side of the galley, and the other on the other side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signifie this great overthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the ayer a maruolous great stone, in the place they call the goates riuer, which stone is seene yet vnto this day, hidden in great reuerence by the inhabitants of the citie of *CHEIRONESVS*. It is sayd also, that *ANAXAGORAS* did prognosticate, that one of the bodies tyed vnto the vaulte of the heauen, should be plucked away, and should fall to the ground by a flying & shaking that should happen. For he sayd, that the starres were not in their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heauy bodies, and of the nature of stone: howbeit that they did shine by reflection of the fire elementary, & had bene drawn vp thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the element, euen as at the beginning of the world they had bene stayed & let from falling downe beneath, at that time when the separation was made of the colde and heauy bodies, from the other substance of the vniuersal world. There is an other opinion of certaine Philosophers, where there is more likely hooke then in that. For they say, that those which we call falling starres, be no fluxions nor deriuations of the fire elementary, which are put out in the ayer, in a manner so soone as they be lighted: nor also an inflammation or combustion of any parte of the ayer, which by her too much quantity doth spread vpwardes: but they are celestiall bodies, which by some slackenes of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of heauen, are thrown and cast downe here beneath, not alwayes in any parte of the earth inhabited, but more often abroade in the great Ocean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, *Anaxagoras* words are confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his booke of religion, that the space of three foot and fiftene yeares together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great lumpe of fire continually in the ayer like a clowde inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went and came with diuerse broken remouings, by the driuing whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the starres do that fall. In the ende, when this great body of fire fell in that parte of the earth, the inhabitants of the contrie, after that they were a litle boldened from their feare and wonder, came to the place to see what

was

A was: and they found no manner of shew or apparance of fire, but only a very great stone lying vpon the ground, but nothing in comparison of the least parte of that which the compasse of this bodie of fire did shew, if we may so name it. Sure herein, *Damachus* wordes had neede of fauorable hearers. But againe if they betruue, then he vtterly contuteth their argumentes, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boylterous winde did reare from the toppes of a mountaine, and caried in the ayer, so long as this hurle winde continued: but so soone as that was downe, and calme againe, the stone fell immediately. Neither doe we say that this lightning bodie, which appeared so many dayes in the element, was very fire in deede, which comming to dissolue and to be put out, did begeth this violent storme and boylterous wind in the element, that had the force to reare the stone in sunder, & to cast it downe. Nevertheless, this matter requireth better discourse in some other booke then this. But now to our story. When the three thousand *ATHENIANS* that were taken prisoners at that overthrow, were condemned by the counsell to be put to death: *Lysander* calling *Philochus*, one of the Captaines of the *ATHENIANS*, asked him what paine he would iudge him worthy of, that gaue the citizens so cruell & wicked counsell. *Philochus* being nothing abashed to see him selfe in that miserie, answered him. Accuse not them that haue no iudge to heare their cause: but since the goddess haue geuen thee grace to be conqueror, doe with vs, as we would haue done with thee, if we had overcome thee. When he had sayd so, he went to washe him selfe, and then put on a fayer cloke vpon him, as if he should haue gone to some feast: and went lustily the foremost man to execution, leading his contrie men the way, as *Theophrastus* writeth. After this done, *Lysander* with all his fleet went by all the cities of the sea coast, where he commanded so many *ATHENIANS* as he founde, that they should get them to *ATHENS*, letting them vnderstand that he would not pardone a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the wallles of *ATHENS*, because he might so much the sooner famish them for lacke of vittells: for otherwise they would haue troubled him sore, if they had had wherewithall to haue maintained a long siege. But in all the cities as he passed by, if they were gouerned by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kinde of gouernment, he left in euery one of them a *LACEDÆMONIAN* Captaine or gouernor, with a counsell of sennet officers, of them that had bene before in league and amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had euer bene confederates and frendes vnto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, as in them that not long before had bene their enemies. So he went sayling all alongest the coastes, fayer and softerly making no haste, stablishing in manner a generall principality ouer all *GREECE*. For he did not make them officers that were the richest, the noblest, or honestest men, but such as were his frendes, out of those tribes which he had placed in euery citie: & to them he gaue authority to punish, and reward such as they liked of, and would be present him selfe in persone to helpe them to put those to death, whome they would execute, or otherwise expulle or banish their contrie. But this gaue the *GREECIANS* small hope of good or gracious gouernment vnder the rule of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Wherefore, me thinks that *Theopompus* the comical Poet doth, when he compared the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, vnto tauerneers wines, saying: that they had geuen the *GREECIANS* a tast of the sweete drinke of libertie, and that afterwards they had mingled it with vineger. For, the tast they gaue the *GREECIANS* of their gouernment from the beginning, was very sharpe vnto them: because *Lysander* tooke the rule and authority of gouernment out of the peoples handes, and gaue it vnto a fewe of the boldest, and most seditious men in euery citie. Thus hauing spent a great time in this voyage, to make these alterations: he sent newes before to *LACEDÆMON*, that he was comming with two hundred saille. He spake also with the kinges *Agis* and *Pausanias*, in the contrie of *ATTICA*, perswading him selfe that he should winne the city of *ATHENS* at the first assault. But when he saw his expectation failed, & that the *ATHENIANS* did valiantly resist him: he returned once againe with his fleet into *ASIA*, where he made an end of chaunging and altering the manner of gouernment through euery city in equall maner, stablishing a counsell of sennet officers only in euery one of them, & putting euery where many citizens to death, and banishing many also. Among others, he draue all the *SAMIANS* out of their contrie, and restored againe all them that had

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Lysanders
victory of the
Athenians.

Paralos, the
holie galley of
Athena.

The starres
of *Castor*, and
Pollux.
A stone fell
out of the ele-
ment.
Agis & *Pausanias*
opinion of the
starres.

Vhus falling
starres be.

Damachus
testimonie of
the fire fume
seene in the
element.

An other opi-
nion of the
stone that fell.

Philochus &
fancy, Cap-
taines of the
Athenians.

Lysanders
cruelty.

Theopompus
the comical
Poet saying
of the *Lacedæ-
monians*.

bene banished before: and the city of *Sesios* also, being yet in the *Athenians* hands, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not suffer the natural *Sestians* to dwell there, but draue them away, and gaue their citie, their houses, and landes, vnto shippe masters, officers of gallies, and galley slaues, that had bene in the warres with him. But therein the *Lacedæmonians* were against him, and this was the first thing that they did forbid him: for they restored the *Sestians*, against his will, vnto their landes and goodes againe. But as the *Grecians* were very much offended, to see the partes *Lysander* played: so were they all very glad againe, to see these others which he afterwarde did. For he restored the *Eginetes* againe to their landes and houses, who had bene put from them a long time. He restored also the *Melians*, and the *Scionians* to their landes againe, which the *Athenians* had gotten from them, and draue out the *Athenians*. Furthermore, *Lysander* being aduertised, that the citizens and inhabitants of *Athens* were pinched sore for lacke of vittells, he returned againe, and came into the haue of *Piræa*: by meanes whereof he kept the citie so straight, that he made them yeelde vpon such condicions as he him selfe would. Howbeit there are certaine *Lacedæmonians* that say, *Lysander* wrote vnto the *Ephors*: the city of *Athens* is taken. And that the *Ephors* wrote againe vnto him: it is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale deuised to make the matter seeme better: for in deede the capitulations which the *Ephors* sent vnto him, were these. The Lordes of the counsell of *Lacedæmon* haue thus decreed: that ye doe raise the fortification of the haue of *Piræa*. That ye do ouerthrow also the long wall that ioyneth the haue to the citie. That ye yeelde vp and redeliuer all the cities which ye doe holde, and content your selues with your liues and contry only. This doing, ye shall haue peace, so that ye performe our demaundes. That ye shall receiue those which are banished, for the number of shippes, ye shall dispose of them as we shall will you. The *Athenians* agreed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counsell of *Themistocles*, the sonne of *Agnon*. Who when a young orator called *Cleomenes*, did openly aske him in anger, if he were bold to dare to doe, or say, any thing contrary vnto that, which *Themistocles* had done before time, to assent vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, that the walles which he built in despite of them, should by their commaundement now be raised: he answered him openly againe, young man, my friend, I doe nothing contrary to *Themistocles* doings. For like as he heretofore did build the walles, for the safety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in *Athens* at that time: euen so doe we that are here now, for the selfe same cause plucke it downe and raise it. And if it be true that walles doe make cities happy, then it must needs follow that the city of *Sparta* which neuer had any walles, should be the vnfortunate of all other. So *Lysander* hauing receiued all the *Athenians* shippes buttwelue, & the walles of the city allowe vnto them at his pleasure: on the sixteenth day of march, on which day in olde time the *Athenians* had wonne the battell by sea, within the straight of *Salamina*, against the king of *Persia*, he counsell'd them straight to chaunge the forme of their gouernment. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruelously offended withall. Wherevpon *Lysander* sent to declare vnto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made between them, for that their walles were yet standing, the tenne dayes being expired in which they had promised to ouerthrow them: and therefore that he would once againe referre it to the determination of the counsell, howe they should be vied, that had broken the articles and couenaunts of the first peace. Other say, that immediately he referred it vnto the deliberation of the counsell of their confederates, that is to say: whether they should altogether destroy the city, and make the inhabitants thereof, slaues, and bondmen or no. In this counsell, it is reported that there was a *Theban* called *Erianthus*, whose opinion was, that they should utterly raise the city, & make the contry a desert: so that it should neuer after serue for other thing, but for pasturage of beastes. But during this dyet & counsell, there was a banquet made, whereunto all the Captaines and chiefe officers of the army being bidden, there was a *Phocian*, a singer of songes, that sang the entry of the *Chorus* to the tragedy of *Electra*, made by the Poet *Euripides*, which beganne in this sorte.

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king:
Euen *Agamemnon*, king of Greece, whose fame so vnde did ring.

The *Athenians* yeelde up *Athens* to *Lysander*.

The manner of peace offered by the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Athenians*.

A notable saying for the walls of cities.

Erianthus cruelly advise against the *Athenians*.

*I come now to your courtes, which by both sides was vvasht:
By spoyle of warres depopulate, destroyed, and disgraft.*

These words moued all the hearers with compassion, so that the most parte of them thought it were too great a sinne to destroy so noble a city, which brought forth so many famous wife men, & great persones. Wherefore *Lysander*, when the *Athenians* had submitted the selues altogether to his will, caused all the women players of pipes or shalmes to come out of the city, and gathered all those together which he had in his owne campe also, and with the sound of their instruments he made the walles and fortifications of the city of *Athens* to be pulled downe to the very ground, and set all their gallies on fire, & burnt them in the presence of the confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*, who daunced and played in the meane season with garlandes of flowers on their heades, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediately after he chaunged also the state of the gouernment, establishing a counsell of thirty Magistrates in the city, and other tenne also in the haue of *Piræa*, hauing allequall and like authority: and therewithall made *Callibius* a gentleman of *Sparta* Captaine of the castell there, and left a good garrison of the *Lacedæmonians* with him. This *Callibius* one day lift vp his staffe he had in his hande to strike *Autolycus* withall, a strong mad man to wrestle: wherevpon *Xenophon* the Philosopher made his booke in olde time, a called *Conitiuium*. But *Autolycus* that was a cunning wrestler, hauing all the sleights of wrestling, sodainly tripped *Callibius* with his legge, and lifting him vp at the armes end, cast him to the ground. Howbeit *Lysander* was not angry with *Autolycus* for it, but reproued *Callibius*, telling him that he should haue remembered (if he had bene wife) that he had the gouernment ouer free men, and not of bonde men. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty gouernors of the city, to satisfie *Callibius*, put this *Autolycus* to death. When *Lysander* had done all these things, he tooke sea againe, and went into the contry of *Thracia*, and sent by *Gylippus* before vnto *Sparta* (who had bene Captaine and generall of the *Syracusan* in *Sicilia*) all the golde and siluer that was left in his handes, with all the presentes besides which had bene priuately geuen him, and with the crownes also that had bene presented him: which were maruelous in number as it is to be thought, for that many came to present him, considering the great power he had, and that in manner he was chiefe and sole prince of all *Greece*. This *Gylippus* did rippe the feames of euery bagge in the bottome where the money was, and tooke a good summe out of euery of them: and afterwarde sowed them vp againe, not thinking that there had bene a border vpon euery bagge, upon the which was declared, the number and kindes of gold and siluer that were therein. Now when he was come to *Sparta*, he hid the money he had stolen, vnder the house eauinges, and went and deliuered the bagges he had brought, into the handes of the *Ephors*, shewing them *Lysanders* seale, which he had set to euery one of them. The *Ephors* hauing opened the bagges, & told the money, found that the summe agreed not with the borders of the contentes: and yet could not tell where the fault was. But a seruant of *Gylippus* told them in darke wordes, saying: that vnder the tyles of his masters house there lay a great number of owles. Nowe the greatest parte of the coyne of golde and siluer which was currat through *Greece*, was stamped with the marke of an owle, by reason of the *Athenians*. Thus *Gylippus* after so many noble exploitos done in warres, committing so shameful & vile a dede, was banished out of his cotry of *Lacedæmonia*. But the wisest men of *Sparta*, and of deepest iudgement, fearing the power of golde and siluer, and seeing by prooffe of *Gylippus* doings, that it had such power to make one of their chiefe men to fall through couetousnes: they greatly blamed *Lysander* for bringing of it into *Lacedæmon*, beseeching the *Ephors* that they would send all this golde and siluer out of *Sparta*, as a plague, prouocation, and wicked baite, to make them do euill: declaring vnto them, that they should vie no other money, but their owne only. Whereupon they referred all, to the wisedom and determination of the counsell. *Theopompus* writeth, that *Sciraphides* was he that did moue the counsell of the *Ephors* in it. Howbeit *Ephorus* calleth him *Phlogidas*, who was the first that spake against it in the counsell, that they should not admit, nor receiue into the city of *Sparta* any money of golde or siluer: but should only content them selues with their owne contry iron coyne, the which first of all, coming from the fire redde hotte, was quenched with vineger,

The secrett unspiekt suffered their cruell hearts, and moued them to play. *Lysander* overthrew the walls of the city of *Athens*.

Callibius Captaine of the Castill of *Athens*.

Autolycus a cunning wrestler.

Autolycus put to death. *Lysander* sent money to *Sparta* by *Gylippus*.

Gylippus robbed parte of the money he carried to *Sparta*.

The *Greekish* coyne was marked with an owle. *Gylippus* banished.

Contentnes of money corrupted *Gylippus*, one of the chiefe men of *Lacedæmon*.

The iron money of *Lacedæmon*.

At what time the Lacedæmonians received gold and silver againe.

The ill life of the Magistrate, the cause of disorder in a common wealth.

A galley of gold and silver.

Lysanders honors and pride.

to thend they should be forged no more, nor employed vnto any other vse. For it was so eager and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they coule no more conuert it to any other purpose: and besides, it was very heauie and vnhandsome to remoue, considering that a great heape and quantitie of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did vse of olde time, certaine litle iron money, and in some places copper money, called Obelisci, from whence the small peeces of money now extant are called Oboli, whereof fix make a Drachma, so termed, for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuerthelesse, at the earnest sute of *Lysanders* frendes that stood against it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the counsell, that the money should remaine in the city, and ordained that it should be currant onely but for that sayres of the common wealth. And if it were found, that any priuate man did either locke vp, or keepe any money, that he should suffer death for it: as if *Lycurgus* when he made his lawes feared gold and siluer, and not the couetousnes and auarice which the golde and siluer bringeth with it. The which was not taken away so much, prohibiting priuate men to haue it: as it was ingendred only by a common tolleracion of getting it. For, the profit which they sawe brought withall, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was vnpossible they should despayse a thing priuately for vnprofitable, which they sawe reckoned of commonly, as a thing very necessary: and that they should thinke it would not serue their turne priuately, seeing it so commonly esteemed and desired. But we are rather to thinke, that priuate mens manners are conformed according to the common vses and customes of cities: then that the faultes and vices of priuate men doe fill cities and common weales with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the partes are marred & corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out, that the partes corrupted should drawe the whole vnto corruption. For to the contrary, the faultes of a parte destroyed, which might be preiudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimes redressed and corrected by thother partes, whole and entier. But they that tooke this resolution in their counsell at that time, to haue money in the common wealth: made feare of punishment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houfes, to keepe that no money should come in to them. But all this while they made no inward prouision, to keepe the contrary of their foules from all passion & greedy desires of money: but to the contrary, they made them all to haue a couetous desire to be rich, as if it were a great and honorable thing. But for that we haue hertofore in other places reprobued the LACEDÆMONIANS. And moreover *Lysander* caused a statue of brass to be made like him selfe of the spoile he had gotten of the enemies, to set it vp in the citie of *Dalphe*, and for euery priuate Captaine of the gallies in like case: and the two starres of *Castor* & *Pollux* in golde besides, which vanished away a litle before the battell of *Leuctres*, and no man knewe what became of them. Again, in the chamber of the treasury of *Brasidas*, and of the *Acanthians*, there was also a galley made of gold and iuory, of two cubittes long, which *Cyrus* sent vnto him after the victory he had wonne by sea, of the *Athenians*. And furthermore, *Alexandrides* the historiographer borne at *Deephes*, wryteth, that the selfe same *Lysander* had left there to be kept safe, a tallent of siluer, two & fifty Minas, and eleuen peeces of gold called *Stateres*. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other historiographers write, agreeing of his poverty. But *Lysander* being able then, and of greater power then euery *Grecian* was before him: caried a greater power and countenance then became his ability. For, as *Duris* writeth, he was the first of the *Grecians* vnto whom they did euer erect any altars, and offer sacrifice vnto as a god, and in honor of whom they did first sing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memory of one which beganne in this maner.

The noble Captaines praise, we meane to celebrate,
Of Greece: that land which do define, in euery kinde of state.
Euen he, which was both borne, and brought to high renowne.
VVithin the noble wealthie vualles, of Sparta statly to reside.

The *SAMIANs* by publicke decree ordained, that the seales of *Iuno*, which were called in their city *Heroea*, should be called *Lysandria*. *Lysander* had euer one *Cherilus* a *SPARTAN* Pagan about him, to wryte and set forth all his doings in verse. An other Poet called *Antilocus*, one day made certaine verses in his praise: which pleased him so well, that he gaue him his name full

A fall of siluer. There were two other Poets, *Antimachus* *Colophonian*, and *Nicarchus* borne at *HERACLEA*, which did both wryte verses to honor him, struing whether of them should do best. *Lysander* iudged the crowne and victory, vnto *Nicarchus*: which with *Antimachus* was so angry, that he rased out all that he had writt of him. But *Plato* who at that time was young, & loud: *Antimachus* because he was an excellent Poet, did comforte him, and tolde him that ignorance did blinde the vnderstanding of the ignorant; as blindness doth the sight of the blinde. *Aristonous* an excellent player of the citterne, & one that had fix times wonne the prizes of the Pythian games: to winne *Lysanders* fauor, promised him, that if euer he wained the prize of his arte againe, he would cause him selfe to be proclaimed *Lysanders* slave. (This ambition of *Lysander* was very odious and grieuous, only vnto great persones, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in thende he became very prowde and cruel, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompensing his frendes, as also in punishinge of his enemies. For, to gratifie his frendes and familiars, he gaue them absolute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibility of pardon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the city of *Miletus*; where, fearing least they would flie that tooke parte with the people, & because he would haue them appeare that hid them selues: he gaue his word, and sware that he would doe them no hurt at all. The poore men gaue credit to his worde. But so soone as they came out, and did appeare, he deliuered them all into the handes of their aduersaries, (which were the chiefe of the nobility) to put them all to death: & they were no lesse then eight hundred men one with another. He caused great murders of people to also be done in other cities: for he did not only put them to death that had priuately offended him, but numbers besides, onely to fauour and reuenge the priuate quarrells, enmities and couetousnes of his frendes, whom he had in euery place. And therefore was *Eteocles* LACEDÆMONIAN greatly commended for his saying: that *GABRIS* could not abide two *Lysanders*. *Theophrastus* wryteth also, that the very like was spoken of *Alcibiades* by *Archestratus*. Howbeit in *Alcibiades* there was nothing, but his infoleney, and vaine glory that men misliked: but in *Lysander*, a seuer nature, and sharpe condicions, that made his power fearfull & intollerable. Neuerthelesse, the LACEDÆMONIANS passed ouer all other complaints exhibited against him: sauing when they heard the complaints of *Pharnabazus*, who purposely sent Ambassadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and iniuries *Lysander* had done him, spoyling and destroying the contry vnder his gouernment. Then the *Ephori* being offended with him, clapped vp *Thorax* in prison, one of his frendes and Captaines that had serued vnder him: and finding that he had both gold and siluer in his house contrary to the law, put him to death. And to him selfe they sent immediately that which they call *Scytala*, (as who would say, the scrolle wrytten upon a rounde staffe) commanding him that he should retorne immediately upon receite thereof. The *Scytala* is in this forme. When the *Ephorides* sende a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cause two litle rounde staues to be made of the like bignes and length, of which the *Ephori* doe keepe the tone, and thother they geue to him whom they sende to the warres. These two litle staues they call *Scytalas*. Nowe when they will aduertise their Generall secretly of matters of importance, they take a scrolle of parchment, long and narrow like a leather thonge, and wreath it about the round staffe, leauing no voyde space betweene the knottes of the scrowle. Afterwards when they haue bound them fast together, then they wryte vpon the parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they haue done wryting, vnfolde it, and sende it to their Generall, who can not else possibly read it to know what is writt, (because the letters are not ioined together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there) vntill he take his litle rowle of wodde, which was geuen him at his departure. And then wreathing the scrowle of parchment about it which he receaueth, the folding and wreathes of the parchment falling iust into the selfe same place as they were first folded: the letters also come to ioyne one with another, as they ought to doe. This litle scrowle of parchment also is called as the rowle of wodde, *Scytala*: euen as we commonly see in many places that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchment scrowle was brought vnto *Lysander*, who was then in the contrie of

Places saying of the ignorant, ignorance blinded with blindness.

Lysanders ambition, pride, and cruelty.

Lysander brake his word & sware, and procured the death of eight hundred persons.

Eteocles words of Lysander.

Thorax put to death for offending the law.

The Lacedæmonian Scytala what manner thing it is, and how used.

HELLASPONT, he was maruelously troubled withall, fearing about all other things the accusations of *Pharnabazus*: so he sought meanes to speake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lysander* prayed him would write an other letter vnto the Lordes of SPARTA, contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a CRETIAN, (as the common proverbe sayeth) that could deceaue an other. For *Pharnabazus* hauing promised him that he would performe his desire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lysanders* request: but behinde he had an other contrary effect, so like on the out side vnto the other, that by sight no man could discern the one from the other. And when he came to put his seale, he changed the first with the last that was hidden, & gaue it him. When *Lysander* came vnto SPARTA, he went as the maner is, straight to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the Ephores, thinking that he should haue bene cleared from all daunger of the greatest accusations they could haue burdened him withall: because that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought of of the Lordes of LACEDÆMONIA, for that he did euer shew him selfe willing and ready to helpe them in all their warres, more then any other of the kinges Lieutenantes of PERSIA. The Ephori hauing read this letter, they shewed it vnto him. Then did *Lysander* plainly see, that the common proitch was true:

That Vlysses was not subtilt alone.

Lysander carries letters against him selfe.

Lysander goes to inspect Ammon.

King Pausanias reconciles the Athenians with the Spartans.

Thereupon he went home to his house maruelously troubled. But within few dayes after returning to the pallace againe to speake with the Lords of the counsell, he told them that he must needs make a voyage vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*, to discharge certaine sacrifices which he had vowed and promised to him before he had wonne the battells. Some say, that in deede *Iupiter Ammon* appeared to him in a dreame as he did besiege the city of the *ATHEANS*, in the contry of THRACIA, and that by his commaundement he raised the siege, and charged them of the city, that they should thanke *Iupiter Ammon*, and doe sacrifice vnto him by reason whereof, they thinke that he ment good faith, when he sued for licence to make this voyage into LIBYA, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the most parte did certainly beleue that he made sure to goe this iorney, for a cloke and colour only to absente himselfe, because he feared the Ephores, and that he could not endure the yoke and subiection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commaunded. And this was the true cause of his sute to goe this voyage, much like vnto a horse taken out of a freshe pasture and goodly meadows, to bring him into a stable, & make him to be iorneyed as heers before. Neuerthelesse, *Ephorus* writeth an other cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In deede, *Lysander* hauing hardly obtained licence, tooke shippe, and crosseid faile. But during his absence, the kinges of LACEDÆMON remembering that he kept all the cities at his commaundement, by meanes of the frendes he had in euery city, whom he had made chiefe gouernors of the same, & that by their meanes he came in maner to be absolute prince ouer all GREECE they tooke vppon them to redeliuer the gouernment of the townes and cities againe into the hands of the people, and also to put downe his frendes whome he had established there. And hereupon fell out great insurrection againe. For first of all, they that were banished from *ATHENS*, hauing surprised and taken the castell of Phyla apon the sodaine, did set apon the thirty gouernors tyrans (whom *Lysander* had placed there) and ouercame them in battell. Whereupon *Lysander* straight returned to SPARTA, & perswaded the LACEDÆMONIANS to restore the gouernment to the number of a few, and to punish the infolency of the people. So by his procurement, they sent first a hundred tallents vnto the thirty tyrans for an aide to maintaine this warre, and appointed *Lysander* him selfe generally. But the two kinges of SPARTA enuying him, and fearing least he should take the city of *ATHENS* againe: they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon *Pausanias* went thither immediatly, who in apparance seemed to maintaine the tyrannes against the people: but in effect, he did his inuicior to appease this warre, for feare least *Lysander* by meanes of his frendes and followers should once againe come to haue the city of *ATHENS* in his power, the which he might easily doe. And thus hauing agreed the *ATHEANS* againe one with an other, and pacified all faction and commocion among

Among them, he plucked vp the roote of *Lysanders* ambition. But shortly after, the *ATHEANS* rebelling againe against the LACEDÆMONIANS, *Pausanias* him selfe was repproued, because he yielded so much to the boldnes and infolency of the people, which were bridled and restrained before, by the authority of the small number of gouernors: and to the contrary, they gaue *Lysander* the honor to be generally, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens mindes and to content them, neither with fond ostentation of glory, but seuerely, for the profit and commodity of SPARTA. It is true he would geue great wordes, and was terrible to them that resisted him. As he answered the *ARGIENS* one day, who contended for their confines with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and seemed to allege the best reasons. Euen they (sayd he) that shall proue the stronger hereby, shewing the sword halbe they that shall please their cause best for their confines. An other time, when a *MEGARIAN* had tolde his minde boldly enough in open counsell, he answered him: thy wordes (good frend) had neede of a city, meaning thereby that he was of too meane a towne to vie so great wordes. And to the *BEOGTIANS* also, who were in dout to professe them selues frends or enemies: he sent vnto the, to know if he should passe through the contry with his pykes vpwardes or downwardes. And when the *CORINTHIANS* also were reuolted from their allyance, he brought his army harde vnto their wallles: but when he sawe his men were afrayed, and made curley whether they should goe to the assault or not by chance spying a hare coming out of the towne ditches, he sayd vnto them: Are ye not ashamed to be afrayed to goe and assault your enemies that are so cowardly and slothfull, as hares doe keepe their formes at ease within the circuite of their wallles? Now king *Agis* being deceased, he left behinde him his brother *Agefilas*, and his supposed sonne *Leotychides*. Wherefore, *Lysander* that had loued *Agefilas* aforetime, gaue him counsell to stande for the right of the crowne, as lawefull heire and next of the blood, disfending of the race of *Hercules*: because it was suspected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* sonne, who secretly had kept *Timas Agis* wife, at what time he was banished out of his contry, and came then to remaine in SPARTA. And *Agis* selfe also, concluding by reckening of the time of his absence, that his wife could not be with childe by him: made reckening of *Leotychides*, (and had openly hewed it all the rest of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his sonne, vntill such time as falling sicke of that disease whereof he died, he was caried to the city of *HERACLA*, and there lying in his death bed, at the humble sute of *Leotychides* him selfe, and partly at the instant request of his frendes who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge *Leotychides* for his sonne in the presence of diuers, whome he prayed to be witnesses vnto the Lordes of LACEDÆMON, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his sonne. Which they all did in fauor of *Leotychides*. For all that, *Agefilas* tooke it apon him, by the support and maintenance of *Lysanders* fauor. Howebeit, *Diopithes* a wife man, and known to be skillfull in ancient prophecies, did great hurt to *Agefilas* side, by an ancient oracle which he alleged against a defect *Agefilas* had, which was his lamenes.

Lysanders terrible words

The death of king Agis. Lysander depriveth Leotychides of his kingdome.

O Spartan people you, which beare high haughty hartes,
And looke a loft: take heede I say, looke vrell vnto your matres:
Least whiles you stande upright, and guide your fate by grace,
Some halting kingdom priniely, come creeping in a pace.
By that meanes might you moue great troubles, carke and care,
And mischiefs heape vpon your head, before you be auare.
And plunged should you be, euen ouer head and eares,
VVith vvaist of vvarres, which here on earth doth perish many peares.

Many by occasion of this oracle, fell to take *Leotychides* parte: but *Lysander* declared vnto them, that *Diopithes* did not conster the meaning of the oracle well. For God, sayd he, cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that should come to be king of LACEDÆMON: but in deede, the crowne and kingdome should halte and be lame, if bastardes not lawfully begotten, should come to raigne ouer the true naturall issue and right line of *Hercules*. By these persuasions, *Lysander* with his great countenance and authority besides, wanne all men to his opinion: so that *Agefilas* by this meanes was proclaimed king of LACEDÆMON. This done, *Lysander* began straight to counsell him to make warres in ASIA, putting him in hope that

Through Lysanders workings, Agefilas was made king.

*Ambition
bids
no
qualles.*

he should destroy the kingdom of PERSIA, and should come to be the greatest man of the world. Moreover, he wrote vnto his frendes in the cities of ASIA, that they should send vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to require king *Agesslaw* for their generall, to make warres against the barbarous people. Which they did, and sent Ambassadors purposely vnto SPARTA to sue that they might haue him: the which was no lesse honor procured vnto *Agesslaw* by *Lysander* meanes, then that he did, in making him to be chosen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwise not vnapt nor vnfit to commaunde, haue this imperfection: that through the ialousie of glory, they doe commonlie enuie their equalles, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable things. For they take them for their enemies, enuying their vertue: whose seruice and meanes might helpe them to doe great matters. Thus *Agesslaw* being chosen generall of this enterprife, tooke *Lysander* with him in this iorney, amongst the things counsellors which were geuen vnto him to assitt him: and made speciall choyce of him, as by whose counsell he hoped most to be gouerned, and to haue him neereft about him, as his chiefeft frende. But when they were arriued in ASIA, they of the contry hauing no acquaintance with *Agesslaw*, seldome spake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, hauing known *Lysander* of long time, they followed him, and waited vpon him to his tent or lodging, some to honor him, because they were his frendes, others for feare, because they did mistrust him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that shall play the person of some messenger or seruant, shalbe the best player, and shall haue the best voyce to be heard aboue all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royall bande about his heade, and the scepter in his hande, a man doth scant heare him speake. Euen so fell it out then: for all the dignitie due vnto him that commaundeth all, was shewed only vnto the counsellor: and there remained to the king no more, but the royall name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinks that this vndiscreete and importunate ambition of *Lysander*, did well deserue reproofe perhappes, to make him only to be contented with the second place of honor next vnto the king. But for *Agesslaw* againe, through extreame couetousnes and ialousie of glory, to cast *Lysander* altogether of, and to set foorth by his frende and benefactor, that surely became not him neither. For first of all, *Agesslaw* neuer gaue *Lysander* occasion to doe any thinge, neither did commit any matter of weight vnto him, that might be honorable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceiued that he had taken any mens caufes in hand, and that he did fauor them, he did alwayes sende them backe againe into their contry, denying their sute, without that they coulde obtaine any thing they sued for, lesse then the meanest persones that could haue come, extinguishing *Lysander*'s credit by litle, and litle, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lysander* perceiuing howe he was thus refused and reiected in all things, seing that the countenance and fauor which he thought to shew vnto his frendes, fell out hurtfull vnto them: lest of solicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbear to come vnto him, or to follow him, but to go to the king, and vnto those that could doe them better pleasure then him selfe, and specially those that honored them. When they heard that, many desired to trouble him any more in matters of importunance, but not to doe him all the honor they could, and continued still to accompanie him, when he went out to walke, or otherwise to exercise him selfe: the which did aggrauate and increafe *Agesslaw*'s anger more against him, for the enuy he bare vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge & commission in the warres, oftentimes vnto very meane souldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne: he appointed *Lysander* treasurer or generall of all the ordinary prouision of vittells, and distributor of flesh. And then mocking the LONIANS that did honor him so much: let them go now, sayd he, and honor my flesh distributor. Wherefore, *Lysander* seeing it high time to speake: went vnto *Agesslaw*, and tolde him in few wordes after the LACONIAN manner: Truly *Agesslaw*, thou hast learned well to abate thy frendes. In deede sayed he againe, so haue I, when they wilbe greater then my selfe and to the contrary, they that maintaine and increafe my honor and authority, it is reason that I esteeme of them. Yea mary, sayd *Lysander*, but perhappes I haue not done as thou sayst. Yet I pray thee geue me such an office, as I may be least hated, & most profitable for thee: though it be but in respect of straungers eyes that looke apon vs both. After this talke betweene them,

Agesslaw

*Lysander
succeeded
of the vittells.*

*Lysander
talks with
king Agesslaw
after the
Laconian man-
ner of spee-
king.*

Agesslaw sent him his Lieutenant into the contry of HELLESPOINT, where *Lysander* still kept his anger secret in his hart against him, but for all that, did not leaue to doe all that he could for the benefit of his matters affaires. As amongst many other thinges, he caused a PERSIAN Captaine called *Spithridates*, to rebell against his master, who was a valliant man of his hands, and a great enemy of *Pharnabazus*, and had an army also which he brought with him vnto *Agesslaw*. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that iorney. Wherefore, he returned againe to SPARTA not long after, with litle honor, being maruolously grieved and offended with *Agesslaw*; and hating more then before, all the state and gouernment of the citie of SPARTA: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time thought vpon, concerning the alteration of gouernment, and his enterprife was this. Amongst the offspring and issue of *Hercules*, who were mingled with the DORIANS, and returned againe into the contrie of PELOPONNESVS, the greatest number and chiefeft of them, dwelled in the city of SPARTA: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the crowne, sauing two families only, the *Eurytionides*, and the *Agades*. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood descended out of one selfe house, yet had they no more right nor interest vnto the realme, then the residue of the people: for, the dignities that were attained vnto by vertue, were geuen vnto the inhabitants that could deserue them. *Lysander* then being one of those which was descended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crowne: when he saw him selfe alonely called to great honor through his famous actes and merites, and that he had wonne many frendes, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the state: it grieved him much, to see that they which were no nobler then him selfe, should be kings in that city, which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not haue so much power as to take from these two houses, the *Eurytionides*, and the *Agades*, the prerogatiue that the kinges should be chosen onely out of one of those two houses, and to cast it apon the offspring of *Hercules*. Some say againe, that he would not only haue enlarged that prerogatiue vnto the issue of *Hercules*, but vnto all the natural SPARTANS also: because that *Hercules* race should not only desire this reward of honor, but euen they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equal with the gods in honor. For he doubted not, but if they would dispose the crowne in this sorte, that there was no man in the city of SPARTA that should sooner be chosen king then him selfe: whereupon he attempted first to perswade his citizens by very good reasons, & to bring this about the better, he conned an oration without booke, penned by *Cleon Halicarnassens*, made him for this purpose. But afterwards weying with him selfe, that so great and straunge a change as he would bring in, had neede of some better and stronger helpe: he beganne to frame a deuise as they say, to moue the people by, much after the manner they vse in tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come downe from heauen vnto them, and this was his faigned inuention. He deuised certaine oracles & prophecies, thinking that all *Cleons* rethoricke would stand him in no steade, if first of all he did not fill the citizens hartes with some superstition & feare of the goddes, that he might bring them afterwards more easly vnto reason. And *Ephorus* sayeth, that he proued first to corrupt the Nunne with money, that geueth all the oracles and answers in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES: and that afterwards, he would haue wonne the Nunne also of the temple of DODONA with money, by *Pherecles* practise. And that he being reiected by them both, went lastly vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*: and that there he spake vnto the priestes, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with *Lysander*, that they sent men of purpose to SPARTA, to accuse him, that he would haue corrupted them with money. The counsell clearing *Lysander* of this accusation, the LIBYANS his accusers at their departing sayd: we will one day iudge more iustly, then you my Lordes of LACEDÆMON haue done now, when you shall come to dwell in our contry of LIBYA: supposing there was an auncient prophcy that sayd, the LACEDÆMONIANS one day should come to dwell in the contry of LIBYA. But we shall doe better to wryte the whole story at large of this practise, subtlety, and malicious deuise, which was no matter of small importunance, nor lightly ground: but as in a mathematicall proposition there were many great coniectures and preliuppositions, & many long circumstances to bring it to con-

*Lysander
seeketh inno-
uacion in the
state of Sparta.*

*The Families
of the kinges
of Lacedæ-
mon.*

*Lysander de-
uised false o-
racles, & cor-
rupted the
priestess with
money.*

*Lysander
fained deuise
to possesse the
kingdome.*

clusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, deliuering that which an historiographer and philosophes both hath written. There was in the marches of the realme of PONTUS a man that sayed he was gotten with childe by *Apollo*, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not beleue at all, and many also did beleue it: so that the beinge deliuered of a goodly sonne, diuers noble men and of great estate were careful to bring him vp, and to haue him taught. This childe, I know not whereuppon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lysander* beinge the plat of his deuise from thence, added to all the rest of him selfe, to goe on with his practise. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this idle going out a rumor of the birth of this childe, without any suspicion gathered out of the intence of this rumor: And furthermore, they brought other newes from *DELPHES*, which they dispersed abroade through the city of *SPARTA*, to wit: that the priestes of the temple kept secret bookes of very auncient oracles, which they them selues durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, onlesse he were begotten of the seede of *Apollo*, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the priestes that kept these papers, that by some secret marke & token, which they had amongst them: & thereby being knowne for *Apolloes* sonne, he might then take the bookes, & read the auncient reuelacions & prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this sorte, there was order taken that *Silenus* should come and aske for these bookes as though he were the sonne of *Apollo*: and that the priestes which were priuy to this practise, should make as though they did diligently examine him of euery thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliuer these prophecies vnto him, as if he had bene in deede *Apolloes* sonne: and that he should openly read them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the prophecies, that he should read that specially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of *LACEDÆMONIA*: that it was better, and meetelier for the *SPARTANS* they should chooe them for their kinges, whome they found the meetest men of all their magistrats. But when *Silenus* was come of full age, and brought into *GREECE* of purpose to performe this practise, all the military was made by the faine heart of one of the players and companions of *Lysander*, who holpe him to countenance this deuise: who when the matter should haue taken effect, throngke for feare, and let the misterie alone. This notwithstanding, nothing was bewrayed in *Lysanders* life time, till after his death. For he dyed before king *Agefilus* returned out of *ASIA*, being fallen into warres with *BOEOTIA* before his death, or rather hauing him selfe made *GREECE* to fall into warres. They doe reporte in this way, and some lay the fault upon him, other upon the *THERBANS*, and other upon them both: and they burden the *THERBANS* withall, because they did vterly ouerthrowe the common sacrifices which *Agefilus* made in the city of *AVLIDE*. And they say also, that *Androtides* and *Amphisheus* did raise this warre among the *GREECIANS*, being before corrupted with money by the king of *PERSIA* to bring warres upon the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in *GREECE*: and beganne to invade and destroy the countrie of the *PHOCIANS*. Other say that *Lysander* was very angry with the *THERBANS*, because they onely of all other their confederates did aske the tenth parte of all the spoyle which was wonne in the warre against the *ATHENIANS*: and that they were not pleased that *Lysander* had sent the money away vnto *SPARTA*. But about all *Lysander* did malice them most, because they were the first that made way for the *ATHENIANS* to be deliuered from thoppresion of thirty tyrannes, whom he had stablished gouernors in *ATHENS*, and in whose fauor (to make them to be dreaded the more) the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had ordained by a common edict: that they that were banished and did flee from *ATHENS*, might lawfully be taken and apprehended in what place soeuer they fled vnto, and that whosoever should resist or let them to do it, they should be proclaimed rebels, & open enemies vnto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Again to contrary this edict, the *THERBANS* made an other very like, & meete for the glorious dedes of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their auncelstors, for whom it was made that euery house and city through the contry of *BOEOTIA*, should be open for the *ATHENIANS* that would come thither, & that he that would not helpe a banished man from *ATHENS*, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And also if there were any fouldiers that went vnto *ATHENS*, through the contrie of *BOEOTIA*, that

*The warres of
Boeotia.*

*Diuers causes
moued of
the beginning
of this warre.*

*An edict a-
gainst the ba-
nished men
from Athens.*

*An edict
made by the
Thebans in
fauor of the
banished men.*

A that the *THERBANS* should not see nor heare it. This was no diffimulation to speake of, that they should ordaine things with so gentle wordes, and so meete for the people of *GREECE*, and then that the dedes should not aunswer vnto their edicts & proclamations. For *Thrafsbulus*, and his fellows of the conspiracie, who kept the castell of *Phyla*, they departed from *THERBS*, with armor and money, and the *THERBANS* did helpe them to beginne and practise their enterprife so secretly, that it was not discovered. These were the causes why *Lysander* was so earnestly bent against the *THERBANS*, & his choller being so extreame, by reason of his melancholies that grewe dayly upon him more and more through his age, he solicited the *EPHORES* so, that he perswaded them to sende a garnison thither: and him selfe taking the charge of them, vnderooke the iorney straight with his men. But afterwarde they sent kinge *Pausanias* also with an army thither, who was to fetch a great compasse about to enter into the contrie of *BOEOTIA*, by mount *Cithæron*: and *Lysander* should goe to meete him through the contry of *PHOCIDES*, with a great company of fouldiers besides. Now as *Lysander* went, he tooke the city of the *ORCHOMENTANS*, who willingly yelded them selues to him as soone as he came thither. From thence he went to the city of *LEBADIA*, which he spoyled: & from thence he wrote vnto king *Pausanias*, that departing from *PLATEES*, he should march directly to the city of *ALIASTE*, where he would not faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne walles. These letters were intercepted by certaine skowtes of the *THERBANS*, who met with the messenger that caried them. Thus the *THERBANS* hauing intelligence of their purpose, left their cite in custodie vnto the *ATHENIANS* who were come to aide them: and departed out of *THERBS* about midnight, and marched all night with great speede, that they came to *ALIASTE* in the morning a litle before *Lysander*, and put halfe their men into the cite. Now for *Lysander*, he was determined at the first to keepe his men upon a hill which is nere to the city, and there to tary the coming of king *Pausanias*. But afterwards, when he sawe that the day was farre spent, and that he came not, he could tary no longer, but arming him selfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went vnto the city. In the meane season, the *THERBANS* that were left without the city, leauing *ALIASTE* on the left hande, did let vpon *Lysanders* reterwarde of his army against the fontaine called *Cissusa*: where the Poets faine that the nurles of *Bacchus* did washe him, when he came out of his mothers wombe, because the water that commeth out of it (though it be very clere and sweete to drinke) hath notwithstanding (I can not tell by what meanes) a collour like wine: and not farre from thence there grow great plenty of *Styrac* trees. The which the *ALIASTIANS* do allege, to proue that *Radamanthus* heretofore dwelt in that parte, & doe shew his sepulchre there yet to this day, which they call *Alea*. And hard by that also, there is the monument of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they say) in that place, & was married to *Radamanthus*, after the death of *Amphitryon*. But the *THERBANS* who were within the city with the *ALIASTIANS*, stirred not vntill they sawe that *Lysander* with the first of his troupe was nere vnto the towne walles: & then opening the gates on the sodaine, they made a salie out vpon *Lysander*, & slue him with his footthaier & a few other, because the most part of the voward fled, into the strength of the battell. Howbeit the *THERBANS* gaue the not ouer so, but followed the so valiantly, that they brake their order, & made the all flee through the mountaines, after they had slaine three thousand of the in the field: so were there three hundred *THERBANS* also slaine there, who followed their enemies so fiercely, till they recovered straight narrow waies, of great strength for them. These three hundred were in manner all those that were suspected in *THERBS* to fauor the *LACEDÆMONIANS* secretly: wherefore, for the desire they had to take away this opiniõ from their citizens, they hazarded the selues to no purpose, & were cast away in this chafe. King *Pausanias* heard newes of this ouerthrow, going for *PLATEES* vnto *THE SPIES*, & went on further, marching still in battell ray towards *ALIASTE*, where *Thrafsbulus* also arrived at the selfe same time, bringing the aide of the *ATHENIANS* from *THERBS*. And when *Pausanias* was purposed to send to aske licence of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had slaine, to thintent to bury them: the olde *SPARTANS* that were in his army, mistaking it much, at the first were angry in them selues. But afterwarde they went vnto the king him selfe, to tell him

*Lysander
iorney vnto
Boeotia.
Cithæron
mount.*

Cissusa fount.

*Lysander
slaine by the
Thebans.*

*To the leane
of the enemy to
burye the
deade is dis-
honorable.*

*Lysanders
tomb.*

*Oplites fl.
Definie in-
uitable.*

that he dishonored SPARTA, to offer to take vp *Lysanders* bodie by his enemies leaue & fauor; A and that he should valiantly recouer him by force of armes, and honorably burie him; *also* that he had ouercome their enemies; or else if it were their fortune to be ouerthrowe, that yet it should be more honorable for them, to lye dead in the field by their Capitaine, then to take leaue to take vp his body. But notwithstanding all these wordes of the old men, king *Pausanias* seeing that it was a hard matter to ouercome the THEBANS in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that the body of *Lysander* lay hard by the walls of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to take it away without great danger, although they should win the battell: he sent a herald to the enemies. And hauing made truce for certaine dayes, he led his army away, and tooke vp *Lysanders* body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of BOEOTIA, within the territory of the PANOPHIANS: where vntill this day his tombe remaineth upon the high way, goinge from DELPHES vnto the city of CHERONNEA. Thus *Pausanias* campe being lodged there, it is sayd there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one that was not there, sayd that the enemies came to geue a charge vpon them, as *Lysander* had passed the Oplites. Thother wondering at that, there was a SPARTAN a very friend of *Lysanders* by, hauing heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? answered the PHOCIAN to him againe. Euen then it was where the enemies did ouerthrow the first of our men which were slaine in the feldes: for the riuier that runneth by the walles of the city, is called Oplites. The SPARTAN hearing that, burst out of weeping for sorrow, saying: then I see it is vnpossible for a man to auoyde his destinie. For *Lysander* aforetime had an oracle that tolde him thus.

*Lysander take good heede, come not I thee aduise:
Neere Oplites that riuers bankes, in any kinde of vruife.
Nor neere the Dragon he, vvhich is the earths hor sonne,
Vvho at the length vvvill thee assault, and an thy backe vvvill romme.*

*Philarius fl.
Hoplita, Ifo-
mantus.
Neochorus
flue Lysander.*

Howbeit some take it, that this riuier of Oplites is not that which passeth by the walles of ALIARTE, but it is the riuier that runneth neere vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth into the riuier of Philarius, hard by the city: and they say that in oldetime it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Ifo mantus. He that flue *Lysander*, was an ALIARTIAN called *Neochorus*, who caried a Dragon painted upon his target: and this was that which the oracle of likelyhoods did signifie. They say also, that in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the THEBANS had an oracle from the temple of *Apollo Ismenias*: which oracle did prophesy the battell which they wanne by the castell of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE also, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that oracle was this.

*Vvhen thou thy nets shalt spread, the vvoolues for to intrappe:
Beware thou come not neere vnto, a little bill by happe,
Of Orchalide. Nor neere, to any his confines:
For there, the crafty foxes keepe, their denmes and priuy mines.*

*Orchalide
quene.
Helicon montus.*

*Pausanias
exile.*

*Lysanders
cleane hands
and powerie
confirmed
after his
death.*

He calleth the territory that is about DELIVM, the vttermoost confines, because BOEOTIA doth confine there with the contry of ATTICA: and the hill Orchalide which is now called A-lopecon (to say the foxe denne) which lieth on that side of the citie of ALIARTE, that looketh towards mounte Helicon. *Lysander* being slaine, the SPARTANS tooke his death so ill, that they would haue condemned king *Pausanias* of treason by law: who durst not abide the tryall, but fled vnto the citie of TEGRA, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctuare of the temple of *Minerua*. When *Lysander* was dead, his poverie appeared to the world which made his vertue farre more famous, than when he liued. For then they sawe, that for all the gold & siluer which had passed through his hands, for all his great authority & countenance that he had caried, and for all that for many cities & townes did come to honor him, & briefly, for al that he had so great & puissant a kingdom in manner in his hands: yet he did neuer enrich nor increase his house for so much, as one farthing. So writeth *Theopompus*, whom we should rather beleue when he praiseth, then when he discommendeth: for commonly he taketh more delite to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuneth not longe after, as *Ephorus* writeth, that the

LACE-

A LACEDÆMONIANS and their confederats fel at variance together, wherupon *Lysanders* letters were to be seene that were in his house. King *Agesslaus* goinge thither to perseue them, amongst other writings, founde the oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnassens* which *Lysander* had prepared to perswade the SPARTANS to change their gouernment, and to declare vnto them that they should reuoke the prerogatiue which the *Enrytiomides* and the *Agiaides* had: that the kinges of SPARTA could not be chosen but out of those two families, and to leue the prerogatiue at liberty, that the chiefeft magistrats might be lawfully chosen kinges of SPARTA. *Agesslaus* stood indifferēt to haue shewed this oratiō openly to the people, that the SPARTANS might see what manner a citizen *Lysander* had bene in his harte. But *Lacratidas*, a graue wise man, & president at that time of the counsell of the *Ephori*, would not suffer him: saying, that he should not digge *Lysander* out of his graue againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that was so passingly well, and eloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstanding, they did him great honor after his death: and amongst others, condemned two citizens in a great summe of money, that were made sure to two of his daughters while he liued, and refused to marie them when he was dead, seeing their father dyed lo poore: because they fought to marche in his house, supposing he had bene riche, and forooke them afterwards for their fathers poverty, when they saw he dyed a good and iust man. Thus we see, that at SPARTA there was a punishment for them that did not mary, or that maryed too late, or that married ill: and vnto this punishment were they most subiect, that sought great matches for couetousnes of goods. This is all we haue to wryte of *Lysanders* life and actes.

*Lysanders
counsell for
altering of the
kingdome.*

*Lacratidas
wisdom for-
bearing to
shewe expro-
mitie to the
deade.
Lysander ho-
nored by the
Spartans after
his death.
Singleness of
life, late mari-
age, and ill
marriage pun-
ished by the
Lacedæmoni-
ans.*

THE LIFE OF Sylla.



Vetus *Cornelius Sylla* was of the race of the *Patricians*, who be the noble men & gentlemen of ROME: & there was one of his ancestors called *Rufinus*, that obtained the dignity of Consul. He notwithstanding his Consulshippe, wanne more dishonor by defame; then he obtained honor by dignity of Consul. For they finding in his house about ten poundes worth of plate, contrary to the lawe at that time expressly forbidding it: he was expelled the Senate, and lost his place there, after which dishonor once receiued, his issue neuer rose, nor yet recouered it. And *Sylla* him selfe had very litle left him by his father: so

*Syllas kin-
red.*

that in his youth he was faine to hyer an other mans house, & sat at a small rent, as afterward he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they saw him richer then they thought he had deserved. For when he gloried & boasted of the victory at his returne from the warres of AFRICA, there was a noble man that sayd vnto him: why, how is it possible thou shouldst be an honest man, that hauing nothing left thee by thy father, thou art now come to haue so much? Now, though ROME had left her auncient iustice and purenes of life, wherewith she brought vp her peoplen former times, and that their hartes were poysoned with couetous desire of vaine & superfluous delites: yet notwithstanding, it was as fowle a reproche to them that did not maintaine them selues in the poeerty of their fathers, as vnto them that did consume their patrimony, and bring all to naught which their parentes had left them. But afterwards also when he caried the whole sway in ROME, and that he had put so many men to death: a free man being borne of the slaues infranchised, & being ready to be throwen downe the rocke Tarpeian, bicause he had faued and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death, wherfore they were found: cast it in Syllaes teeth, how that they had liued and dwelt together a long time in one selfe house, he hauing payed thousande Nummos for the rent of the vppermost roomes of the same house, & Sylla three thousand for all the nearemost rooms beneath. So that betwene both their wealthes, there was but onely two thousande and fiftie Drachmas of ATHENS difference. And this is that we finde in wryting of his first wealth. As for his stature and persone, that appeareth sufficiently by the statues and images that were made for him, which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull redde and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to beholde. For he was copper nosed, and that was full of white streakes here and there: whereupon they say that the surname of a Sylla was geuen him, by reason of his colour. And there was a ieafter at ATHENS that finely mocked him in his verbe:

Sylla is like a blacke Berry sprinkled with meale.

It is not amisse to search out the naturall disposition of this man by such outward marks and tokens. It is sayd also that he was so naturally geuen to mocke & ieaft, that being a young man vnknown, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tomblers, but still eating and tippling with them in dissolute manner. And afterwards also when he was his chiefest authoritie, he would commonly eate and drinke with the most impudent ieafters and scoffers, and all such rakehelles, as made profession of counterfeite mirth, & would thinne with the baddest of them to geue the finest mockes: wherin he did not only a thing vncomely for his yeres, & dishonored the maiesty of his office & dignity, but thereby also grew careless & negligent in matters of great importance, wherunto he should haue taken good regard. For after he was once sette at his table, he was not to be moued any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very actiue, painefull, and seuer: yet falling into such cōpany by drinking, bowling, & making good chere, he sodainly became an other maner of man. So that without all compasse of modesty and iudgement, he was too familiar and conuersant with players, ieafters, tomblers, and daunfers: who when they had him in that vaine, might doe what they would with him. Of this riotyng came (in mine opinion) his vice of lechery, whereunto he was greatly geuen, and easily drawn after loue and pleasure: in such sorte, as his gray heares could not restrain his voluptuous life. His vnlawfull lustful loue beganne in his young yeres, with one *Metrobis* a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire vntill his latter age. For at the first he loued *Nicopolis* a rich curtsan: and frequenting her company by oft accesse, and besides that he spent the prime of his beawty and youth in feasting her with great delight and passing pleasure, she afterwards became in loue with him, so that when he dyed, she made Sylla her heire of all she had. He was heire also vnto his mother in lawe, who loued him as her owne begotten sonne: and by these two good happes he was stept vp to pretie wealth. Afterwards beinge chosen Quaestor (to saye treasurer) the first time that *Marius* was Consul, he embarked with him in his iorney into AFRICA, to warre with kinge *Iugurthe*. When he was arriued at the campe, he shewed him selfe a man of great seruice in all other things, but in this especially, that he could wisely vse the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wanne *Bocchus* kinge of the

Sylla's honesty reproved, by means of his great wealth.

Sylla's stature.

That is, his cause that sit in later signification, which becometh red when it is put to the fire, and therefore Syllaeus color in virginitate, signifieth purple colour, Syllaes skepticism.

Sylla's conuersion.

Sylla Quaestor.

the NUMIDIANS to be his fast and faithfull frende: whose Ambassadors, that escaped from a company of NUMIDIAN theues he courteously entertained, and hauing geuen them goodly presentes, sent them backe againe with a safe conuoy. Now concerninge kinge *Bocchus*, he had of long time both hated and feared kinge *Iugurthe* his sonne in lawe: in so much, that after he was overcome in battell, and came to him for succor, *Bocchus* practised treason against him, and for this cause sent secretly for Sylla, desiring rather that *Iugurthe* should be taken by Sylla, then by him selfe. Sylla brake this matter vnto *Marius*, of whom hauing receiued a small number of souldiers to accompany him, (without respect of perill or daunger) went and committed him selfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take an other: considering also that the king whom he trusted was so vnjust of his word, euen vnto his neerest friends and confederates. Now *Bocchus* hauing *Iugurthe* and Sylla both in his power, and brought him selfe to that pinch that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to resolue which of the two he should deale withall, in the end went on with his first plot & device of treason, and so deliuered *Iugurthe* into Syllaes hands. In deede *Marius* triumphed for taking of king *Iugurthe*: but his euill willers, for the spite and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honor of *Iugurthes* taking wholly vnto Sylla. That secretly went to *Marius* hate, and specially for that Sylla being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from abate, obscure, and vnknown life to be knowne & well accepted of the people in ROME, and to talso what honor ment) became so ambitious and couetous of glory, that he caused the story to be grauen in a ring, which he did euer after vse to weare & seale withall. Where king *Bocchus* was deliuering of *Iugurthe* vnto Sylla, and Sylla also receiuing *Iugurthe* prisoner. These thinges misliked *Marius* much: but notwithstanding, judging that Sylla was not so much enuied as him selfe, he tooke him with him vnto the warres. *Marius* in his seconde Consulship, made Sylla one of his Lieutenantes: and in his third Consulship, he had charge vnder him of a thousand footemen, and did many notable and profitable exploitcs for him. When Sylla was his Lieutenant, he tooke one *Capillus*, a general of the GAULES Tectosages. And when he was Colonell of a thousand footemen, he brought the MARSIAKS (a maruelous great contry of people in ITALIE) and perswaded them to remaine good frendes, and confederates of the ROMAINES. For this his good seruice, he founde that *Marius* grewe in great misliking with him, bicause from thence forth he neuer gaue him any honorable charge, or occasion to shewe good seruice: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising. Wherefore, Sylla afterwards tooke *Catulus Lucatius* parte, who was companion with *Marius* in his Consulship. This *Catulus* was a very honest man, but somewhat slacke and colde in marshall matters, which was the cause that in deede he did committe vnto Sylla all the speciall seruice and matters of weight in his charge: whereupon he gaue him occasion not onely to increase his estimation, but also his credit and power. For by force of armes, he conquered the most parte of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes: and *Catulus* campe lacking vittells, hauing commission, he made a maruelous great quantity of provision to be brought thither, in so much as *Catulus* campe being plentifully vittelled, they sent their store & surplusage vnto *Marius* souldiers, the which Sylla him selfe wryteth, did much mislike. And this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded vpon so light occasion, was followed with ciuill warres, great effusion of blood, and with incurable factions and dissensions: that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confusion of all the ROMAINE state and Empire. This doth proue that *Euripides* the Poet was a wise man, and one that foresaw the ruines of common weales, when he counselled, and also commanded gouernors to flie ambition, as a most pestilent and mortall furie vnto them that are once infected withall. Now Sylla thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the warres, would haue made his way open to preferre him to some honorable office in the city of ROME: he was no longer returned from the warres, but he would needes proue the peoples good willes vnto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that sued for the Praetorshippe of the city (that is to say, the office of the ordinary iudge that ministreth iustice vnto the citizens) but he was rejected by the voyce of the people. For the which he layed the fault vpon the meane sort, saying, that the commonalty knew well enough the frendshippe he had with king *Bocchus*, and

The cause of Bocchus friendship vnto Sylla.

Iugurthe deliuered vnto Sylla by kinge Bocchus. The honor of Iugurthes takinge attributed vnto Sylla.

Sylla's noble deedes vnder Marius.

Sylla's doinge vnder Catulus.

The first cause of enmity betwixt Sylla and Marius.

Ambition is to be fled, as a mortall furie.

that therefore they hoping that if he were made *Ædilis* before he came to be *Prætor*, he would make them see noble huntings and great fightinges of wilde beastes of *LIVIA*, that therefore they did choole other *Prætors*, and put him by his sute, in hope to compell him by this meanes to be first of all *Ædilis*. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confesse the truth of his refusal, for his owne act doth condemne him selfe: because the next yeer following he was chosen *Prætor*, partly for that he wan the people with curtesie, and partly with money. So he fallinge out with *Cæsar* upon that occasion, in his anger threatned him that he would vnto the power and authority of his office upon him. But *Cæsar* smiling, answered him: thou hast reason to call it thine office, for in deede it is thine, because thou hast bought it. But after the time of his *Prætorshippe* was expired, he was sent with an army into *CAPPADOCIA*, colouring his voyage thither with commision to restore *Ariobarzanes* into his kingdom againe: howbeit thonly cause of his iorney was in deede to suppress kinge *Mithridates* a litle, who tooke too many thinges in hande, and increased his power and dominion with a new figure of no lesse greatnes, then that which he had before. In troth he brought no great army out of *ITALIE* with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the *ROMAINES*, every place, through whose aide he ouerthrew a great number of the *CAPPADOCIANS*; and afterwarde also a greater number of the *ARMENIANS*, which came in like case to aide them: so that he expulseth *Gordius* king of *PHRYGIA* out of *CAPPADOCIA*, and restored *Ariobarzanes* to his realme againe. After which victory, *Sylla* remained by the riuier of *Euphrates*; and thither came vnto him one *Orobazus* a *PARTHIAN*, Ambassador of *Asfages*, king of the *PARTHIANES*. Now these two nations, the *ROMAINES*, and the *PARTHIANES*, were neuer frendes before: and that with other thinges shewed the great good fortune *Sylla* had, that the *PARTHIANES* came first to him by his meanes to seeke frendshippe with the *ROMAINES*. They say, that receiuing this Ambassador *Orobazus*, he made three chayres to be brought out, the one for king *Ariobarzanes*, the other for *Orobazus* the Ambassador, and the third for him selfe, which he placed in the midst betwene them both, and sitting downe in the same, gaue audience vnto the Ambassador: for which cause the king of *PARTHIA* afterwarde put *Orobazus* to death. Some doe commend *Sylla* for this acte, for that he kept his state in such mailety among the barbarous people. Other do reprove his ambition in it, shewing him selfe stouid out of time, and to no purpose. We doe read that a soothsayer of *CHALDEA* being in *Orobazus* traine, hauing diligently viewed and considered the physiognomy of *Sylla*, and all his other mouinges and gestures of minde and body, to iudge not by the clymate of the contry, but according to the rules of his arte what his nature should be: all well considered of, he sayd that *Sylla* one day must needs come to be a great man, and that he marueled how he could suffer it that he was not euen then the chiefeft man of the worlde. When *Sylla* was returned againe to *ROME*, one *Censorinus* accused him of extortion, that he had caried away a great summe of money with him, contrary to the lawes, out of one of their confederates contry: howbeit he prosecuted not his accusation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time, the enmity begonne betwixt him and *Marinus*, kindled againe vpon a new occasion of king *Bocchus* ambition: who partly to creepe further into the peoples fauor of *ROME*, and partly also for to gratifie *Sylla*, gaue and dedicated certaine images of victory carying tokens of triumphe, vnto the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and next vnto them also the image of *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered into the handes of *Sylla*, being all of pure golde. This did so offende *Marinus*, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of *Sylla*. So that for the quarrell of these two, the city of *ROME* taking armes, had like to haue brought all to ruine: had not the warres of the confederats of *ITALIE* bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and fedition for that time. In this maruelous great warre which fell out very dangerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the *ROMAINES*, *Marinus* did no notable exploit: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath neede of a strong, lusty, and able body. For *Sylla* to the contrary, hauing done notable seruice, and obtained many profitable victories, wanne the fame and elimation among the *ROMAINES*, of a noble souldier, and worthy Captaine: and among themenies them selues, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* did not as *Timotheus* *ATHENIAN*, the sonne of *Conon* had done

Who,

A Who, when his aduersaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deedes vnto the fauor of fortune; and did paine fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and secured in times whilst he slept: he tooke it in very ill parte, and was maruelous angrie with them that did it, saying, that they robbed him of the glory that iustly belonged vnto him. Wherefore one day when this *Timotheus* was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the *ATHENIANS* with the whole discoure of his doings in his voyage, he sayd vnto them: my Lordes of *ATHENS*, fortune hath had no parte in all this which I haue told vnto you. Hereupon the goddes it should seeme were so angrie with this foolish ambition of *Timotheus*, that he neuer afterwarde did any worthy thing, but all went vnto against the heare with him: vntill at the length he came to be so hated of the people, that in the end they banished him from *ATHENS*. But *Sylla* to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their wordes: that sayd, he was a happy man, and singularly beloued of fortune: but also increasing his opinion, and glorying as at a speciall grace of the goddes, did attribute the honor of his doings vnto fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fanly, that the goddes did prosper him in all his doings. For he wrote him selfe in his commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hotly, according to the sodaine occasion offered, did better prosper with him, then those which by good aduise he had determined of. Furthermore, when he sayd that he was better borne vnto fortune, then to the warres: it seemeth that he confessed all his prosperity came rather by fortune, then by his worthinesse. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly submit him selfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend vpon her: considering that he did attribute it to the speciall grace and fauor of the goddes, that he neuer disagreed with *Metellus* his father in law, who was a man of like dignitie and authoritie as him selfe was. For where it was thought he would haue bene a greater hinderer of his doings, he found him verie courteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reason of the societie of their office. And furthermore, in his commentaries which he dedicated vnto *Lucillus*, he counselled him to thincke nothing more certaine and assured, then that which the goddes should reueale vnto him, and commaunde him in his nightes dreame. He wryteth also that when he was sent with an army vnto the warres of the confederates, the earth sodainly opened about *LAVRINA*, out of the which immediately came a maruelous bright flame of fire that ascended vp to the element. The wise men being asked their opinions about the same, made aunswere: that a very honest, and also a maruelous fayer man of complexion taking soueraine authoritie in his handes, should pacifie all tumultes and fedition which were at that time in *ROME*. Whereupon *Sylla* sayd it was him selfe whom the goddes ment, because that amongst other things he had that singular gift of beawty, that his heare was yellow as golde: and he was not ashamed to name him selfe an honest man, after he had wonne so many notable great victories. Thus haue we sufficiently spoken of the trust he had in the fauor of the goddes. And furthermore, he seemed to be very contrary in his manners, and vnlike to him selfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he gaue as much more also in an other. Some he preferred without cause: and others he put downe without reason. He would be very gentle to them, of whom he would haue ought: and vnto those that fought of him, he would stand much upon his honor, and looke for great reuerence. Whereby men could hardly decerne his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he vsed in punishing of them that had offended him: sometimes he hanged vp men for very small and light causes: Some other times againe to the contrary, he patiently aboade the most grieuous offences in the worlde: and lightly pardoned and forgave such fautes as were in no wise to be forgiven. And afterwarde againe would punish right small crimes, with murders, effusion of blood, and confiscation of goodes. This iudgement may be geuen of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a reuenging minde: yet notwithstanding he qualified that naturall bitternes with reason, geuing place to necessity, and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his souldiers slue *Albinus* one of his Lieutenantes, beating him to death with staues and stones, being a man of good quality, and one that had bene *Prætor*. This great offence he passed ouer with silence, vnto no manner of punishment, and turned it to a boast in the end, saying, that his men were the more obedient

Sylla chosen
Consull.
Metellus
chief: bishop
of Rome,
a married man.

Sylla's winter.

Marinus found
ambition.

Wonderfull
signes seen
before the ci-
vill warres.

The Thimble
opinion of
eight worlds.

and diligent in any peece of service that was to be done, and that he made them amende-
faulkes by worthy service. And furthermore, he did not regard them that did reprove him
but hauinge determined with him selfe to destroy *Marinus*, and to procure that he might be
chosen generall in the warres against king *Mithridates*, because that this warre of the con-
federates was now ended: for this cause he flattered & carried fauor with his souldiers that fol-
ued vnder him. At his returne to Rome from these warres of the confederates, he was chosen
Consull with *Q. Pompeius*, being then fifty yeare olde, and married with *Cecilia* a noble Ladie,
and *Metellus* daughter, who was then chiefe bishoppe of Rome, for which marriage the com-
mon people sang songes and ballades vp and downe Rome against him: and many of the no-
ble men enuied him for it, thinking him unworthy of so noble a Ladie, whom they thought
worthy to be Consull, as *Titus Lucretius* sayth. Now she was not his only wife, for he had a young
wife before called *Ilia*, by whom he had a daughter. After her he married *Aelia*, then a third
called *Celia*, whom he put away because she brought him no children. But notwithstanding
he went honorably away from him with very good wordes of her, besides many other good
ly riche giftes he gaue her: howbeit shortly after he married *Metella*, which made the world
suspect that *Celia* was put away for her naughtines. Howsoeuer it was, *Sylla* did euer honor
and loue *Metella*: in somuch as the people of Rome afterwards making feare, that they that
were banished for *Marinus* faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and re-
fused by *Sylla*, they cried out with open voyce for *Metella*, praying her to helpe them to obtaine
their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the city of Athens, he delt more
cruelly with them, because that some of them had scoffed at *Metella* from the walles: howbeit
that was afterwards. So *Sylla* making his reckening at that time that the Consullshippe was
small matter, in comparison of that which he looked for in time to come: was maruelous de-
sirous to go against *Mithridates*. But therein *Marinus* also, of a mad furious ambition and eu-
erousnes of glory stoodde against him, and fied to goe that iorney in like manner, being sub-
iect to those passions, which neuer waxe olde, as we may dayly see by experience. For being
now a heavy man, sickly of body, and broken in seruice abroad in the warres, from the which
he came but newly home, and brusd moreouer with age: did notwithstanding yet aspire to
haue the charge of the warres so farre of beyond the seas. Wherefore, to obtaine his purpose,
whilest *Sylla* was gone a litle vnto the campe to geue order for certaine things that were
to be done, he remaining in the city, did practise this pestilent mortall sedition, which alone did
more hurte vnto the city of Rome, then all the enemies that Rome euer had: the which the
goddess them selues had foreshewed by many signes and tokens. For fire tooke of it selfe in the
statues of the ensignes, which they had much a doe to quenche. Three rauens brought their
young ones into the high way, and did eate them vp in the sight of many people, and after-
wardes caried the garbage they left of them into their neastes. Rats also hauing gnawen some
iuells of golde in a church, the sextens setting a trappe for them, a rat was taken full of young,
and kended five young rats in the trappe, of the which he ate vp three. But more yet, on a
fayer bright day whē there was no clowde seene in the element at all, men heard such a sharp
sound of a trompet, that they were almost all out of their wittes, for feare of so great a noise.
Whereuppon the wife men and soothsayers of *Thyscan* being asked their opinions, tolde
them: that this so strange and wonderfull signe did pronounce the chaunge of the worlde,
and the departure out of this into another life. For they holde opinion, that there should be
eight worldes, all contrary one vnto another, in manners and facions of life: vnto every one
of the which sayd they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance. Howbeit they
all came to ende their course within the space of the reuolution of the great yeare: and that
when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there are seene such wonderfull strange
signes on the earth, or in the element. And such as haue studied that science, doe certainly
know, as soone as men be borne, which are meere contrary vnto the first in their liues & ma-
ners, and which are either more or lesse acceptable vnto the goddes, then those which liued
in former age. For they say, that amongst great chaunges and alterations which are done in
those places from one age vnto another, the science of diuination, and foretelling of things
to come doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaseth God to
send

A fearefull certaine and manifest signes, to knowe and foretell things to come. And in this
world is full in a manner right groweth contempt, and loseth her reputation, for that it is
very rich, and faith to meete with the most parte of her predictions, because the rich bill
oblique meares, and all her instruments defaced, to knowe what should come. And these be
the signes which the wildest soothsayers of *Thyscan* reported abroad, & they specially, who
learned to haue some finger speculation aboute others. But as the Senate were talking with
the soothsayers of these wonders, being assembled together within the temple of the goddesse
Minerva, a sparrow came flying into the church in sight of them all, and caried a grasshopper
in her bill, and parted it in the midst, and left one parte within the temple, and caried the
other away with her. Whereupon the wife men and interpreters of such wonders, said, that
they doubted a commotion and rising of the dontry men against the commons of the cite, be-
cause the common people of the cite doe crye out continually like grasshoppers, and the
husbandmen doe keepe them selues vpon their landes in the contrary. Thus *Marinus* grew great
and very familiar, with *Salpurius*, one of the Tribunes of the people; who in all kindes of wis-
kednes and mischiefe that a man can reckon, would geue place to no living creature: so that
a man neede not to seeke or demand any where for a worse then he, but the question is rather
wherein he him selfe was not the worse of all others. For he was full replet with all kindes of
covely, avarice, and rascallnesse, and charcolde extremely, as he cared not what villany and wick-
kednes he openly committed, so that the same might turne to his profit. For he had let up a
stall in the open market place, where he solde freedome; making slaves and strangers desir-
ous of Rome for their money: and for that purpose he entertained a gard of three thousand
about him, besides a band of young gentlemen of the order of knights that attended alwayes
upon his person ready at commaundement, whome he called the garde against the Senate,
that he might not let him selfe hauing passed a lawe by the voyce of the people, that no Senator
should borrow money, above two thousand Drachmas: it was founde that at the hower of
his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging
beast, being left by *Marinus* amongst the people, turned all things topsie turuey, by force of
arms and maine strength. He made also many wicked lawes to passe by voyce of the people,
and amongst others, that one specially, whereby he gaue *Marinus* commission to make warres
against king *Mithridates*. For which extreme oppressions and dealings of *Sulpitius*, the two
Consuls (*Sylla* and *Quintus Pompeius*) left off to heare publike causes, and ceased the common
sentence of law and iustice. And as they were one day occupied about the adiournement of the
law in an open assembly in the market place, before the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*: *Sulpitius*
the Tribune came vpon them with his souldiers, and slue many people, and amongst others the
Consull *Pompeius* by his sonne, and the father him selfe being Consull, had much a doe to save
his life by flying. And *Sylla* the other Consull, was also pursued euen into *Marinus* house, where
he was compelled to promise before his departure, presently to goe and reuoke that adio-
urnment of the law, which he had before commaunded. Thus *Sulpitius* hauing depeined *Pompeius*
of his Consullshippe, did not depose *Sylla*, but only tooke from him the charge he had geuen
him to make warres against *Mithridates*, and transferred that vnto *Marinus*. And sending col-
lons to the city of *Nock* to receiue the army that lay there, and to bring the same vnto *Ma-
rinus*, *Sylla* prevented them, and fled to the campe before them; and tolde the souldiers all what
had passed, as it was in deede: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and slue *Marinus* col-
lons with stones. *Marinus* on the other side put all *Sylla*'s friends to death at Rome, and tooke
the spoyle of the goddes and houses: so was there nothing else but flying from the campe
towards, and from Rome to the campe against. The Senate were in manner beside them, sel-
ues not being able to gouerne as they would, but driuen to obey *Marinus* and *Sulpitius* com-
maundements. Who being aduertised that *Sylla* was coming towards Rome, as a iust straight
vnto the city, these two Prayers spake a litle to holdly vnto *Sylla*: whereupon the souldiers fell
to a tumult in such sort, that they stood indifferēt whether to kill him presently in the field
or no, howbeit they brake their axes and bandells of rodde which were caried before them,
and made their purple robes wherein they were apparelled as magistrates for them, and

The wicked-
ness of Sulpi-
tius the Tri-
bune.

Marinus and
Sulpitius se-
dition.

All lawes cea-
sed for a time,
by reason of
Sulpitius op-
pressions and
wicked lawes.

Marinus and
Sulpitius
were
driven to
obey
Marinus
and
Sulpitius
commandments.

sent them home thus shamefully handled and intimated. Vpon their returne now to Rome their sadde silence only, and them selues so stripped besides, of all their markes and Prætoriall dignitie, made all men then to iudge that they brought no other newes; but as were the worst that possibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie this condition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherefore *Marius* and his followers began to make them selues strong by force: and *Sylla*, with his companion *Q. Pompeius*, departed in meane time from the city of *NOLE*, and brought six entiere legions on with him; who did not other thing but to make hast to march to *ROME* ward. Howbeit *Sylla* stood in doubt with him selfe what to do, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Vntill such time as his soothsayer *Posthumius* hauing considered the signes & tokens of the sacrifices, which *Sylla* had made vpon this determination, gaue him both his handes, and bad him binde them hard, and shut him vp fast, untill the day of battell should be past: saying, that he was cōtented to his death, if he had not good successe, and that out of hande, to his great honor. And it is sayd also, that the same night there appeared vnto *Sylla* in a dreame, the goddesse *Bellona*, whome the *ROMAINE*s do greatly honor, following therein the *CAPPADOCIANS*: and I knowe not whether it be the moone, *Minerva*, or *Enyo* the goddesse of battells. So he thought, that comming to him did put lightning into his hande, commanding him that he should light vpon his enemies, naming then one after another by their proper names: and that they being striken with his lightning, fell downe dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This vision encouraged *Sylla* very much, and hauing reported the same to *Pompeius* his fellow Consul & companion, the next morning he marched with his army to *ROME*. When he was at *PICUS*, there came other Ambassadors vnto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to *ROME* in this heate and fury, declaring therewithall that the Senate would graunt him all things that should be meete and reasonable. When *Sylla* had heard the message, he answered them, that he would campe there: and so commaunded the marshalls to deuise the squadrons according to their maner. The Ambassadors beleuing that he would so haue done in deede, returned againe to *ROME*: howbeit their backs were sponer turned, but *Sylla* straight sent *Lucius Bassulus*, and *Caius Manimius* before to seale out the gates of *ROME*, and the walles which were on the side of mount *Esquilin*, and he him selfe also in person with all possible speede marched after them. *Bassulus* entered *ROME*, and waded the gate by force. But the common people vnarmed, got them vp straight to the toppe of the houses, and with ryles and stones stayed, and kept him, not onely from entering any further, but also draue him backe againe, euen to the very walles of the city. In this hurly burly sent *Sylla* him selfe to *ROME*, who seeing apparantly in what state things stood, cried out to his men, and bad them set fyre on the houses: and him selfe taking a torch light in his hand, showed them the way what they should doe, appoynting his archers and darters to wherle to flie their dartes, and other fiery instruments to the toppes of the houses. Herein he was not much overcome with vnreasonable choller, passion, and desire of reuenge. For, feeling that to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to friends, to parentes, or confederates, neither had he yet any manner of remorse, or pity: such and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference betwene those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all: by this meanes was *Marius* driuen into the city, vnto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by sounde of trumpet, that he would make free all the slaues that would come to his parte. But forthwith came his enemies, set vpon him, and prest him so neere, that he was constrained vnto to flee and forsake the city. Then *Sylla* assembling the Senate, sent *Marius*, and certaine others, together with *Sulpicius* Tribune of the people: to be condemned to death. *Sulpicius* was betrayed by a slaue of his owne, whom *Sylla* made free according to his promise past by publike edict: but when he had made him free, he caused him to be thrown downe headlong from the rocke *Tarpeian*. And nor contented with this, he proclaimed by promise a great summe of money to him that would kill *Marius*: A very ingrate and thankfull parte, consideringe that *Marius* not many dayes before hauinge *Sylla* in his owne house, in his handes and custody, deliuered him from perill, and set him in liberty. Which at that time he had not done, but had suffered *Sulpicius* to haue slaine him: him selfe had beene

foueraine

A foueraine Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might haue ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. But *Sylla* shortly after vpon the like aduantage, vied no such manner of requital or gratuite towards him, which bred a secret misliking amongst the Senate: howbeit the common people made open shewe of the euill will they bare vnto *Sylla*, by reiecting one *Nonius* his newiue, and one *Seruius*, who vpon confidence of his fauor, presented them selues to sue for certaine offices. And besides the shame of this refusal, to spyie him the more, they chose others in their steedes, whose honor and preferment they right well knew that *Sylla* would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely dissembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying, that by his meanes the people of *ROME* enjoyed a full & perfit liberty, that in such cases of election, they might freely do what they selues liked. And to mitigate somewhat the peoples euill will towards him he determined to chooſe *Lucius Cinna* Consul, who was of a contrary faction to him: hauing first bounde him by solemn othe and curse to fauor his doings & whole proceedings. Whereupon *Cinna* went vp to the Capitoll, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnly (weare and promise, that he would be *Sylla*s faithfull frende: beleeching the goddes if he did the contrary, that he might be thrown out of *ROME*, euen as he threw that stone out of his hand: and with those words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithstanding all these curses, *Cinna* was no sooner entred into his Consulshippe, but presently he beganne to chaunge and alter all. For amongst other things, he would needes haue *Sylla* acculed: and procured *Verгинius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But *Sylla* left him with his iudges, & went to make warres against *Mithridates*. And it is said, that about the time that *Sylla* tooke shippe, and departed out of *ITALIE*: there fortunied many tokens and warnings of the goddes vnto kinge *Mithridates*, who was at that present in the city of *PERGAMVM*. As amongst others, that the *PARGAMENTIANS* to honor *Mithridates* withall, hauing made an image of victory, carrying a garland of triumphe in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines: so soone as he was ready to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the ground in the middelt of the Theater, and burst all to peeces. Whereby all the people that were present, were striken with a maruelous feare, and *Mithridates* him selfe beganne to mislike this euill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, then he looked for. For he had taken *ASIA* from the *ROMAINE*s, and *BITHYNIA* and *CAPPADOCIA*, from the kinges which he had driuen out: and at that time remained in the city of *PERGAMVM*, to deuise the riches and great territories among his frendes. As touching his sonnes: the eldest was in the realme of *PONTVS*, and of *BOSPHORVS*, which he inherited from his predecessors, euen vnto the desertes beyonde the mariffes of *Maotides*, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, *Ariarathes*, was with a great army, in conquering of *THRACIA* and *MACEDON*. His Captaines and Lieutenauntes moreover, did many notable conquestes in diuers places, with a great power: amongst the which, *Archelaus* being Lord and master of all the sea, for the great number of shippes he had, conquered the Iles *CYCLADES*, and all those beyonde the hed of *Malea*, and specially amongst others the Ile of *EVBOA*. And beginning at the city of *ATHENS*, had made all the nations of *GREECE* to rebell, euen vnto *THESSALIE*. Easing that he receiued some losse by the city of *CHERONEA*. Where *Brutius Sura*, one of the Lieutenauntes of *Sentius* gouernor of *MACEDON* (a man of great wisdom and valliantnes) came against him, and stayed him for goinge any further, ouerrunning the whole contrie of *BORTHIA*, like a furious raging riuier. And setting vpon *Archelaus* by the city of *CHERONEA*, ouerthrowe him in three feuerall battells: repulled, and inforced him to take the seaes againe. But as *Brutius* was following him in chase, *Lucius Lucullus* sent him commaundement to geue place vnto *Sylla*, to follow those warres against *Mithridates*, according to the charge and commission in that behalfe geuen him. Whereupon *Brutius Sura* went out of the contrie of *BORTHIA*, and returned towards his generall *Sentius*: notwithstanding his affaires prospered better then he could haue wished, and that all *GREECE* were very willing to renouel for the reputation of his wisdom and goodnes. Howbeit the things that we before haue spoken of, were the most notable matters that *Brutius* did in those partes. *Sylla* now vpon his annuall, recouered immediatly all the other cities of *GREECE*: who being aduertised of his comming, sent

VV. ij

Sylla marches towards Rome with six legions. Posthumius the deuine, did prophesie vnto Sylla.

Sylla's vision in his dreame.

Sylla set the battell a fire in Rome.

Marius and Sulpicius condemned to death. Treason iustly rewarded. The ingratitude of Sylla reprinted.

Lucius Cinna Consul. Cinna swore to be Sylla's frende.

Sylla went against Mithridates.

Mithridates power.

*Sylla best-
geth the city
of Athens.*

presently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of ATHENS only excepted, which was compelled by the tyrant *Aristion*, to take parte with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* thereupon with all his power went thither, besieged the haue of Piræa rounde, causing it to be battered and assailed on euery side, with all sortes of engines and instrumentes of batterie: whereas if he could haue had patience but a litle longer, he might haue had the high towne by famine, without putting him selfe in any manner of daunger, the same being brought to such extreme dearth and scarcity of all kinde of vitells. But the hast that he made to returne againe to ROME; for feare of the new change which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that sorte with great danger, many battells, and infinite charge: considering also, that besides all other prouision and furniture, he had twenty thousand mules and mules laboring dayly to furnishe his engines of batterie. And when all other woode fayled him, because his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of them selues by reason of their weight, others consumed with fire thrown from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the *Academia*, being better stored and furnished, the any other parke of pleasure in all the suburbs of the city, & feld downe also the wood of the parke *Lycæum*. And standing in neede of a great summe of money to entertaine this warres withall, he delt alth with the holiest temples of all GREECE, causing the to bring him from the temples of *EPIDAVRUM* and *OLYMPVS*, all the richest and most precious iuels they had. He wrote moreover vnto the counsell of the *AMPHICTYONS* holden in the city of *DELPHES*, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of *Apollo*, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, the if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to vſe it, he would restore as much againe vnto them: and for this purpose he sent *Caphis PHOCIAN*, one of his very friends & familiars, and commaunded him to wey all that he tooke. So *Caphis* went vnto *DELPHES*: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy things, in presence of the counsell of the *AMPHICTYONS*, he wept, that the teares ran downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe such an act against his will. And when some that were present told *Caphis* that they heard the found of *Apoloes* citherne in the temple: whether he beleued it was fo in dede, or because he would put this superstitious feare into *Syllas* head, he wrote to him of it. But *Sylla* mocking him, sent him word, that he marvelled he could not consider, that fingring and playing of the citherne, were tokens rather of ioye then of anger: and therefore that he should not faile to procede further, and bring him those things which he commaunded, for that (said he) *Apollo* did geue them him. Now for the other iuels of the temple of *Apollo*, the common people knew not that they were sent vnto *Sylla*: but the siluer tonne, which only was that that remained of the offerings of the kings, the *AMPHICTYONS* were faine to breake that in peces, because it was so great & masse, that the beastes of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other auncient ROMANE Capitaines, as *Flaminius*, *Manius Acilius*, and *Paulus AEmilius*: of the which, the one hauing driuen king *Antiochus* out of GREECE, and the rest also hauing ouerthrowen the kings of MACEDON, they neuer once touched the gold and siluer of the temples of GREECE: but contrarily sent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honor and reuerence. But as to them, they were all Capitaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their souldiers wel trained, & obedient at commaundement, void of rebellion, or any manner of mutiny. And for them selues, were kings in greatnes of corage and magnanimity of minde: but in expence of their persones, very spare and scant, without any lauish, but needfull and necessary, proportioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their souldiers, then feare their enemies. Now the Capitaines contrarily in *Syllas* time, fought not their preferment in the common wealth by vertue, but by force, and hauing greater warres one with an other, then with straungers their enemies: were compelled to flatter their souldiers whom they should commaund, and to buy their paines & seruice, feeding them still with large & great expences, to please & content them. Wherein they did not consider, that they brought their contry into bondage, & made themselves slaues of the vilest people of the world, whiles that in the meane time they sought to commaund by all meanes possible those, which in many respects were farre better then them selues. And this was the cause that both draue *Marinus* out of ROME, & made him also to returne againe against *Sylla*. This selfe same cause made *Cinna* to kill *Octavius*, and *Fir-*

*Sylla took
the iuels and
ready money
out of all the
temples of
Greece, and
brought it to
him to Athens.*

*Caphis super-
sticious for
touching the
holy things.*

*The commen-
dation of the
auncient Ro-
maine Cap-
taines, for or-
dering of their
souldiers, and
also for their
modest ex-
pences.*

Aristion to stay *Flaminius*: of which euills, *Sylla* was the very first and only author, spending out of all reason, and geuing the souldiers largely that serued vnder him, to winne their good willes the more, and thereby also to allure them. By reason whereof, *Sylla* had neede of mountaines of money, and specially at the siege where he was: both to make straungers traytors, and besides, to furnishe and satisfie his owne dissolute souldiers. For he had such an earnest desire to take the city of ATHENS, that he could not possibly be dissuaded from it. And either it was of a certain vaine ambition he had to fight against the auncient reputation of that city, being then but a shadow to that it had bene: or els of a very anger, for the mockes & gibes which the tyrant *Aristion* gaue in his speches from the wals, against him & *Metella*, to spite him the more withall. This tyrant *Aristion* was full of all cruelty & wickednes, hauing taken vp all the worst qualities and greatest imperfections of king *Mithridates*, & heaped them wholly together in him selfe: by reason whereof the poore city of ATHENS which had escaped from so many warres, tyrannies, & ciuill dissentions vntil that present time, was by him, as by an incurable disease, brought vnto all extremity. For a bushell of wheate was worth a thousand Drachmas, and men were driuen for famine to eate feustfew that grew about the castell: & they caused old shoes & old oyle pots to be sodden, to deliuer some laior vnto that they did eate, whilst the tyrant himselfe did nothing all day long but cramme in meate, & drinke dronke, daunse, maske, & scotte & bowe at the enemies, suffering the holy lampe of *Minerua* in the meane season to go out for lacke of oyle. And when the Nunne of the same temple sent vnto him for a quarter of a bushell of wheate, he sent her a quarter of a bushell of pepper. And when the counsellors of the city, the priestes & religious came to the castell, holding up their hands, & beseeching him to take some pity of the city, & fall to composition with *Sylla*: he made the to be driuen away, & scattered with slings. In the end, very late, & yet with great ado, he sent two or three of his quaffing copanions vnto *Sylla*, who when they were come to him, made no demand of composition for the towne, but began to praise & magnifie the dedes of *Theseus*, of *Euamolpus*, & of the ATHENIANS against the MEDS. Whereupon *Sylla* made them this aunswere. My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rhetoricke: for the ROMAINES sent me not hither to learne nor to study, but to ouercome & conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the meane time there were certaine spies in the city that heard old men talking together in a place called *Ceramicus*, blaming the tyrant because he kept no better watch on that side of the wal that was directly ouer against the *Hepstachalon*, which was the only place where the enemies might easilist get vp vpon the wals. Those spies went straight vnto *Sylla*, & told him what they had heard the old men say. *Sylla* traacted no time, but came to the place in the night to see it: & perceiving that it was to be taken, set the matter straight abroach. And him selfe wrytes in his commentaries, that the first man that scaled the wals, was *Marcus Teinus*: who finding a souldier ready to resist him, gaue him such a fore blow with his sword vpon his head peece, that his sword brake in two, and yet notwithstanding that he saw him selfe naked & deformed of a sword, did not for all that giue back, but stoode fill to it, & kept the place so long, till through him the city was take, & all upon the talke of these old men. So *Sylla* caused the wall to be pulled downe betwene the haue of Piræa, & the holy haue: & hauing before made the breach very plaine, entered into the city about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a maruelous noise with a number of hornes, & sounding of trumpets, & all his army with him in order of battel, crying, to the sack, to the sack, kill, kill. For he had geuen them the towne in spoyle, and to put all to the sword. The souldiers therefore ran through the streetes with their swords drawn, making an vncredible slaughter: so that to this daye they be not acknowen, nor doe not declare what number of persons were slaine, but to shew the greatnes of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seene where the blood ranne. For besides them that were slaine through all the city, the blood of them only that were slaine in the market stede, did wet all the ground of *Ceramicus*, euen vnto the very place called *Dipylon*: and some say also, that it ranne by the gates into the suburbs of the citie. But if the multitude of the people that were slaine in this sorte were great, much more (or so many at the least) it is sayd were those that slue the selues, for the sorrow & compassion they had to see their cotry in such pitiful state, supposing certainly that their city was now come to vtter ruine & destruction. This opiniõ made the noblest men of the city to dispaire of their owne safety, & feared to lue any longer: because they thought they should

*Sylla the first
man that spoil-
led all good
seruice of
souldiers, by
ouermuch li-
beritie and
sufferance.*

*The wicked-
nes of the ty-
rant Aristion.*

*The great
valiancies of
Marcus
Teinus.*

*Athenis taken
by Sylla.*

*The slaughter
of the Athen-
ians after
the taking of
the citie.*

finde no mercy, no moderacion of cruelty in *Sylla*. Notwithstanding, partly at the request of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, who were banished men from *Athenes*, and fell at *Sylla*'s feet vpon their knees: and partly also at the requests of the *Romaine* Senators that were in his campe, who prayed him to pardon the body of the city, and the rather for that he had already quenched the thirst of his rauening mind sufficiently well, after that he had somewhat sayd in praise of the auncient *Athenians*, he concluded in the end, to geue the greater number vnto the smaller, and the liuing to the dead. *Sylla* wryteth him selfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the city of *Athenes* on the very selfe day of the calendes of march, which commeth to agree with the first day of the moneth that we call *Antheſterion*, on the which day by chance many things are done at *Athenes* in memory of *Noes* flood, and of the vniuersall destruction of the whole world that was in olde time by rage of waters, falling out euen in that very moneth. When the city was thus taken, the tyrant *Aristion* fled into the castell, where he was besieged by *Curio*, whome *Sylla* left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last, constrained thereunto for lacke of water, yielded. The castell was no sooner gauen vp, but immediately by goddes providence, the weather miraculously altered. For the selfe same day, and at the very selfe instant that *Curio* caried the tyrant *Aristion* out of the castell: the element being very fayer and clere, the clowdes sodainly gathered together, & there fell such a maruelous glut of raine, that all the castell was full of water. Shortly after also, *Sylla* hauing gotten the haven of *Piræa*, burnt the greatest parte of the buildings: amongst others was the arsenal and armory, which *Philo* in olde time had caused to be built, being of a strange and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, *Taxilles*, one of the Lieutenants of king *Mithridates*, comming from *Thracia* and *Macedon*, with a hundred thousand footemen, tenne thousand horsemen, and foure score and tenne thousand carts of warre all armed with sythes: sent vnto *Archelaus* to ioyne with him, lying yet at anker in the haven of *Munychia*, and not willing to leaue the sea, nor come to fight with the *Romaines*, but seeking rather to draw these warres out in length, and to cut of all vittells from his enemies. *Sylla* vnderstanding this drift better then him selfe, departed out of the contry of *Attica* (a very barren soyle, and in deede not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into *Boeotia*: wherein most men thought he committed great error, to leaue *Attica*, which is a very hard contry for horsemen, and to go into *Boeotia*, a plaine champion: and so much the rather, because he knew well enough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their horsemen, and their armed cartes with sythes. But to auoyd famine, and lacke of vittells as we haue sayd, he was compelled to seeke battell. Furthermore, he had an other cause also that made him afraied, and compelled him to go: and that was *Hortensius*, a famous Captaine, and very valiant also, who brought him aide out of *Thessalie*, and the barbarous people lay in waite for him in his way, in the straight of *Thermopyles*. And these were the causes that made *Sylla* take his way into *Boeotia*. But in the meane time, *Caphis* that was our contry man, deceiuing the barbarous people, guided *Hortensius* an other way by mount *Parnassus*, and brought him vnder the city of *Tithora*, which was not then so great a city as nowe at this present it is, but was a castell only, situated vpon the point of a rocke, hewen all about: whether the *Phocians* in olde time flying king *Xerxes* comming vpon them, retyred them selues for their safety. *Hortensius* lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his enemies, so long as day light lasted: and when the night came on, got downe through very hard stony wayes, vnto the city of *Patronide*, where he ioynd with *Sylla*, who came to meete him with all his power. Thus being ioynd together, they camped vpon a hill that standeth about the middle of the plaine of *Elatea*: the soyle was very good, and well replenished with great store of trees, and water, at the foote of the same. The hill is called *Philobæotus*, the nature & situation whereof, *Sylla* doth maruelously commend. When they were camped, they seemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they in deede, for they had not about fiftene hundred horse, and lesse then fiftene thousand footemen. Whereupon the other Capitaines their enemies, against *Archelaus* minde, brought out their bandes into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horsemen, with cartes, with shieldes and targettes, so that the ayer was euen cut a sunder as it were with the violence of the noyle & cries of so ma-

Antheſterion
Marche.
The time of
Noes flood.

Aristion the
tyrant yielded.

The haven of
Piræa burnt.
Philo's armory
burnt by
Sylla.

Taxilles army
a hundred
thousand
footemen:
Tenne thou-
sand horse-
men.

Foure score
& ten thousand
carts with
sythes.

The force of
the barbarians
consisted in
horsemen and
in their carts
with sythes.

The straight of
Thermopyles.
Parnassus
hill.
The city of
Tithora.

Sylla & *Hortensius* met at
Patronide.
The plaine of
Elatea.
Philobæotus
mont.
Their whole
army together
1500. horse,
15000. foot-
men.

ny sundry nations, which altogether did put them selues in battell ray. The sumptuousness of their furniture moreouer, was not altogether superfluous and vnprofitable, but caused great feare the beholders. For the glittering of their harness, so richly trimmed and set forth with gold and siluer, the cullers of their arming coates vpon their curaces, after the fashion of the *Mædes* and *Scythians*, mingled with the bright glittering Steele and shining copper, gaue such a show as they went and remoued to and fro, that made a light as clere as if all had bene on a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke upon. In somuch as the *Romaines* durst not so much as once goe out of the trenches of their campe, nor *Sylla* with all his perswasion coulde take away this great conceiued feare from them: wherefore, (and because also he would not compel them to go forth in this feare) he was driuen not to stirre, but close to abide, (though it grieved him greatly to see the barbarous people so proudly and villanously laugh him and his men to scorne. Howbeit the disdain & scoffing of his enemies, stoode him to great good purpose afterwards. For they making now none account of him, kept small watch & ward, strayed vp and downe disorderly besides, though otherwise they were not very obedient vnto their Capitaines, being many commanders, and fewe good followers: by reason whereof, a small number kept in the campe, and all the rest of the great multitude intified with the gaine they made by spoyleing and sacking of townes thereabouts, disperfed them selues many dayes iorney from their campe. For it is sayd, that at that very time they destroyed the city of *Paropæia*, sacked the city of *Lebadia*, and spoyled the temple without commandement or licence of any of all their Capitaines to doe it. In the meane while, *Sylla* seeing so many cities and townes spoyled and destroyed, tooke it both grieuously, and also angrily: howbeit he suffered not his men to lie idly, but kept them in labor, to turne the course of the riuer of *Cephissus*, and to cast great trenches, not suffering any man to take ease or rest, but constantly with great severity punished such as went faintly and lazely to worke, to the end that being wearied with the paine they tooke after so many workes, they would rather proue to hazard battell, as it fell out in deede. For the third day after they had begonne thus to labor, as *Sylla* passed by them, they cried out vnto him to leade them against their enemies. But his answer was vnto them againe: that those were but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then desirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be so in deede, and that you haue so good a will to fightras you make shewe of: then I will sayd he, that you arme your selues presently, and get you to yonder place, (showing them therewithall where the castell of the *Paropæians* stoode in olde time, which then (the city being destroyed) was no more but the toppes of a stony mountaine cut all about, and seuered from the mount of *Edylium* by the breadth of the riuer of *Asius* that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the same mountaine falleth into the riuer of *Cephissus*, and both these riuers running in one, carying a swift streame, doe make the knappe of the sayd hill very strong of situation to lodge a campe vpon. And therefore *Sylla* seeing the soldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to take vp that place to lodge in: to preuent them, and to get it before them (as in deede he did) he marched thither in all hast possible, & got it euen with the earnest good will of all his soldiers. *Archelaus* being so repulsed from thence, turned his way towards the city of *Chæroneæ*. Whereupon certaine of the *Chæroneans* that were in *Sylla*'s campe, besought him that he would not forsake their city, and leaue it to their enemy. *Sylla* desiring to gratifie them therein, sent one of his Colonells *Gabinus* with a legion, and therewithall gaue the *Chæroneans* leaue to go thither, who did what they could possible to get into their city before *Gabinus*: but that they could not, such was the diligence and honesty of the man, as he seemed more desirous of their safety, then they were them selues. Neuerthelesse, *Sylla* doth not call the Colonell that was sent thither *Gabinus*, but *Hircius*. And thus was our city of *Chæroneæ* preferred from the danger it stoode in at that time. In the meane time came very good newes to the *Romaines*, both of oracles and prophecies, which promised them victory from the temple of *Lebadia*, and the caue of *Troponius*: of which prophecies, those contry men make great mencion. But *Sylla* in his tenth booke of his commentaries writeth that *Quintus Titius*, a man of quality & name amongst them that trafficked into the contry of *Chæroneæ*, came vnto him after he had wonne the battell of *Chæroneæ*, to sell him that *Troponius* gaue him

The broken ar-
mor and fur-
niture of the
Thracians &
Macedonians,
serving vnder
Taxilles king
Mithridates
Euergetes.

Many com-
manders make
disobedience
soldiers.

Cephissus fl.
Sylla
straightens to
his soldiers.

A good policie
to weary feare
full soldiers
with ex-
tra labor,
wherby to
make them
desirous to
fight.

Edylium mts.
Asius fl.

Sylla sendeth
Gabinus
with a legion
to aide *Chæ-
roneæ*.

Oracles and
prophecies of
victory vnto
Sylla.

*Salvatoris a-
Soldier.*

*Impiter olim-
pias.*

*Acontium,
Edylum
mountaines.*

*Thurium
mons: aliter
Orthopagum.
Morian fl.
Apollio Thur-
rida.
Cheron the
founder of
the city of
Cheronea.*

*Sylla withdraweth
his battell.*

*Sylla draweth
Archelaus
aside from the
hill.*

to understand, that shortly after he should haue a second battell, and that he should yet againe haue an other victory in the same place. After him an other mā of warre called *Salvatoris* told him also what successe he should haue in the warres of ITALIE, saying, that he knew it by reuelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the reuelation. For they sayd, that they had seene a god, in maiesty, beawty, and greatnes, like vnto the image of *Impiter Olympi*. *Sylla* hauinge passed the riuier of *Aflus*, went to lodge at the foote of mount *Edylum*, hard by *Archelaus*, who had placed and fortified his campe betweene the two mountaines of *Acontium*, and of *Edylum*, ioyninge to the city of the *ASIANES*. The place where *Archelaus* camped, beareth his owne name *Archelaus* vnto this day. One day after *Sylla* had chaunged his lodging, he left *Murana* in his campe with a legion, and two cohorts, to keepe the enemies still occupied that were in great trouble, and he him selfe in the meane time went and sacrificed by the riuier of *Cephissus*. His sacrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of *CHERONEA*, to take the force he had there vnder *Gabinus*, & to know the mountaine also called *Thurium*, which the enemies had taken. It is a knappe of a mountaine very steepe and sharpe of all sides, with a narrowe point like a pine apple, by reason whereof we doe call it *Orthopagum*. At the foote of the same runneth the riuier called *Morian*, and there is also the temple of *Apollio* furnished *Thurians*: and they say that this surname of *Thurians* was geuen vnto him of the name of *Thuros*, who was mother of *Cheron*, the founder and builder of the city of *CHERONEA*. Other thinke, that the cow which was geuen to *Cadmus* for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath euer since kept the name, for that the *PHENICIANS* call a cow, *Thor*. Now when *Sylla* came neere vnto *CHERONEA*, the Colonell *Gabinus* whome he had sent thither with a garison to defend the same, went to meete him with his men very well armed, wearing a lawrell garland: and *Sylla* after he had saluted him, and his fouldiers, made an oration vnto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of *CHERONEA* to him, one, his name was *Omoloichus*, and the other *Anaximachus*, who promised him to driue the enemies from mount *Thurium* which they had taken, if he would but geue the some small number of fouldiers. For there was a litle path way, which the barbarous people mistrusted not, beginning at a place called *Petrochus*, hard by the temple of the *Muser*, by the which they might easily go to the toppe of this mountaine *Thurium*: so that following that pathe, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, and they might easily kill them with stones, or at the least they should driue them mawgre their heads, downe into the valley. *Gabinus* assuring *Sylla* that they were both very valliant men, and such as he might boldly trust vnto, *Sylla* gaue them men, and commaunded them to execute their enterprise: and he him selfe in the meane season went and set his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horsemen on the wings, placed him selfe in the right wing, appointinge the left vnto *Murana*. *Galba* & *Hortensius* his Lieutenantes, were placed in the tayle with certaine bandes of the reregard which they kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemies should not inclose them behinde: because they perceived a farre of that the enemies put forth a great number of horsemen and footemen light armed in the wings, to tend that the points of their battell might the more easily bowe and enlarge them selues, to compasse in the *ROMAINES* on the backe side. Now in the meane time, these two *CHERONEANS* whome *Sylla* had sent vnder *Hircius* their Captaine, hauing compassed about the mountaine *Thurium*, before the enemies were aware of them: sodainly came to fiew them selues vpon the toppe of the mountaine, which did so feare the barbarous people, that they began immediately to stie, one of them for the most parte killing an other. There was no resistance, but flying downe the mountaine, fell upon the pointes of their owne partisans and pykes, and one of them thrusting in an others necke, tombléd hedlong downe the mountaine together, hauing their enemies besides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and strake them behinde where they lay open vnto them: so as they were slaine a three thousande of them about this mountaine *Thurium*. And as for them that fought to saue them selues by flight, *Murana* that was already set in battell ray, met with some, cut them off by the way, and slue them downe right. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thrusting into the battell of their footemen, put the most parte of them quite out of order, & maruelously troubled their

A their Capitaines before they could set them againe in order: which was one of the chiefeft causes of their ouerthrowe. For *Sylla* went and gaue a charge vpon them in this trouble and disorder, and had quickly wonne the ground that was betweene both armies, whereby he tooke away the force of all their armed cartes with sythes, which are then of greatest force, when they haue the longest course, to geue them a swift and violent stroke in their chafe: whereas when their course is but short, the blow is so much the weaker, and of lesse strength, euen as arrows are, that a farre of enter not deepe into the thing they be shot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their first cartes set forth so faintly, and came on with so feeble a force, that the *ROMAINES* sent them backe, & easily repulled them, with great slaughter and clapping of handes one to an other, as they commonly vse in the ordinarie games of horse running at *ROME*. When they had thus repulled the cartes, the battell of *Syllas* footemen beganne to charge the barbarous people, who basing their pykes, stood close one to an other because they would not be taken: & the *ROMAINES* on thother side bestowed first their darts among them, and then sodainly drew out their swordes in the heate they were in, and put a side the enemies pykes, whereby they might come neerer to their bodies. There were fiftene thousande slaues in the fronte of the battell of the barbarous people, whom *Antydates* Lieutenaut had made free by open proclamation, and had deuied them by bandes amongst the other footemen. By occasion whereof there was a *ROMAINE* Centurion, spake pleasauntly at that time, saying, that he neuer saw slaues before haue liberty to speake and do like free men, but only at *Saturnes* feastes. Neuer thelesse, they against the nature of slaues, were very valliant to abide the (hocke), and the *ROMAINE* footemen could not so readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them geue backe, because they stood very close one to an other, and their rankes were of such a length besides: vntill such time as the *ROMAINES* that were behinde the first rankes, did so pelt them with their slinges, hurling stones, bestowing their darts & arrows upon them, that in thend they compelled them all to turne their backes, and stie a maine. And when *Archelaus* did first thrust out the right wing of his army, supposing to enclose the *ROMAINES* behinde: *Hortensius* straight wayes caused the bands he had with him to run & charge vpon the flankes. Which *Archelaus* perceiving, made the horsemen he had about him turne their faces forthwith, which were in nūber aboue two thousand: inso much as *Hortensius*, being set apon with all his trowpe, was compelled to retyre by lide and lide towards the mountaine, perceiving him selfe farre from the battell of his footemen, and enuironed round about with his enemies. *Sylla* seeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and hauing not yet fought, went straight to the rescue of *Hortensius*. But *Archelaus* coniecturing by the dust which the horses raised, what the matter was: left *Hortensius* there, and with speede returned againe towards the right wing of his enemies from whence *Sylla* was gone, hoping he had left it vnurnished of a sufficient Captaine to commaund them. *Taxillus* on thother side, caused his copper targets also to march against *Murana*: so as the noyle they made on both sides, caused the mountaines to ring againe, wherewithall *Sylla* stayed, standing in doubt which way to take. At the last he relolued, to returne to the place from whence he came, & sent *Hortensius* with foure ensignes to aide *Murana*: and him selfe with the fift in great speede, went towards the right wing of his army, the which was now already bickering, and ioynd with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with *Archelaus*. By reason whereof, when *Sylla* was comen with his aide, they did easily distresse them: and after they had broken their array, they chased them flying for life to the riuier, & vnto the mountaine *Acontium*. But *Sylla* notwithstanding forgate not *Murana*, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that he on his side had also put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chafe of them that fled. There was a maruelous slaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them supposing to haue recovered their campe, were slaine by the way: so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped only tenne thousande, who saued them selues by flying vnto the city of *CHALCIDE*. *Sylla* for his parte wyreth, that he could make reckening of no more but fourteene of his fouldiers onely that were slaine, whereof there came two againe to him the same night. Whetefore in the markes of triumphe which he set vp for tokens of that victory, he caused to be wyrtten on the toppe thereof, *Mars*, victory, and *Venus*: signifying thereby,

The force of the armed
cartes with
Sythes conff
lung confs.

Syllas com-
fist with Arch-
elaus at
Thurium.

Slaves made
free by autho-
rity of the
Lieutenaut
in the field.

Syllas with-
dret of Muri-
dates Lieut-
enantes.

that he had overcome in these warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or martiall discipline. These markes of triumphe were let vp for the battell which he wanne in the plaine field, in that place where *Archelaus* beganne to flie, euen vnto the riuer of Molus. And he set vp an other also in the topp of mount Thurius, where the barbarous people were set vpon behinde : and there is writen in Greeke letters, that the valliant deedes of *Omolochus* and *Anaxidamus*, gaue way to the winning of this victorie. *Sylla* for the ioy of this great vantage battell, caused musitions to play in the city of THEBES, where he builded a stage for all the musitions, neere vnto the fountaine OEdipus, and certaine noble GRECEIANS were appointed iudges of that musicke, whom he caused to be sent for out of other cities, because he mortally hated the THEBANS : in somuch as he tooke from them halfe their landes, which he consecrated vnto *Apollon Pythias*, and *Iupiter Olympius*, appointing that of the reuenue thereof, they should redeliuer and pay backe the money which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. *Sylla* after this hauing intelligence that *Flaccus*, one of his enemies, was chosen Consull at ROME, and had passed the sea Ionium with an army, vnder pretext to make warre against king *Mithridates*, but in deede to make warre with him selfe: tooke his iorney towards THESSALIE to meete him. But when he was in the citie of MELITEA, there came newes to him out of all partes, that there was a new and second army of the kings arrived, no lesse then the first, the which spoyled and destroyed all the contry which he had left behinde him. For *Dorylaeus*, one of king *Mithridates* Lieutenantes, was arrived in the city of CHALCIDE with a great fleet of shippes, hauing brought thither with him foure score thousand fighting men, the best trained, the best armed and appointed souldiers, that were in all his kingdom of PONTVS in ASIA: and from thence went into BOEOTIA, had all that contry at commandement, and fought to fight with *Sylla*, notwithstanding that *Archelaus* alleaged many reasons to dissuade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in euery place, that so many thousandes of souldiers could not haue bene cast away in the first battell, without some notable reason. Whereupon *Sylla* returned with all possible speede, & made *Dorylaeus* know before many dayes passed ouer his head, that *Archelaus* was a wise man, and knew well enough the worthines and valliant corage of the ROMAINES. And *Dorylaeus* hauing had but a litle proofe only in certaine light skirmishes which he made against *Sylla*, about TILPHOSION in THESSALIE: him selfe was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazarde battell, but rather to draw out the warres in length, and supplant the ROMAINES with charge & expence. And yet notwithstanding, the commodity of the great large plaine that lyeth all about ORCHOMENE, where they were encamped, gaue great encouragement to *Archelaus*, who iudged it a very fit place to geue battell in, specially because he was the stronger of horsemen in the field. For of all the plaines that are within the contry of BOEOTIA, the greatest & largest of them, is the plaine nere to the city of ORCHOMENE: which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length vnto the marishes, where the riuer of Melas dispereth it selfe abroad. The head of the same riuer is not farre from the city of ORCHOMENE, & that riuer only of all other riuers in GREECE from the very head whence it cometh, is naugable: and hath besides an other singular property, that it riseth & welletth euen in the longest sommer dayes, as the riuer of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the selfe same plantes and trees, sauing that they beare no frute, neither are they so great as those of Egypt. This riuer hath no longe course, because that the most parte of the water runneth into lakes and marishes, couered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very litle parte of it that falleth into the riuer of Cephissus, in the place where the reded grow that they make good flutes withal. When they were camped one nere to an other, *Archelaus* lay quietly and sturred not. But *Sylla* presently cast great trenches from one side to an other, to stoppe the way against their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might haue taken what ground they would for their men of armes, and haue driuen the ROMAINES into the marishes. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, so soone as their Capitaines had geuen them liberty, discharged with such a fury, that they did not only scatter them that wrought in *Syllas* trenches, but put the most parte of their gard also that stode in battell ray to defend them, in a maruelous feare, who also beganne to flie. Which *Sylla* perceiuing, lighted straight from his horse, and taking an ensigne in his hande, ran through the middell of his

The field was
wonne in the
plaine of Ele-
tea.
Molus fl.

*Apollon Py-
thias*, and
*Iupiter Olym-
pius*.
Flaccus Con-
sull was a-
gainst *Sylla*.

Dorylaeus Mi-
thridates ge-
nerall against
Sylla.

The goodly
plaine before
the city of
Orchomene.
The riuer of
Melas, and
newes thereof.

his pondert sled, vntill he came to his enemies; and crying out, sayd I would be so paynted
A his pondert sled, vntill he came to his enemies; and crying out, sayd I would be so paynted
MAINE souldiers, mine honor commaundeth me to dye here; and therefore I will not
take you where you forsooke your Capitaine, remember that you minisiter it was to OLYMPIUS
NAME: They were so ashamed at these wordes; that he made them wanne besides that there
came two cohorts vnto him from the right wing of his battell, who vnder his leading gaue
such a hotte charge vpon their enemies; that they fled forth with open fall: Thus done, *Sylla* con-
gred with his men, and made them dine and therupon by and by sent him againe to the trench-
es to enclose his enemies campe, who then came out in better order then they did before.
There was *Diogenes*, *Archelaus* wiues sonne slaine, fighting valliantly before them all in the
right wing of their battell. And the bowe men being pressed to come by the ROMAINES, and
B their bowes would doe no good: toke their arrowes in their handes in stead of swordes, and
strake their enemies with them to force them to geue backe, vntill such time as at the last they
were all driuen into their campe, where they passed that night in great sorrow; as well for the
losse of them that were slaine, as also for the number of those that were hurt. The next mor-
ning, *Sylla* leading his men againe towards the campe of his enemies, went on still continu-
ing his trenches: & certaine of them being come out to skirmish with them, he set upon them
so suddenly; that at the first charge he put them to flight. Thus broughe such a feare to all the
whole campe of the enemies, that none man durst abide any longer: so as *Sylla* valliantly fol-
lowing on his victory, thrust in among them as they fled, and in thende tooke all together.
Straight way all the marishes were filled with blood; and the lake full of dead bodies: so that
C vntill this present day they find there in that place many bowes of the barbarous people; mo-
ny, peces of talles, and swordes drowned in the middle of the marishes, notwithstanding
that it is well neere two hundred yeres agoe since this battell was stricken: And thus ended
the warres about the cities of CHALCIDEA, and ORCHOMENE. Now the warres being past in
this fore in GREECE, *Cinna*, and *Carbo* delt very cruelly and vnnaturally at ROME with the
noble men and greatest persons: by reason whereof, many flying their tyranny, went to *Syllas*
campe, as vnto the haue of their health and fulnes of felicity, so that in short time *Sylla* had
an assembly of a ROMAINE Senate about him. *Metella* her selfe, his wife, hauing tolled away
very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houses in the citie and coun-
ty both, were all burnt and destroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and help
D them that yet remained at ROME. *Sylla* vpon hearing of these newes, felt in great perplexity.
For on the one side, it grieved him to see his contry so miserably afflicted; and on the other
side he knew not well how he might go; leauing so great an enterpryse as that warre was; and
specially against a king of such might and power as *Mithridates* (he would himselfe to be). And
being in these dumps, there came one *Archelaus* a marchant to him, borne in the city of DUL-
LYM, who brought him a secret message from thither. *Archelaus*, king *Mithridates* Lieute-
nant: the which pleased *Sylla* so well, that he desired that *Archelaus* & him selfe might meete
and talke together. So at the length they met by the sea side, neere vnto the city of DULLYM;
where there is a temple of *Apollon*. *Archelaus* beganne to enter the talke with him, declaring vnto
E *Sylla* that he would wish him to leaue the conquest of ASIA; & of the realme of PONTVS;
and to returne into his contry to the ciuill warres at ROME: and in doinge, the king would sup-
ply him, not onely with as much money, but with as many shippes and men, as he him selfe
would desire. *Sylla* apon this motion told him againe: that he would wish him to forsake *Mithridates*
seruice, and to make him selfe king, offering to proclaim him a friend and confederate
of the ROMAINES, so that he would deliuer him all his manie which then he had in his
bandes. *Archelaus* seemed much to abhorre to heare him speake of treason. But *Sylla* going
on with his tale, replied againe vnto him: why *Archelaus*, sayd he, thou that art a CAPTIVE
of a barbarous king, or his friend at the least: hast thou a good hart with
thee, that for all the benefits I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit treason? And art thou
indeede so bolde to speake to me of treason; which ain the ROMAINES a lesse man generally
F and *Sylla*? As if thou wert not he, that at the battell of CHALCIDEA didst slay thy selfe by dy-
ing with a small number left thee of six score thousand fighting men, which thou before had-
dest in thy campe: and that hid thy selfe two dayes together in the marishes of ORCHOMENE,

Syllas words
to animate his
souldiers.
Diogenes
slaine.

Diogenes
slaine.

Sylla vnto the
city of *Mithri-
dates* Lieut-
enant at
Orchomene.

Sylla went
to see *Archelaus*
later in this
famous bat-
telle at *Chal-
cedonia* and
Orchomene.

Talke between
Sylla and
Archelaus at
their meeting.

leaving the fieldes of Bosphorus with foule heapes of dead bodies, that no man could burye them. At this his reply, *Archelaus* altered his speech, and falling downe at *Syllas* feete, besought him to end this warre, and to make peace with *Mithridates*. Whereunto *Sylla* answered, that he was very well contented withall. And thereupon peace was concluded betwene them vnder conditions that *Mithridates* should departe from *ASIA* the lesse, and from *BABYLONIA*, that he should restore *BITHYNIA* vnto *Nicomedes*, and *CAPPADOCIA* vnto *Ariobarzanes*, that he should pay two thousand talents to the *ROMAINES*, & geue them thirty sorce and tenne galleies, with all their furniture. And upon this, *Sylla* would assuredly him the rest of his realme, and would cause him to be proclaimed a frende of the *ROMAINES*. These articles being past by agreement betwene them, *Sylla* taking his iorney through *Thessaly*, and *Macedon* into the contry of *Hellaspont*, carried *Archelaus* with him, whom he had notably intreated. For *Archelaus* falling dangerously sicke of a disease in the city of *Larissa*, he stayed there for him, and was very careful to recouer him, as if he had bene one of his chiefest Capitaines and companions. And this was the cause that made *Archelaus* to be the med for the battell of *Cheronea*, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor *Sylla* truly won it, but by treason. And againe, *Archelaus* was the more suspected, because *Sylla* redelivered *Mithridates* all his seruants and frends which he had prisoners, sauing the tyrran *Ariston* that kept *Athens*, whom he payoned, because he was *Archelaus* ennemie: but specially, for the lands *Sylla* gaue vnto this *Cappadocian*. For he gaue him tenne thousand *Lugera*, (or shires of lande) within the Ile of *Euboea*, and gaue him moreover the title of a frende of the *ROMAINES* for euer. But *Sylla* denyeth all these things in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambassadors came from king *Mithridates* vnto *Sylla*, who told him that the king their master did raise and accept all the articles of peace, sauing that he onely prayed him he would not take the contry of *Patragonia* from him: and as for the galleies, he would not so much as once say he would promise them. *Sylla* being offended herewith, angrily answered them in gaue. Then *Mithridates*, as ye say, meaneth to kepe *Patragonia* still, and refuseth to geue the shippes I demanded: where I looked that he would haue humbly thanked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand only, with the which he put so many *ROMAINE* citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me an other tale, if I come once into *ASIA*: but now in *Bergamum*, he speaketh his pleasure of this warre which he hath not seene. The Ambassadors being afrayed of his wordes, replied not againe. Whereupon *Archelaus* spake, and besought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hande. By intreating he obtained of *Sylla* to sende him vnto *Mithridates*: promising that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles & conditions of peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill him selfe with his owne handes. Vpon this promise *Sylla* sent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armie into the contry of *Medica*: and after he had destroyed the most parte thereof, returned backe againe into *Macedon*, where *Archelaus* being returned from *Mithridates*, founde him neere vnto the city of *Philippes*, bringing him newes that all should be well, howbeit that his master *Mithridates* prayed him he might speake with him in any case. Now, the matter that made *Mithridates* to earnestly to speake with *Sylla*, was chiefly for *Fimbria*: who hauing slaine *Flaccus* the Consul, being of the contrary faction vnto *Sylla*, and certaine of *Mithridates* Lieutenantes also, went him selfe against him to fight with him. *Mithridates* fearing his comming, chose rather to make him selfe *Sylla* friend. So *Mithridates* and *Sylla* met together in the contry of *Thracia*, in the city of *Durandari*: *Mithridates* being accompanied with a flecte of two hundred faile of shippes without at sea, with twenty thousand footemen, and thousande horse, and a number of armed caruel with fyrth beades byland, *Sylla* having onely but foure ensignes of footemen; and two hundred horsemen. *Mithridates* went to *Sylla*, and offering to take him by the hande, *Sylla* asked him first, if he did accept the peace with the conditions which *Archelaus* had agreed vnto. *Mithridates* made him no answer. *Sylla* following on his tale, sayd vnto him, 'It is for thee to speake first, that haue request to make: & for conquerors, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare what they will say. Then began *Mithridates* to excuse him selfe, and so lay the reason of the warre, partly vpon the ordinance of the goddes that so had appointed it, & partly

Peace concluded betweene Sylla & Mithridates betwixt open conditions.

Archelaus suspected of treason. Ariston tyrant of Athens, payoned by Sylla.

Mithridates accepteth to the conditions.

Archelaus sent from Sylla to Mithridates.

Sylla & Mithridates meete at Durandari.

The firstnes of Sylla.

Mithridates excuseth him selfe to Sylla.

A also vpon the *ROMAINES* them selues. Whereunto *Sylla* replied, that he had heard of long time that *Mithridates* was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, seeing that he lacked no comely words, to cloke his fowle and shamefull dedes: but withall he sharply reproofed him, and draue him to confesse the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him againe, if he did confirme that which *Archelaus* had done. *Mithridates* made answer that he did. Then *Sylla* saluted, embraced, and kissed him: and calling for the kinges *Nicomedes*, and *Ariobarzanes*, reconciled them together, and made *Mithridates* their frende againe. In conclusion, after *Mithridates* had deliuered *Sylla* three score and tenne galleies, and five hundred bow men, he returned by sea into his realme of *Pontus*. But *Sylla* hearing that his souldiers were angry with this peace made with *Mithridates*, because they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their most cruell and mortall enemy, (hauing in one selfe day caused a hundred and fifty thousand *ROMAINE* citizens to be slaine, that were dispersed abroad in diuers places of *ASIA*) so to departe, and go his way safe, with the riches and spoyles of the contry, which he had bereft them of, and vied at his pleasure, the space of forty yeares together: answered them in excuse of him selfe, that he was not able to make warre with *Mithridates*, & *Fimbria* both, if once they were ioyned together against him. And so *Sylla* departing thence, went against *Fimbria*, who then was encamped neere to the city of *Thyatira*, and lodged him selfe as neere vnto him as he conveniently might. Nowe whilest he was compassing in his lodging with a trench, *Fimbrias* souldiers came out of their campe in their coates without any armor or weapon, to salute *Syllas* souldiers, and holpe them very friendly to make vp their trench. Which *Fimbria* seeing, and perceiving his souldiers mindes to be changed, of an extreme feare which he had of *Sylla*, at whose handes he looked for no mercy: killed him selfe in his owne campe. *Sylla* hereupon condemned the whole contry of *ASIA* the lesse, to pay the summe of twenty thousand talentes amongst them, and presently also he vndid many poore householders through his insolent souldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garison there. For he ordained that euery householder should geue the souldier that lodged in his house, foure Tetradrachmas a day, & should be bound to geue him and his frendes (as many as he would bring with him) their supper also: and that euery Capitaine should haue fifty Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the house, and a garment to goe abroad into the city when he thought good. When he had geuen this order, he departed from the city of *Ephesus* with all his flecte, and in three dayes sayling arriued in the haue of *Piræa* at *Athens*, where he was receiued into the fraternity of the mysteries, and reserved for him selfe the librarie of *Apellicon Teian*: in the which were the most parte of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* workes, nor then thought meete to come in euery mans handes. And they say, that this librarie being brought to *Rome*, *Tyrannion* the grammarian founde the meanes to extract a great parte of them: and that *Andronicus* the *Rhodian* hauing recouered the originals into his hands, put them in print, and wrote the summaries which we haue at this present. For the ancient Peripateticke Philosophers were of them selues very wise and learned men, but they had not all *Aristotles* workes, nor *Theophrastus* amongst them, and yet those fewe they had, were not by them seene all whole and perfect together: because that the goodes of *Neleus Scepsian* (to whom *Theophrastus* left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and estimation of them. And furthermore, *Sylla* being at *Athens* had such a paine and numefesse in his legges, and was so heauy withall, that *Strabo* calleth it a spice of the gowte, that is to say, a feeling or entring therinto, which then beganne to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occasion he tooke the seas, & went vnto a place called *Adipsym*, where there are naturall hotte bathes: and there remained a while solacing him selfe all the day long with musick, seeing of playes, and entertaining such kinde of people. Vpon a day as he was walking by the sea side, certaine fisher men made him a present of fish, which pleased him maruelously well, & demanding of the whence they were: they answered him againe, that they were of the city of *Ales*. What? of *Ales*? *Sylla* sayd he: is there any of them yet left aliue? speaking it, because that after the battell of *Orchomene* when he followed the chafe of his enemies, he had taken and destroyed three cities of *Borotia* all at one selfe time, to wit *Anthedon*, *Larymna*, and *Ales*. The poore

Sylla answered to Mithridates.

Nicomedes king of Bithynia. Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia.

A hundred & fifty thousand Romanes slaine in one day by Mithridates commandment. Fimbria camped at Thyatira.

Fimbria slaine.

Sylla very hardly increased them of Asia.

Aristotle and Theophrastus bookes.

Sylla went to the bathes at Adipsium for the goue in his legges.

Bubbles of fire
rising out of a
meadow by
Dyrachium.
A Satyre taketh
sleeping, and
brings to
Sylla.

Sylla went a-
gainst fifteen
Generalls, &
some hundred
and fiftie en-
signes.
Syllas re-
turne into I-
talie.
Ephraim
mourneth.

Sylla over-
throweth the Co-
sull Norbanus
and Marius
the younger
nere to the
mountaine
Ephraim.

A faine fore-
flowered Sylla
victory, and the
burning of the
Capitoll which
fell out truly.

A winde that
blewe flowers
out of a mea-
dow vpon Lu-
cullus fould-
iers by the
city of Fiden-
tia.

fifther men were so amazed with his wordes, that they stood still, and could not tell what to say. Sylla fell a laughing thereat, & bad them go their wayes a gods name, and be not affrayed, for they brought no small intercessors with them, which were worth the reckening of. When Sylla had geuen them these wordes, the ALLEIANS went home with a merry harte, to gather them selues together againe in their city. Sylla so passing through T HESSALIA & MACEDON, came to the sea side, intending to go from the city of D Y R R A C H I V M vnto B V R V N D V S I V M, with twelve hundred sayle. The city of A P O L L O N I A is hard by D Y R R A C H I V M, and thereabout is a parke consecrated vnto the nymphes, where in a fayer goodly Greene meadow in many places there commeth out great bubbles of fire that flame continually: and it is sayd that there was a Satyre taken sleeping, even in the very selfe same forme the painters and image grauers haue set him out. He was brought vnto Sylla, and being asked by all sortes of interpreters what he was, he made no aunswere that a man could vnderstand: but only put forth a sharpe voyce like the neying of a horse, or whynnnyng of a goat. Sylla wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when Sylla had imbar- ked his men, to passe the sea, he was affrayed that so soone as they were landed in I T A L I E, they would shrinke from him, and euery man go home to his owne. But they sware and promised first of them selues, that they would tary and keepe together, and by their willes would doe no hurt in I T A L I E. Moreouer, perceiuing that he stood in neede of money, they offered him of theirs, & euery man to lend him as his ability ferued. But Sylla would none, yet thanked them for their goodwill: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valliant fouldiers, he went a- gainst fifteen generalls of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fiftie ensignes of footemen well armed, as he him selfe wryteth in his commentaries. But the goddes promised him good fortune in his warres, by many sundry apparant signes. For in a sacrifice he made by T A R E N T V M, after he was come a lande, the luer of a certaine beaſt sacrificed, was alto- gether facioned after the manner of a crowne or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang two bandes or rolles. And a litle before he went into C A M P A N I A, nere vnto the mountaine E- pheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuerthelesse was no matter of truth, but a vision onely that ap- peared, and rising from the earth disperſed it selfe by litle and litle here and there in the aye, and in thende vanished quite away, as cloudes which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, Marius the younger, and Norbanus the Consull, who brought two great ar- mies against him, were overthrowen by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had ap- pointed any man his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely vpon the corage and life of his fouldiers, whose goodwill to serue against them was such, as following this vi- ctory, he compelled the Consull Norbanus after he had slaine fixe thousande of his men, to take the city of C A P V A for his refuge. This noble exployte, (as him selfe reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he sayth furthermore, that in the city of S Y L V I V M, there was a flauie of one Pontius a citizen, who be- ing inspired with a prophetically spirite, came to tell him from the goddesse Bellona, that he should grow in strength, & carry away the victory of these wars: howbeit that if he did not hie him the sooner, the Capitoll at R O M E should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day ac- cording to his wordes, being the sixteenth day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now Iuly. And furthermore also, Lucullus (one of Syllas Captaines) being nere vnto the city of F I D E N T I A with sixteen ensignes only, against fifty ensignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be ve- ry well affected to serue, because the most parte of them were naked & vnarmed, was affrayed to hazard the battell and as he was euen be thinking him selfe what was best to determine ther- of, there rose a litle winde out of a goodly meadow that blew a wonderfull sorte of flowers vpon the fouldiers on euery parte of them. These flowers stayed of them selues as they fell, some apon their targets, and others apon their moryans, without falling to the ground: so that it seemed to their enemies a farre of, as if they had bene garlandes of flowers vpon their heads. This made Lucullus fouldiers more lusty a great deale, then they were before, and with this good will they determined to geue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they overthrow,

luc

A flue eightene thousand of them in the field, & tooke their campe. This Lucullus was brother vnto the other Lucullus, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings Mithridates, & Tigranes. Neuer- theles, Sylla perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puissant armies, thought good to vie policy with force: & therefore practised with Scipio, one of the Consulls, to make peace with him. Scipio was willing to it: & thereupon were oft meetings & assemblies of both sides. Now Sylla draue of the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasion of delay, to thend that his fouldiers which were thoroughly acquainted with craft and subtilty as well as him selfe, might in the meane time corrupt Scipios fouldiers by repaire in- to his campe: for they coming into Scipios campe, being very conuersant with the straight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, & other with fayer flattering words, & many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practise had continued a while, Sylla comming nere vnto Scipios campe with twenty ensignes only: all his men saluted Scipios fouldiers, & they relating them, againe, yielded them selues vnto Sylla, so as Scipio was left poste alone in his tente where he was taken, but they afterwards let him goe. So Sylla with his twenty ensignes, like vnto the fowlers, that by their itales draw other birds into their nettes, hauing gotten forty ensignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that Carbo layd of Sylla, that he had to fight with a foxe & a lyon both: but that the foxe did him more hurte & mischief, then the lyon. After this, Marius the youn- ger hauing foure score and fife ensignes in his campe nere vnto the cite of S I G N I V M, pre- sented battell vnto Sylla: who hauing very good desire to fight, and specially on that day, bi- cause the night before he had seene this vision in his dreame, that he thought he saw Marius the father (who was deceased long before) warning his sonne that he should come to him. Sylla for this respect desired maruelously to fight that day: and thereupon caused Dolabella to come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies steep betweene him and home, and stopped his passage to keepe him from ioyning with Sylla. Syllas fouldiers to the contrary, fought to keepe the way open for him, with so great labor and paine, that they were all wearie and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruelous great shower of raine vpon them as they were busie, opening the way, that troubled them more, then the la- bor they had in hande. Whereupon the priuate Captaines of the bandes went to make Sylla vnderstande it, and to pray him to deferre the battell vntill an other day: showing him howe the fouldiers wearied with labor, lay downe vpon their targettes on the grounde to take their ease. Sylla perceiuing this, was contented withall, though greatly in deede against his will. But when he had geuen the signall to lodge, and that they beganne to trenche and fortifie their campe: Marius the younger commeth a horse backe marching brauely before all his companie, hoping to haue surprised his enemies in disorder, and by that means to haue ouerthro- wen them easily. But farre otherwise did fortune then performe the reuelation which Sylla had in his fore sayd dreame: for his men fallinge in a rage withall, left their worke in the trenche where they wrought, stucke their dartes vpon the bancke, ranne vpon their enemies with their swordes drawn, and with a maruelous crie set apon them so valiantly, that they were not able to resist their furie, but sodainly turned their backs and fled, where there was a great and notable slaughter made of them. Marius their Captaine fled to the cite of P E N E S T E, where he found the gates shut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tied about his middle, and so was triced vpon by it. Yet some wryters say, and Feneſtella among other, that Marius neuer sawe the battell: for being wearied with labor, and verie sleepe, he laye vnder some tree in the shadowe to rest a litle, after he had geuen the signall and word of the battell, and slept so soundly, that he could scarce awake with the noyle and fleeing of his men. Sylla him selfe wryteth, that he lost at this battell but three and twentie men, slewe twentiethousand of his enemies, and tooke eight thousande prisoners. His Lieutenantes also had the like good successe in other places, Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, and Seruilius: which without any losse of their men, or but with a verie small, overthrowe many great mightie armies of their enemies: Inſomuch as Carbo, the heade and chiefe of all the contrary faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his campe, and went beyonde the seas into A F R I C K E. The last battell that Sylla had, was against Theſſianus

Lucullus vi-
tory at F e-
denia.

Syllas pollicie
with Scipio.

Sylla wante
40. ensignes
from Scipio by
pollicie.

Carboes say-
ing of Sylla
touching the
fox and lyon.
Marius the
younger with
85. ensignes
preſenteth
Sylla battell
by the city of
Signum.
Syllas vision
in his dreame.

Marius fled
to Peneste.

Carbo fled in-
to Africke.

Theſſimus
the *Samnyte*
put *Sylla* in
great danger.

SAMNYTE, who coming like a fresh champion to set upon him, when he was already wounded, and had fought many battels, had almost slain him euen at ROME gates. For *Theſſimus* hauing gathered together a great number of souldiers with one *Lampontius* *LYCANIUS*, marched with all speede towards the city of *PRÆNESTĒ*, to deliuer *Marius* the younger that was besieged there. But vnderstanding that *Sylla* on the one side, came in great haste also to meete him, and that *Pomponius* came behinde him on the other side, & perceiuing, moreover, that the way was so shut vp, that he could neither go forward nor backward being a valiant souldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fieldes, most daungerously ventured to go straight to ROME. And so stole away by night with all his whole power, and marching to ROME ward, had almost taken it at his first coming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he stayed happely tenne furlonges from the gate *Collina*, bragging with himselfe, and beleuing that he should doe wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Capitaines. The next morning betimes came diuerſe young noble men and gentlemen out of the citie to skirmish with *Theſſimus*: who slue a great number of them, and among others one *Appius Claudius* a young gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereupon (as you may easily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and specially the women, who fell a shrieking, and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, *Balbus* (whom *Sylla* had sent) came first with seuen hundred horse vpon the spur, and staying but a litle to coole and geue them breath, bridled straight againe, and went to set upon the enemies thereby to stay them. Soone after him came *Sylla* also, who commaunded his men that came first, quickly to eate somewhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray: notwithstanding that *Dolobello* and *Torquatus* perswaded him to the contrary, and besought him not to put his souldiers wearied with their iorney, to so great and manifest a danger, and rather, because they had not to fight with *Carbo* and *Marius*, but with the *SAMNYTES* and *LYCANES*, who were (both) warlike nations & good souldiers, and those besides that most deadly hated the *ROMANS*. But for all that, *Sylla* draue them backe, and commaunded his trumpets to founde the alarme, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that euer he fought before. The right wing where *Crassus* was, had the better much: but the left wing was very fore distressed, & stoode in great perill. *Sylla* hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vpon a white couler that was both swift, and very strong. The enemies knewe him, and there were two that lifted vp their armes to throw their darts at him, whom he saw not: but his page gaue his horse such a lash with his whippe, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very pointes of the darts came hard by the horse tayle, and stucke fast in the grounde. Some say that *Sylla* had a litle golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from the city of *DELPHES*, and in time of warres ware it alwayes in his bosome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kissing it, sayd: O *Apollo* *Pythia*, haſt thou so highly exalted *Cornelius* *Sylla*, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his owne naturall citie among his contry men? And so crying out to *Apollo* for helpe, thrust into the prease among his men, intreating some, threatening others, and layinge apon the rest to stay them. But for all he could doe, all the left winge of his army was broken and ouerthrowen by his enemies: and him selfe amongst them that fled, was compelled to recouer his campe with speede, hauing lost many of his frendes and familiars. There were moreover many citizens slaine and troden vnder feete (both with horse and men) that came only to see the battell fought: so that they within the city thought them selues vtterly vndone. *Lucretius* of *fella* furthermore (he that besieged *Marius* in the citie of *PRÆNESTĒ*) had almost raised his siege, vpon the wordes of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remoue with all speede possible, for *Sylla* was slaine, and *Theſſimus* had taken ROME. Now about midnight came certaine souldiers from *Crassus* to *Syllas* campe, & asked for meate for *Crassus* supper, and his mens, who hauing chased his flying enemies whom he had ouerthrowen, vnto the city of *ANTENNA* (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. *Sylla* vnderſtanding that, & being aduertised that the most parte of his enemies were ouerthrowen at this battell: went him selfe the next morning betimes vnto *ANTENNA*, where three thousand

Sylla danc-
ed.

Sylla fled.
Lucretius of
fella besieged
Marius in
Præneste.
In the end of
Marius life it
is reported
conuincit, that
Sylla besieged
Marius the
younger in
Perusia, and
not in *Præ-
nestē*.

A thousand of his enemies sent to know if he would receiue them to mercy, if they yielded them selues vnto him. His answer was, that he would pardon their liues, so as they would do some mischief to their fellows before they came to him. These three thousand hereupon trusting to his promise, fell apon their companions: and for the most parte one of them killed an other. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* hauing gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thousand, as the rest, amounting in all to the number of six thousand men, within the shew place where they vied to run their horses whilst he him self held a counsell in the temple of the goddess *Bellona*, & was making his oratio there, he had appointed certē to set vpō those six thousand, & put them to the sword euery man. Great and terrible were the cries of such a number of men slaine in so small a roome, as many may easily coniecture in such as the Senators sitting in counsell heard them very easily, and marueled what the matter was. But *Sylla* continuing on his oration which he had begun with a set steady countenance, without chainging of colour, willed the only to hearken what he sayd, & not to trouble them selues with any thing done abroad: for they were but certen offenders & lewd persons that were punished by his commaundemēt. This was enough to shew the simplest *ROMANE* in *ROME*, that they had but only chaunged the tyrant, but not the tyranny. Now for *Marius*, that had bene euer of a churlish & seuer nature euen from his childhood, he neuer chaiged for any authority, but did rather hardē his natural stubbornnes. Where *Sylla* contrary in the beginning, was very modest & ciuill in all his prosperity, & gaue great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauor nobility wel, & yet loue notwithstanding the benefit of the people. And being moreover a man in his youth geue all to pleasure, delighting to laugh, ready to pity, & weep for tender hart: in that he became after so cruell & bloody, the great alteration gaue manifest cause to condemne the increase of honor & authority, as thonly meanes whereby mens manners continue not such as they were at the first, but still do chaunge & vary, making some fooles, others vaine & fantasticall, & others extreame cruel & vnatural. But whether that alteration of nature came by chaunging his state & condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to shewe it selfe, when the way of liberty was layed open: this matter is to be decided in some other treatise. So it came to passe, that *Sylla* fell to heading of blood, & filled all ROME with infinite & vnſpeakeable murders: for diuerſe were killed for priuate quarrels, that had nothing to do with *Sylla* at any time, who suffered his frends & thole about him to worke their wicked wills. Vntil at the length there was a young man called *Caius* *Metellus*, that was so bold to aske *Sylla* in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should know that all the mischieues were finished, the which they dayly sawe. For said he, we will not intreat you to pardon life, where you haue threatned death: but only to put the out of doubt, whom you haue determined to saue. Whereunto *Sylla* made answer, that he was not resoluēd whom he would saue. *Metellus* replied, the tell vs quod he, who they are that shall dye. *Sylla* answered he would. Howbeit some say it was not *Metellus*, but *Aufidius* one of his flatterers, that spake this last word vnto him. Wherefore *Sylla* immediately without making any of the magistrats priuy, caused foure score mens names to be set vp vpon postes, whom he would put to death. Euery mā being offered death, the next day following he set vp two hundred & twenty mens names more: & likewise the third day as many more. Herupon, making an oration to the people, he told the openly that he had appointed all them to dye, that he could call to remembrance: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should dye by daies, as he did call them to minde. Whosoever saued an outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindness, he him selfe was condēned to dye: not excepting the that had receiued their brothers, their sonnes, their fathers, nor mothers: And the reward of euery homicide & murderer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talentes: though it were a slave that had killed his master, or the some that had slaine the father. But the most wicked & vniust act of all was, that he depriued the sonnes, & sonnes sonnes of them whom he had killed, of all credit & good name, & besides that, had takē all their goods as confiscate. And this was not only done in *ROME*, but also in the cities of *ITALIE* through out: & there was no temple of any god whosoever, nor altar in any bodie house, nor liberty of hospital, nor fathers house, that was not emburied with blood & horrible murder. For the husbands were slaine in their wives armes, & the childre in their mothers laps.

1000. said.
they flew in
the quads,
and yielded
to *Sylla*, upon
promise of
life.
Sylla against
the law of
armes and his
promise,
caused fixe
thousand men
to be slaine.

Honor cha-
ngeth condi-
tions.
Sylla the ex-
ample.

Infinite mur-
ders commit-
ted in Rome
by *Sylla* and
his followers.
The boldnes
of *Caius* *Me-
tellus*, so tell
Sylla his
cruelty in an
open Senate.

Syllas pro-
scription.

The murder
of outlaws
generall
through Italy.
Quintus
Aurelius, a
quiet man
that needed
not, flaine for
his hoste.

Marius the
younger, flue
him selfe at
Preneste.
Sylla flue 12.
short hand men
in Preneste,
being put all
into one place
together.

Lucius Catili-
na flue his
owne brother.

Sylla Dictator.

Lucretius Of-
fella flaine.

The order of
Syllas
triumphes.

and yet they which were flaine for private hatred & malice, were nothing in respect of those that were murdered only for their goods. And they that killed them might well say, his goodly great house made that man dye, his goodly fayer garden the other: and his hoste barrowe other. As amongst others, *Quintus Aurelius*, a man that neuer medled with any thinge, and least looked that these euills should light vpon him, and that only pitied those which he flauely miserably murdered: went one day into the market place, and reading the bill set vp of the outlawes names, found his owne name amongst the rest, and cried out aloude: was the day that euer I was borne, my house of *Alba* maketh me to be put to death. He went not farre from the market place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meane time, *Marius* the younger seeing he could by no meanes escape if he were taken, flue him selfe. And *Sylla* comming to *Preneste*, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certaine forme of iustice in putting them to death: but afterwards as if he had no lenger leasure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelue thousand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword every man, sauing his host only, vnto whom he sayd, that he shewed him specially fauor to saue his life. But his host answered him flowly, gaine, that he would not be beholding vnto him for his life, seeing he had flaine all the rest of his contry men: and so thrusting in amongst the citizens, was willingly flaine with them. They thought the act of *Lucius Catiline* also very straunge, who had flaine his owne brother before the ciuill warre was ended: and then prayed *Sylla* to put him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene aliue. *Sylla* performed his desire. *Catiline* thereupon shewe his thankfulness for the pleasure *Sylla* had done him, went presently, and flue *Marius* the younger, who was of the contrary faction: and brought him his head for a present before all the people, in the middle of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his hands all bloodied in the hallowed font of the temple of *Apollo*, that was hard by. But besides so many murders committed, yet were there other things also that grieved the people maruelously. For he proclaimed him selfe Dictator, which office had not bene of sixe yeares before in vife, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, geuing him free liberty afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goodes: to destroy cities, and to build vp new as he listed: to take away kingdomes, and to geue them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly sold the goodes confiscate, by the crier, sitting proudly and stately in his chayer of state, that it grieved the people more to see those goodes packt vp by them, to whom he gaue and disposed them: then to see them taken from those that had forfeited them. For sometimes he would geue a whole contry, or the whole reuenues of certaine cities, vnto women for their beawty, or vnto pleasaunt iesters, minstrells, or wicked slaues made free: and vnto some, he would geue other mens wiues by force, and make them to be married against their willes. For he desiring (howsoever it happened) to make alliance with *Pompey* the great, commaunded him to put away his wife he had married: and taking *Aemylia* (the daughter of *Aemylus Scaurus*, & of *Metella* his wife) from the great *Glabrio*, caused him to marry her great with childe as she was by *Glabrio*: but the dyed in childbed, in *Pompey* house. *Lucretius Offella* also that had brought *Marius* the younger to that distresse at the city of *Preneste*: suing to be Consul, *Sylla* commaunded him to cease his sute. But he notwithstanding that expresse commaundement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that fauored his cause. Whither *Sylla* sent one of his Centurions that flue *Offella* before all the people: him selfe sitting in a chayer of estate in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and seeing from aboue the murder done. The people that were about *Offella*, layd hold of the murderer straight & brought him before *Sylla*. But *Sylla* had them quiet, that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him goe, because he commaunded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumphe, it was a sumptuous fight to behold, for the rarenes of the riches, and princely spoyle which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the banished *ROMANS*, who were the chiefeft noble men of all the city of *ROME*, following his chaire triumphantly wearing garlandes of flowers on their heades, calling *Sylla* their father, and fauor: because that by his meanes they returned to their contry, and recouered their goods, wiues, and children.

And in the end of his triumphe, he made an oration in open assembly of the people of *ROME*, in the which he did not only declare vnto the (according to the custome) what thinges he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and iugesse, as of his valiant deedes besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great fauor fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by the name, *Felix*, to say, happy, or fortunate. And he him selfe when he wrote vnto the *GREECIANS*, or that he had any thing to do with them: furnished him selfe *Epaphroditus*, as who would say, a pleasaunt man, beloved and fauored of *Venus*. His tokens of triumphe which are yet in our contry, haue this supercription. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife *Metella* had brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter: he named his sonne *Faustus*, signifying fortunate, and his daughter *Fausia*: because the *ROMANS* call *Faustum* that, which falleth out prosperously, and happily. To be short, he trusted so much vnto his good fortune and doings, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a change and innouation in the common wealth, yet of him selfe he lelt of his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consuls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a priuate man, among the citizens, offering him selfe to euery man that would aske him accompt of his doings past. It happened that a stow and rash enemy of his was Chosen Consul against his will, called *Marcus Lepidus*, not for a deuotion the people had to *Lepidus*, but only to graue *Pompey*, who gaue countenance and fauor vnto him. *Sylla* seeing *Pompey* come many homewards from the election, and joyfull that he had obtained his frendes sute from all other suters: tooke him a side, & told him. In deede thou hast great cause to reioyce, young man my frende, for thou hast done a goodly acte: to choose *Marcus Lepidus* Consul, the veriest asse in all *ROME*, before *Catiline* the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou haddest not neede to deeeper for thou hast strengthened an enemy, that will be thine owne destruction. And *Sylla* proued a true prophet: for *Lepidus* being bent to all cruelty immediately after, flayt flyt at defiance with *Pompey*. Now *Sylla* confecting the dishes of all his goodes vnto *Herulus*, made exceeding sumptuous feastes vnto the *ROMANS*, the prouision whereof was so vnreasonable great, that euery day they threw a great deale of meate into the riuer, and they dranke wine of forty yeares olde and aboue. During these feastes which continued many dayes, his wife *Metella* sickened, and dyed, and in her sickenes the Priestes and Soothsayers willed *Sylla* he should not come neere her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon *Sylla* was diuorced from her in her sickenes, and caused her to be caried into an other house, whilst she liued. And thus did *Sylla* curiously obserue the superstition and ordinance of the Soothsayers: but yet he brake the law which he made him selfe, touching the order of funeralles, spending no coist at *Metellaes* buriall. So did he also breake an other order him selfe had made, touching the reformation of banketts: comforting his sorrow with ordinary feastes, full of all vanity and lasciuiousnes. Within a fewe monethes after, he had fensiers games at the Theater: and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnseuered, men and women sitting together, it happened that there was a fayer Lady, and of a noble house, that sat hard by *Sylla*, called *Valeria*: she was the daughter of *Metella*, and sister of *Horatius* the orator, and had bene diuorced not long before from her husbande. This Lady passing by *Sylla* behinde him did softly put her hand on his shoulder, and tooke a heare from of his gowne, and so went on to her place, and sat her downe. *Sylla* marueling at this familiarity, looked earnestly vpon her: it is nothing my Lord, (quod she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a litle of your happines. Her words misliked not *Sylla*, but contrarily he shewed that he had tickled him with them: for he sent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had liued. But after many flye looks betwene them, they turned their faces one to an other vpon euery occasion, with pretty smyling countenances: so that in the end, they came to promise & contract marriage together, for the which *Valeria* was not to be blamed. For though she was as wife, as honest, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made *Sylla* marry her, was neither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with a looke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest passion.

Sylla
twinnes, named
Faustus
and Fausia.

Sylla leaue
his Dictator-
shippe.

Marius Lepi-
dus chosen
Consul.

Sylla feasted
the people.

Wine of forty
yeares olde
serued.

Sylla brake
his owne lawes
he made.

Valeria, desir-
ous to be
partaker of
Syllas happi-
nes.

Sylla married
Valeria, the
sister of Hor-
atius the O-
rator.

fions of the minde, to be so caried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this fayer young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women minstrells & tumblers, and to haue pleasant iesters and musicians about him, with whome he would lye wallowing and drinking all the day long, vpon little cowches made for the none. For, his companions that were in greatest estimation with him at that time, were these three: *Roscus* a maker of common plays, *Sorex* a prince of scoffers, and one *Metrobis* a singing man, whom he was in love withall while he liued, & yet did not dissemble his loue, though he was past age to be beloved. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the original cause whereof had a light foundation at the first. For he liued a great time before he perceived that he had an impostume in his body, the which by proceesse of time came to corrupt his flesh in such sorte, that it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him continually night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that multiplied still vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate it selfe, but was presently filled with swarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the bathe to washe and cleanse him selfe of them, but all would not serue: for the changing of his flesh into this putrified wannet straight againe, that there was no cleansing, nor shifting of him, that could kepe such a number of lice from him. Some say, that in old time (amongest the most auncientest men, whereof there is any memory) *Acastus* the sonne of *Pelias*, dyed of the lowse euill: and long time after also, the Poet *Alcman*, and *Pherecidas* the deuine: and so did *Callisthenes* OLYMPIAN in prison, and *Mutius* a wise lawyer. And if we shall make mention of those that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter: we finde that a bonde man called *Ennius*, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmen in SICILIA, being taken and caried to ROME, dyed also of the same disease. Furthermore, *Sylla* did not only foresee his death, but he wrote some thing of it also: for he made an end of writing the two and twenty booke of his commentaries, two dayes before he dyed. In that booke he sayth, that the wife men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had liued honorably, he should ende his dayes in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he sayth also, that his sonne (who departed a litle before his mother *Metella*) appeared to him in his sleepe, apparelled in an ill fauored gowne, and that comminge vnto him, he prayed him he would go with him vnto *Metella* his mother, thenceforth to liue in peace and rest with her. But for all his disease, he would not geue ouer to deale in matters of state. For tenne dayes before his death he pacified a fedition, and tumult, risen among the inhabitantes of the city of *PVRGILANVM* (in Italian called *POZZOLO*) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinaunces, whereby they should gouerne them selues. And the day before he dyed, hearing that *Granius* who was in debt to the common wealth deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he sent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compass him about, and commaunded them to strangle him in his sight. The passion of his anger was so vehement against him, that by the extreame straining of him selfe, he brake the impostume in his body, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of blood: by reason whereof his strength failing him, he was full of paine and panges that night, and so dyed, leauing the two litle children he had by *Metella*. For *Valeria*, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called *Posthumia*, because the ROMANES call those children that are borne after the death of their fathers, *Posthumi*. Now when *Sylla* was dead, many gathered about the Consul *Lepidus* to let that his body should not be honorably buried, as they were accustomed to bury noble men & men of quality. But *Pompey*, though he was angry with *Sylla*, because he had geuen him nothing in his will, and had remembered all his other frendes: yet he made some for loue, some by intreaty, and others with threatening to let it alone, and accompanying the corpse to ROME, gaue both safety and honor vnto the performance of his funeralls. And it is sayd also, that the ROMANES Ladies, amongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfumes & odoriferous matter towards the same: that besides those which were brought in two hundred and tenne great baskets, they made a great image to the likenes of *Sylla* him selfe, and another of a sergeaut carrying the axes before him, all of excellent incense & synnagon. When the day of the funeralls came, fearing least it would raine in the forenone, all the element

Sylla's impostume turned to lice.

Divers famous men thus dyed of lice.

*Sylla's commentaries containe 22. booke. Sylla's sonne that was dead appeared to him in his sleepe in an ill fauored appa-
rell.*

Granius strangled in Sylla's sight by his owne commaundment.

Sylla's death.

Posthumia.

Sylla's funerall.

ing so clowdy: they deferred to cary forth the body to be burnt, vntill past three of the clocke in the afternone. And then rose there such a sodaine boytiferous winde, that it set all the stake of woodde straight afire, that the body was burnt at a tryce, and the fire going out, fell a great shower of raine that held on till night: so that it seemed good fortune following him euen to his ende, did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His tombe is to be seene in the field of *Mars*, and they say that he him selfe made his owne epitaphe that is wrytten vpon it, which was: that no man did euer passe him, neither in doing good to his frendes, nor in doing mischief to his enemies.

Sylla's epitaphe.

THE COMPARISON OF *Sylla with Lysander.*



Now that we haue at large also set forth the life of the ROMANES, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both a like, that both of them grew to be great men, rising of the selues through their owne vertue: but this only is proper to *Lysander*, that all the offices & dignities which he attained vnto in the common wealth, were layed apou him through the peoples good wills and consents. For he compelled them to nothing, neither vsurped he any extraordinarie authoritie vpon them, contrarie to lawe: for, as the common saying is:

Where partialitie, and discorde once doe raigne:

There wicked men are most esteemed, and rule with greatest gaine.

As at that time in ROME, the people being corrupted, and the state of government vtterly subuerted and brought to nought: to day there rose vpon one tyrannic, to morow an other. And therefore we may not wonder if *Sylla* vsurped and ruled all, when such fellows as *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*, did both banish and driue out of ROME such men as *Metellus* was; and where also in open assembly they slue Consuls somes in the market place, and where force of armes was bought & sold for gold and siluer, with the which the souldiers were corrupted, & where they made new lawes with fire and sword, and forced men to obey the same. Yet I speake not this in reproache of him that in such troublesome times founde meanes to make him selfe the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity he grew vnto in so unfortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from SPAIN (at what time it flourished most, and was the best gouerned common weale) he in all great cause, and in most honorable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of all chieffes. Wherefore it happened, that the one resigned vp the authority to his contry men, the citizens, which they had geuen him, who also restored it to him againe many and sundry

The chiefe person was always the honestest.

times: for the honor of his vertue did alwayes remaine, and made him iustly accompted the worthiest man. Where the other being once only chosen generall of an army, remained tenne yeares continually in warres and hostilitie, making him selfe by force, sometime full, sometime vice Confull, and sometime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyranne. In dede *Lysander* attempted to chaunge, and alter the state of gouernment in his contrie, howbeit was with greater lenity, and more lawfully then *Sylla* did. For he sought it by reason, and good perswasion, not by the sword: neither would he make a chaunge of the whole at one selfe time as *Sylla* did, but sought only to reforme the election of kinges. The which thing according to nature, doubtlesse seemed very iust: that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen king of that citie, which was the chiefe ouer all *Greece*, not for her nobility, but for her vertue only. For like as a good hunter doth not seeke for the welthe of a good dogge, but for the good dogge him selfe: nor a wise man of armes also, the colte that commeth of a good horse, but the good horse him selfe. Euen so, he that taketh vpon him to stablish a ciuill gouernment, committeth a fowle fault: if he looke of whom his Prince should be borne, and not what the Prince him selfe should be, considering that the *Lacedæmonians* them selues haue deprived diuerse of their kinges from their crowne and realme, because they were not Princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it alwayes ill of it selfe: but vertue is honored for her selfe alone, and not because it is placed with nobility. Now for the wronges and injuries they both committed, the one did worke only to pleasure his frendes, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine, that *Lysander* did great wronges to gratifie his familiars: and the most part of them whom he put to death, was to establish the tyrannicall power of certaine his frendes. Where *Sylla* fought for spite to take away his army from *Pompey*, and the Admiralty from *Dolabella*, which he him selfe had geuen, & caused *Lucretius Offella* to be slaine openly in his owne fight, because he sought to be Confull, for recompence of the good seruice he had done: for which cruelty of his, causinge his own frendes to be slaine in such sorte, he made euery man afraid of him. Furthermore, their behauiours touching couetousnes and pleasure doth shew, that the intent of the one was the desire of a good Prince, and the other, that of a tyranne. For we doe not finde that *Lysander*, for all his great Princely authority, did euer vse any insolency or lasciuiousnes in his deedes, but alwayes auoyded as much as a man might, the reproache of this common prouerbe: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroad: He led such a true *LACONIAN* life, straightly reformed in all poyntes. Where *Sylla* could neuer moderate his vnlawfull lustes, neither for pouerty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came vpon him. But while he gaue lawes to the *ROMANES* touching matrimoniall honestie and chastitie: him selfe in the meane time did nothing but follow loue, and commit adultries, as *Salust* wryteth. By meanes whereof he so much impouerished *ROME*, and left it so voyde of gold and siluer: that for ready money he sold absolute freedome vnto the cities their confederates, yet was it his daily study to confiscate and take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthiest houses in all the whole citie of *ROME*. But all this spoyle and hauoke was nothing in comparison of that which he daily cast away vpon his iealeters & flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we thinke he kept, in his gifts at priuate banckets: when openly in the day time (all the people of *ROME* being present to see him sell the goodes which he had caused to be confiscated) he made one of his frendes and familiars, to trusse vp a great deale of household stufte, for a very little price. And when any other had outbidden his price, & that the crier had cried it out aloud: then was he angry, and sayd: My frendes, I haue great wrong done me here, not to suffer me sell the spoile I haue gotten at mine owne pleasure, and dispose it as I list my selfe. Where *Lysander* contrariely sent to the common wealth of *SPARTA*, with other money, the very presents that were geuen to him selfe. And yet I do not commend him in that deede. For, peraduenture he did more hurt to *SPARTA*, bringing thither that gold & siluer: then *Sylla* did to *ROME*, in wasting and consuming that he consumed. Howbeit I alleage this onely, for prooofe and declaration that *Lysander* was nothing couetous. They both haue done that vnto their citie, which neither any other but them selues did. For *Sylla* being a riorous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithstanding to good order and gouernment: and *Lysander* contrarily filled his citie with

Lysander & Sylla: familiars.

Lysander temperance and moderate life. Sylla: licentious and prodigall life.

Sylla: tyrannical saying.

A with vice, yet not infected withall him selfe. Thus were they both offenders, the one for breaking the law he commaunded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worse then he was him selfe: for he taught the *SPARTANS* to desire those things, which he about all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and ciuill gouernment. Now for matters of warre and battells fought, there is no comparison to be made of *Lysander* to *Sylla*, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For *Lysander* wanne only but two battells by sea, besides the taking of the citie of *ATHENS*: which though I graunt him being rightly considered, was no great exploit of warre, howbeit it was a noble act, considering the same he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in *BEOOTIA*, hard by the citie of *ALIAETE*: a man might say peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinkes also there was a fault in him, for that he stayed not for king *Pausanias* aide (the which came from *PLATES* immediately after his ouerthrow) and because he went in a geere in fury, and in a vaine ambition to runne his head against a wall: so that men of all sortes making a desperate false out of *ALIAETE* vpon him, slue him there to no purpose. Farre vnlike to *Cleombrotus* that died at the battell of *LEUCTRES*, resisting his enemies that distressed his men: nor yet like *Cyrus*, nor *Epaminondas*, who to keepe his men from flying, and to geue them assured victory, receiued his deadly wounde: for all these men dyed like noble kings, & valliant Captaines. Where *Lysander* rashly cast him selfe away, to his great dishonor, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the ancient *SPARTANS* did like wise men, to auoyde the fight with walles. For the noblest and valliantest man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slaine, not only by the first fouldier that commeth, but by euery feely woman or childe. As they say that the worthy *Achilles* was killed by *Paris* within the very gates of *TROIA*. Now to the contrarie againe, the victories that *Sylla* wanne in set battells, and the thousandes of enemies which he slue, are not easily to be numbred, besides also that he tooke the city of *ROME* twise, and the haue of *ATHENS*: not by famine as *Lysander* did, but by force, after he had by many great battells driuen *Archelaus* out of firme land, into the maine sea. It is to be considered also, against what Captaines time made warres. For me thinkes it was but a pastime, as a mā might say, for *Lysander* to fight with *Antiochus*, a pylot of *Alcibiades*, or to surpriue and deceiue *Philoteles*, a common orator at *ATHENS*.

Much worse then vvord edged sword, his buse tongue did seeme: VVhich prattled still, and honestie did neuer once esteeme,

D And whom *Mithridates* (in my opinion) would not vouchefase to compare with his horse-keeper, nor *Marius* with one of his sergeantes or masebearers. But to leaue a side the particular names of all other Princes, Lordes, Confulls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernors that made warres with *Sylla*: what *ROMANE* Captaine was there more to be feared, then *Marius*? what king liuing was there of such power as king *Mithridates*? And of Generalls and Lieutenantes of armies in all *ITALIE*, were there any euer more valliant, then *Lamponius* and *Thelephus*: of the which *Sylla* draue the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and slue the last? But the greatest matter of all that we haue spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that *Lysander* did all his noble actes, with the aide of his whole contrie: where *Sylla* to the contrarie E did his, (being banished from his contry) by his enemies. And at the selfe same time that they draue *Syllas* wife out of *ROME*, that they ouerthrew his houses, and slue his frendes also in *ROME*: he notwithstanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thousandes of fighting men in *BEOOTIA*, and ventred his person in manifold daungers, so that in the end he conquered them all to the honor & benefit of his contry. Furthermore, *Sylla* would neuer stoupe to king *Mithridates*, for any particular allyance he offered him, neither yeelde vnto him for any aide of men, or money, to warre against his enemies: but a thing most chiefly to be noted above the rest, he would not vouchefase to speake to *Mithridates*, nor to take him by the hande onely, before he had spoken it with his owne mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would forgoe *ASIA*, deliuer him his gallies, and geue vp the realmes of *BITHYNIA* and *CAPPADOCIA* vnto their naturall kinges. This me thinkes was the goodliest act that euer *Sylla* did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to haue preferred the benefit of the common wealth in that sorte, before his priuate comodity. For therein he was like vnto a good greyhound that first

Sylla for war to be preferred before Lysander.

Sylla fought with men of greatest power and couraige them.

Sylla's magnanimity.

pincheth the deare, and holdeth him fast, till he haue ouerthrowen him: and then afterwarde followeth the recouery of his owne priuate quarrell. And lastly, me thinkes it is easily iudged what difference there was betwene their two natures, in that they did both towards the cits of ATHENS. For *Sylla* hauing taken it, after the citizens had made fierce warres with him for the increase of king *Matbridates* greatnes: yet he left it free vnto them, enioying their owne lawes. Where *Lysander* to the contrary, seeing such a mighty state and Empire as that, ouerthrowen from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the libertie of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before: and established there very cruell and wicked tyrans. And therefore in myne opinion, we shall not much swaue from troth, if we geue this iudgement: that *Sylla* did the greater acts: and *Lysander* committed the fewer faultes. And that we geue to the one the honor of a continent and modest man: and to the other, the commendacion of a valliant and skillfull fouldier.

*Plutarches
iudgements of
Sylla and Lysander.*

THE LIFE OF *Cimon.*



*Peripolus &
his posterity.*

Peripolus as the Soothsayer, he that brought king *Opheltas* out of THESALIE into the contry of BOEOTIA, with the people which were vnder his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time flourished in that contry, the more parte of the which were euier resident in the city of CHERONEA, because it was the first city that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expelled thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great corage, and naturally geuen to the warres: who were so forward and aduenturous in all daungers thereof (in the inuasions of the MEDES into GREECE, & in the battells of the GAULES) that they were slaine all of them, but onely *Damon* (a litle childe left fatherlesse and motherlesse) furnished *Peripolus* that elcaped, who for goodly personage and noble corage excelled all the lusty youtthes of his time, though otherwise he was very rude, and of a seuer nature. Now it fortuneth, that when *Damon* was growen of full age, a ROMANE Captaine of an ensigne of footemen (lying in garrison for the winter season in the cite of

CHÆ

*The manners
& liued parties
of Damon Peripolus.*

A CHERONEA fell in great loue with *Damon*: and because he could not reape the frutes of his dishonest loue by no intreaty nor giftes, there appeared vehement presumptions that by force he went about to abuse him, for that CHERONEA at that time (being my naturall city where I was borne) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) little regarded. *Damon* mistrusting the Capitaines villanie, and detesting his abominable desire watched him a shrewd tyme, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, because he might the more secretly compasse his enterprife) to be a counsell with him, and take his parte against the Capitaine. Now there were a fixteene of them in comfort together, that one night blacked their faces all with soote, & the next morning after they had dronke together, by the breake of day set vpon this ROMANE Captaine, that was making sacrifice in the market place, and slue him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the cite, which was straight in a great vpror for the murder committed. Thereupon they called a counsell, and in the market place condemned *Damon* and his confederates to suffer paines of death: hoping thereby to haue cleared their innocencie for the fact done to the ROMANES. But the selfe same night, as all the magistrats and officers of the city were at supper together in the towne house according to their custome: *Damon* & his followers stole vpon them sodainly, slue them all, & fled againe vpon it. It chauned about that time, that *Lucius Lucullus* being sent on some iorney, passed by the city of CHERONEA with his army: & because this murder was but newly done, he stayed there a few dayes to examine the troth & originall thereof. And found that the commons of the cite were in no fault, but that they them selues also had receiued hurt: whereupon he tooke the fouldiers of the ROMANES that remained of the garrison, & caried the away with him. In the meane time, *Damon* destroyed all the contry thereabout, and still houered neere to the cite, inso much as the inhabitantes of the same were driuen in the end to fend vnto him, and by gentle wordes and fauorable decrees handled him so, that they intysed him to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongst them, they chose him Gymnarchus, to say, a master of exercises of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oyle in his stooue or hotte house, starke naked as he was, they slue him by treason. And because that there appeared sprights of long time after in that place, & that there were heard groanings & sighings as our fathers tolde vs, they caused the dore of the hotte house to be walled vp: yet for all that, there are visions seene, and terrible voyces and cries heard in that selfe place vnto this present time, as the neighbours dwelling by doe testifie. Now they that were discended of this *Damon* (for there are yet of his race in the contrie of PHOCIDAS, neere vnto the cite of SYRIS, who do only of all other both keepe the language and maners of the ÆTOLIANS) are called ASBOLOMENT, signifyinge blacke, and besmured with soote: because that *Damon* and his fellows: did blacke their faces with soote, when they slue the ROMANE Captaine. But the ORCHOMENIANS being neere neighbors vnto the CHERONEIANS, and therefore their enemies, hyered an informer of ROME, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole cite, (as if it had bene one priuate person alone) for the murder of the ROMANES, whome *Damon* and his companions had slaine. The inditement was drawen, and the case pleaded before the gouernor of MACEDON, for that the ROMANES did send no gouernors at that time into GREECE: and the counsellors that pleaded for the cite of CHERONEA, relied vpon the testimonie of *Lucius Lucullus*, referring them selues to his reporte, who knew the troth, & how it was. Thereupon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and *Lucullus* in his letter of answer aduertised the very troth: so was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stood in daunger of viter destruction. The inhabitantes of the city of CHERONEA, for that they had escaped the daunger by testimonie of *Lucius Lucullus*, to honor him withall, they set vp his image in stone in the market place, next vnto the image of *Bacchus*. And we also that be liuing at this present, though many yeares be gone and passed hence, do notwithstanding reckon our selues partakers of his forepassed benefit. And because we are perfwaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and condicions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that representeth any mans person or shape only: we will comprehend his life and doings according to the troth, in this volume of noble mens liues, where we doe compare and sorte them one with an other. It shalbe sufficient for vs therefore, that we shew

*Lucius Lucullus
examined
the troth of
the murder.*

*Damon slaine
by treason.*

*Asboloments,
who they
were, and why
so called.*

*Cheronea in-
dited for the
murder.*

*Lucullus cal-
led for a wit-
ness of the
troth.*

*His storie is a
certaine i-
mage of mens
manners and
wisdom.*

Y Y

A pretty similitude.

Howe to describe the life of a man.

Cimon, & Lucullus in what things the life were like.

Cimon's linage.

Thucydides linage.

Miltiades died in prison.

Cimon defeated in his youth. Coalemos, foole.

Cimon's conditions.

our felues thankfull for his benefit, and we thinke, that he himfelfe would milike for reward of his true testimonie, to be requited with a fauorable lye told in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a paffing fayer face drawn, and liuely counterfeited, and that hath an excellent good grace withall, yet some manner of bleamie or imperfection in it: we will not allow the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curiously to thewe it, becaufe the one would deforme the counterfeite, and the other make it very vnlieke. Euen fo, becaufe it is hard thing (or to fay better, peraduenture impossible) to describe a man, whose life should altogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first study to wryte his vertues at large, and then by leeke perfectly to represent the troth, euen as the life it selfe. But where by chaunce we finde certaine faultes and errors in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the minde, by necessity of the time or state of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednes proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we shall not neede too curiously to expresse in our history, but rather to passe them lightly ouer, of frequent shame to the meere frailty of mans nature, which can not bringe forth a man of such vertue and perfection, but there is euer some imperfection in him. And therefore, considering with my selfe vnto whom I might compare *Lucullus*, I thought it best to compare him with *Cimon*, becaufe they haue bene both valliant souldiers against their enemies, hauing both done notable exploitcs in warres against the barbarous people: and moreover, they haue both bene courteous & mercifull vnto their citizens, & were both the only men that pacified the ciuill warres and diffention in their contrie, and both the one & the other of them were notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was neuer GREEKIAN Captaine before *Cimon*, nor ROMANE Captaine before *Lucullus*, that had made warres so farre off from their contrie leauing a parte the deedes of *Bacchus* and of *Hercules*, and the deedes also of *Persus*, against the *ÆTHIOPIANS*, the *MEDES*, and the *ARMENIANS*, and the deedes of *Iafon* also: if there remaine any monument extant since their time, worthe of credit in these our dayes. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that they neuer ended their warres, they only ouerthrew their enemies, but neuer ouercame them altogether. Again, they may note in them a great resemblance of nature, for their honestie, curtesie and humanitie, which they shewed vnto straungers in their contrie: and for the magnificence and sumptuousnes of their life and ordinarie expence. It may be we doe leaue out some other similitudes betweene them: howbeit in the discourse of their liues they will easily appeare. *Cimon* was the sonne of *Miltiades* and of *Hegesypple*, a THRACIAN woman borne, and the daughter of king *Olorus*, as we finde wrytten in certaine poeticall verses which *Melanthin* and *Archelaus* haue wrytten of *Cimon*. The father of *Thucydides* the historiographer him selfe, who was of kinne also vnto *Cimon*, was called in like manner *Olorus*, shewing by the agreeing of the name, that this king *Olorus* was one of his auncesters, and did also possesse mines of gold in the contry of THRACIA. It is sayd moreover that he dyed in a certaine place called the ditchie forrest, where he was slaine: howbeit that his ashes and bones were caried into the contrie of ATTICA, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongst the tombes of them of the house and family of *Cimon*, neere vnto the tombe of *Cimon* owne sister called *Elpinice*. Notwithstanding, *Thucydides* was of the village of ALIMVS, and *Miltiades* of the village of LACIA. This *Miltiades* *Cimon*'s father, being condemned by the state to pay the summe of fifty talentes, was for non payment cast into prison, and there dyed: and left *Cimon* and his sister *Elpinice* aloue, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, *Cimon* in his first young years had a very ill name and reporte in the city, being counted a riotous young man, & a great drinker, following his grandfather *Cimon*'s facions vp and downe, as he had also his name: fauing that his grandfather for his beastlines was surnamed *Coalemos*, as much to say as foole. *Stesimbrotus* THASIAN, who was about *Cimon*'s time, wryteth, that *Cimon* neuer learned musike, nor any other of the liberal sciences accountably taught to young noble mens sonnes of GREECE, & that he had no sharpe wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper vnto children born in the contry of ATTICA: howbeit that he was of a noble minde, and plaine, without dissimulation, so that he rather liued PELOPONNESIAN like, then like an ATHENIAN. For he was euen such as the Poet *Euripides* described *Hercules* to be:

A simple man he was, and should not well disguise:

honest eke in things of weight, as wit could well desire.

Thus serued fely to be applied vnto *Stesimbrotus* words wrytten of him: but notwithstanding in his first young years he was suspected of inconciny with his sister, who in deede otherwise had no very good name. For she was very familiar with the painter *Polygnotus*, who painting the TROIAN Ladies prisoners, vpon the walls of the gallery, called the Plesianaction, and now *Pasile*: (to say, set out and beautified with diuers pictures) he drew (as they say) *Laoertes* face vpon *Elpinice*'s picture. This painter *Polygnotus* was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for moneys sake, but gaue his labor frankly to the common wealth, as all the historiographers that wrote in that time do witness: and as the Poet *Melan-*

thus also recited in these verses:

At his owne proper charge, great cost he hath bestowed:

In decking up our temples here, with gilted rooves embowed,

For honor of the goddess. And in our towne liue to use,

He hath aduor'd the common place, with many a fine devise.

Painting and setting forth, in stately shew to see,

The images of demy goddesses that haue amongst vs be.

Some say that *Elpinice* did not secretly companie with her brother *Cimon*, but lay with him openly as his lawfull married wife, becaufe she could not for her pouerty haue a husband of like nobilitie and parentage to her selfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called *Callias*, being one of the richest men of the citie, did afterwards fall in fanfic with her, and desired to marry her, offering to pay her father *Miltiades* fine of fifty talentes, wherein he stood condemned a litle to the state, so that he might haue her to his wife. *Cimon* was contented, and vpon that condition married his sister *Elpinice* vnto *Callias*. This notwithstanding, it is certaine that *Cimon* was somewhat amorous, and geuen to loue women: For *Melanthin* the Poet in certaine of his elegies, maketh mention for his pleasure of one *Asperia* borne at SALAMINA; and of another called *Amestras*, as if *Cimon* had bene in loue with them. But vndoubtedly, he loued his lawfull wife *Hodice* maruelous well, the daughter of *Eurypolemus*, *Metacalus* sonne, and tooke her death very grieuouſly, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were wrytten vnto him, to comforte him in his sorowe. *Panasius* the Philosopher is of opi-

mon, that *Archelaus* the Phisician wrote those elegies: and sure it is not vnlike, considering the time in which they were wrytten. But furthermore, *Cimon*'s nature and condicions deserued great commendation. For his valliantnesse he gaue no place vnto *Miltiades*, and for his wisdom and iudgement, he was not inferior vnto *Themistocles*: and it is out of all doubt that he was a iuster and honest man, then either of them both. For he was equal with the best of either of both in the discipline of warres, and for the valliantnesse of a noble Captaine: and he did much excell them both in the properties of a good gouernor, and in that administration of the affayres of a citie, when he was but a young man, and had no experience of warres. For when *Themistocles* at the comming in of the *MEDES* counselled the people of ATTICA to goe out of the citie, to leaue their landes and contrie, and to shippe into gallies; and fight with the barbarous people by sea in the straight of SALAMINA: as euerie man was wondering at his bolde and venturous counsell, *Cimon* was the first man that went with a life and iollie through the strette *Cerameus*, vnto the castell, accompanied with his younge familiars and companions, carrying a bitte of a bridle in his hand to conuolate vnto the goddesse *Minerva*, signifying thereby, that the citie had no neede of men at that time; but of iustiters and seamen. And after he had geuen vp his offering, he tooke one of the targettes that hong vpon the wall of the temple; and hauing made his prayer vnto *Minerva*, came downe to the haue, and was the first that made the most parte of the citizens to take a good harte to them, and coragiously to leaue the land, and take the sea. Besides all this, he was a man of a goodly stature, as Ion the Poet reſtifieth; and he had a fayer curled haire and eies, and fought so valliantly at the day of the battell, that he was immediately great reputations, with the loue and good will of euerie man. So that many were full about him to encourage him, to be liuely and valliant; and to thinke thence

Elpinice *Cimon*'s sister was chaste.

Polygnotus the painter.

Elpinice being borne, had regard to matche according to her state & calling.

Cimon fabriced to lasciuious life.

The praise of *Cimon*'s condicions.

Cimon's personage commended.

forth to doe some actes worthie of the glorie that his father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwarde, so soone as he beganne to deale in matters of state, the people were maruelous glad of him, and were wearied with *Themistocles*; by meanes whereof *Cimon* was preiently aduanced and preferred, to the chiefe offices of honor in the citie, being very well thought on of the common people, because of his soft and plaine nature. Moreover, *Aristides* also did greatly further his aduancement, because he saw him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vie him as a countereale to controul *Themistocles* craft and stownesse. Wherefore after the *Medes* were fled out of GREECE, *Cimon* being sent for by the *ATHENIANS* for their generall by sea, when the citie of *ATHENS* had then no manner of rule nor commandement, but followed kinge *Paufanias* and the *LACEDÆMONIANS*: he euer kept his contrie men and citizens in maruelous good order in all the viages he made, and they were readier to doe good seruice, then any other nation in the whole armie whatsoever. And when kinge *Paufanias* had practised with the barbarous people to betraye GREECE, had wrytten also to the kinge of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time delt very cruelly and straightly with the confederates of his contrie, and committed many insolent partes by reason of the great authority he had, & through his foolish pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* satte otherwise, gently entertained them whom *Paufanias* iniured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his courteous manner, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* hauing no eye to his doings, he stale away the rule and commandement of all GREECE from them, & brought the *ATHENIANS* to be sole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his sweete tongue, and gracious manner of vsing all men. For the most parte of the confederates being no longer able to away with *Paufanias* pride and cruelty, came willingly and submitted them selues vnder the protection of *Cimon* and *Aristides*; who did not only receive them, but wrote also to the counsell of the Ephores at *LACEDÆMON*, that they should call *Paufanias* home, for that he dishonored SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and wraue. And for prooffe hereof, they say that kinge *Paufanias* being on a time in the citie of *BYZANTION* sent for *Cleonece*, a young maiden of a noble house, to take his pleasure of her. Her parents durst not keepe her from him, by reason of his crueltie, but suffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of *Paufanias* chamber to take away the lightes and thinking in the darke to come to *Paufanias* bed that was a sleepe, groping for the bed softly as she could to make no noyse, she vnfortunatly hit against the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made such a noyse, that it waked him on the sodaine, and thought straight therewithall that some of his enemies had bene comen traitorically to kill him, when upon he tooke his dagger lying vnder his beddes head, and so stabbed it in the young virgins, that she dyed immediatly vpon it. Howbeit the neuer let *Paufanias* take rest after that, because her spirite came euery night and appeared vnto him, as he would sleepe haue sleept, and thus he angry to him in verie, as followeth:

*Keepe thou thy selfe vpright, and iustice see thou feare,
For vnoye and shame be vnto him, that iustice dequand doth beare.*

This vile fact of his did so stirre vp all the confederates against him, that they came to besiege him in *BIZANTIUM* vnder the conduction of *Cimon*: from whom notwithstanding he escaped, and secretly saued him selfe. And because that this maidens spirite would neuer let him rest, but vexed him continually: he fled vnto the city of *HABACIA*, where there was a temple that conured dead spirites, & there was the spirite of *Cleonece* conured, to pray him to be conured. So he appeared vnto him, & told him that he should be deliuered of all his troubles so soone as he came to SPARTA: signifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he should suffer there. Diuers wryters do thus report it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the GREECIANS, which were come to him to take his parte: was aduerted that certaine great men of PERSIA, & allyed to the king himselfe, who kept the city of *EIONE* vpon the riuer of Strymon in the contrie of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GREECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the sea, with his armie, and went thither: where at his first coming he vanquished and ouerthrew the barbarous people in battell: & hauinge ouerthrowen them, drave all the rest into the city of *EIONE*. That

Cimon General for the Athenians by sea.

King Paufanias through his insulency and pride, left the Lacedæmonians all their rule of Greece.

Paufanias killed the young Bizantine virgin.

Cimon's army and victory in Thracia.

A That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other side of the riuer of Strymon, who did commonly vitell them of *EIONE*: and hauing driuen them to forsake the contrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole him selfe. Whereupon he held them that were besieged at *EIONE* so straightly from vitells, that *Butes* the king of PERSIANS Lieutenant, dispayning of the state of the citie, set fire on the same, and burnt him selfe, his frendes, and all the goodes in it. By reason whereof, the spoyle taken in that citie was but small, because the barbarous people burnt all the best thinges in it with them selues: howbeit he conquered the contrie thereabouts, and gaue it the *ATHENIANS* to inhabit, being a venie pleasaunte and fertile soyle. In memorie whereof, the people of *ATHENS* suffered him to consecrate and set vp openly three *Hermes* of stone, (which are foure square pillars) vpon the toppes of the which they set vp heades of *Mercurye*: vpon the first of the three pillars, this inscription is grauen.

*The people truly were, of courage stout and fierce,
VVho hauing shut the Medes fast vp (as stories do rehearse)
VVithin the walled towne, of Eione that tyde,
VVhich on the streame of Strymon stands: they made them there abide
The force of famines pinche, and there vvith made them feeble,
The dynte of vvarre so many a time, vvith trusty tooles of Steele,
Till in the end dispaire, so pearced in their thought,
As there they did destroy them selues, and so were brought to nought.*

Butes burneth him selfe, city, and frendes, for feare of Cimon.

Statues of Mercury.

C Vpon the second there is such an other.

*The citizens vvich dwell, in Athens: stately towne,
Hauie here set vp these monuments, and pictures of renouue.
To honor so the facts, and celebrate the fame,
Their valliant chieftaines did achieve, in many a marshall game.
That such as after come, vvhen they thereby perceiue,
How men of seruice for their deedes, did rich rewards receiue,
Encouraged may be, such men for to resemble,
In valliant acts, and dreadfull deedes, vvich make their foes to tremble.*

And vpon the third an other.

D VVhen *Mnestheus* did lead forth of this citie here,
An armie to the *Troiane* vvarres, (by *Homere* doth appeare)
He was about the rest, that out of *Gracia* went:
A valliant knight, a vvorthy vvight, a Captaine excellent.
To take in hand the charge, an armie for to guide:
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praise of prouesse then, (o graue *Atheniens*)
Is now no newes to fill the eares of these yow citizens.
Since through the vvorld so vvide, the same and vvorthy praise,
For marshall feates, to you of yore hath iudged bene alvvayes.

E Now, though *Cimon*s name be not comprised in these inscriptions, yet they thought that this was a singular honor to him at that time: for neither *Miliades* nor *Themistocles* had euer thelike. For when *Miliades* requested the people one day that they would licence him to wear a garland of olyue boughes vpon his head: there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of *DECELEA*, that standing vp in open assembly spake against him, and sayd a thing that maruelously pleased the people, though in deede it was an vnthankfull recompence for the good seruice he had done to the common wealth. When you haue *Miliades*, (sayd he) ouercome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honored alone also. But howe was it then, that *Cimon*s seruice was so acceptable to the *ATHENIANS*? Yt was in myne opinion, because they had with other Captaines fought to defende them selues and their contrie only: and that vnder the conduction of *Cimon*, they had assailed and driuen their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of *EIONE* and of *Amphipolis*.

Sochares: Decelean, spake against Miliades request for the garland of Olyue boughes.

*Cimon wanne
the Ile of Sig-
ros.*

*The counsell
of the Am-
phictyon.*

*Theseus
brought to A-
theni 400.
years after his
death by Ci-
mon.*

*Sophocles and
Æschylus
contention of
victory.*

*Æschylus
overcome by
Sophocles,
dwellth in
Sicilia, and
dyeth there.
Cimon sang
passing fau-
re.*

*Cimon coun-
selling diuision
of the spoyle.*

which afterwards they did inhabit with their owne citizens, and wanne there also the Ile of **SCYROS**, which *Cimon* tooke vpon this occasion. The **DOLOPHANS** did inhabit it, who were idle people, and liued without labor or tillage, and had bene rousers of the sea of a wonderfull long time, vsing pyracie altogether to maintaine them selues withall: so that in the end they spared not so much as the marchaunts & passengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine **THESSALIANS** that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goodes from the, yet would they cast them in prison besides. Howbeit the prisoners found meanes to escape, & after they had saued them selues, repayed to the parliament of the **AMPHICTYONS**, which is a generall counsell of all the states and people of **GREECE**. The **AMPHICTYON** vnderstanding the matter, condemned the cite of the **SCYRIANS** to pay a great summe of money. The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, & bad them that they robbed the marchautes and had the goodes in their hands, pay it if they would. And therefore, bicause there was no other likely hood, but that the theues them selues should be driuen to answer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto *Cimon*, and willed him to come with his army, and they would deliuer their city into his hands: the which was performed. And thus *Cimon* hauing cōquered this Iland, draue out the **DOLOPHANS** thence, & ryd the sea **ÆGEAN** of all pirates therby. That done, remembering that the auncient *Theseus*, the sonne of *Ægeus*, flying from **ATHENS** came into that Iland of **SCYROS**, where king *Lycomedes* suspecting his coming had traiterously slaine him. *Cimon* was maruelous careful to seeke out his tombe, bicause the **ATHENIANS** had an oracle and prophecie, that commaunded him to bring his ashes and bones backe againe to **ATHENS**, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knewe not where he was buried, for that the inhabitantes of the Ilande would neuer before confesse where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much a doe founde the tombe, put his bones aboard the Admirall galley sumptuously decked and fet forth, and so brought them againe into his contry, four hundred years after *Theseus* death. For this the people thanked him maruelously, and thereby he wanne exceedingly the **ATHENIANS** good willes: and in memorie of him they celebrated the iudgement of the tragickall playes of the Poets. For when *Sophocles* the Poet, being a young man had played his first tragedy, *Aphepion* the president perceiuing there was great strife and contention amongst the lookers on, would not draw them by lottes that should be iudges of this play, to geue the victorie vnto that Poet that had best deserved: but when *Cimon* & the other Captaines were come into the Theater to see the same, (after they had made their accustomed oblatiōs vnto the god, in honor of whom these playes were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an othe vnto tenne, (which were of every tribe of the people, one) and the othe being geuen, he caused the to sit as iudges to geue sentēce, which of the Poets should cary away the prize. This made all the Poetes strife and contend who best should doe, for the honor of the iudges: but *Sophocles*, by their sentence bare away the victory. But *Æschylus* (as they say) was so angry and grieved withall, that he taried not long after in **ATHENS**, and went for sight into **SICILIA**, where he dyed and was buried neere vnto the cite of **GELA**. Iow wryeth that he being but a young boy, newly come from **CHIO** vnto **ATHENS**, supped one night with *Cimon* at *Laomedons* house, and that after supper when they had geuen the goddes thanks, *Cimon* was intreated by the company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that euery man praised him that heard him, & sayd he was more curious then *Themistocles* farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play vpon the citherne, answered them, he was neuer taught to sing nor play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich and mighty city. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to an other, as it falleth out commonly in speeche, they entred in talke of *Cimons* doinges: and hauing rehearsed the chiefeft of them, he him selfe told one, which was the notablest and wisest parte of all the rest that euer he played. For the **ATHENIANS** and their confederates together, hauing taken a great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of **SESTOS** and of **BIZANTIUM** the confederates to honor him withall, gaue him the preheminece to deuide the spoyle: & amongst them. Whereuppon he made the diuision, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by them selues, and layed the spoyles and their apparell by them selues. The

confe-

A confederates founde this distribution very vnequall: but neuerthelesse *Cimon* gaue them the choyce to choole which of the two they wouled, and that the **ATHENIANS** should be contented with that which they left. So there was a **SAMIAN** Captaine called *Herophytus*, that gaue the confederates counsell rather to take the spoiles of the **PERSIANS**, then the **PERSIANS** them selues, and so they did: for they tooke the spoile of the prisoners goodes and apparell, and left the men vnto the **ATHENIANS**. Whereupon *Cimon* was thought at that time of the common souldiers to be but an ill deuider of spoyle, bicause that the confederates caried away great store of chaines, karkanets, and braselets of gold, & goodly rich purple apparell after the **PERSIAN** facion: and the **ATHENIANS** brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labor. But shortly after, the parentes and frendes of these prisoners, came out of **PHRYGIA** and **LYDIA**, and redeemed euery man of them at a great ranfome: so that *Cimon* gathered such a masse of readie money together by their ranfome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his gallies with the same, for the space of foure monethes after, and left a great summe of money besides in the sparing treasure of **ATHENS**. *Cimon* by this meanes being nowe become riche, bestowed the goodes which he had thus honorably gotten from the barbarous people, more honorably againe, in relieuing his poore decayed citizens. For he brake vp all his hedges and inclosures, and layed them plaine and open, that trauellers passing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much frute thereof as they would, without any manner daunger. And furthermore, kept a continuall table in his house, not furnished with many dithes, but with meate sufficient for many persons, and where his poore contrie men were daily refreshed, that would come vnto that ordinary: so as they needed not other wise care to labor for their liuing, but might be the readier, & haue the more leasure to serue the common wealth. Yet *Aristotle* the Philosopher wryeth, that it was not for all the **ATHENIANS** indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men only in the village of **LACIA**, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwayes certaine young men waiting on him of his household seruantes well apparellled, & if he met by chance as he went vp and downe the cite, any olde citizen poorly arrayed, he made one of these young men strip him selfe, and chaunge apparell with the olde man: and that was very well thought of, and they all honored him for it. Moreouer, these young men caried euer good store of money about them: and when they met with any honest poore citizen in the market place, or else where, knowing his pouertie, they secretly gaue him money in his hande, and sayd neuer a worde. Which the Poet selfe *Cratinus* seemeth to speake of, in a comedie of his intituled the *Archiloches*.

*I am Metrobius the secretarie, he,
VVhich did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be:
At vvealthie Cimons borde, vvhere vvant vvvas neuer found,
VVhose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound.
There thought I for to passe myne aged years away,
VVith that right noble godly man, vvhich vvvas the Grecians stay.*

Furthermore, *Gorgias* Leontine sayd, that *Cimon* got goodes to vse them, and that he vsed them to be honored by them. And *Critias* that was one of the thirty tyrannes of **ATHENS**, he willeth and desireth of the goddes in his elegies,

*The goddes of Scopas heyes, the great magnificence,
And noble hart of Cimon he, vvho spared none expence:
The glorious vvictories, and high triumphant shovvres,
Of good Agefilas king, good goddes, ob graunt me thofe.*

The name of *Lichas* **SPARTAN**, hath bene famous amongst the **GREECIANS**: and yet we know no other cause why, sauing that he vsed to feast strangers that came to **LACEDÆMON** on their festiual day, to see the sportes and exercises of the young men daunting naked in the city. But the magnificence of *Cimon*, did farre exceede the auncient liberality, curtesie, and hospitality of the **ATHENIANS**: for they of all other were the first men that taught the **GREECIANS** through out all **GREECE**, how they should fow corne, and gather it to maintaine them selues withall, and also shewed them the vse of welles, and howe they should light and keepe

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*Herophytus
Samian, gaue
Counsell to
chose the
spoyle.*

*Cimons libe-
rality and ho-
spitality.*

*Cimons chari-
ty.*

*How Cimon
fed his gods.*

*The hospita-
lity of Lichas
Spartan.*

*Cimon's godly
acts.*

*Cimon brings
the golden
world againe.*

*Cimon's integ-
rity and
cleane hands.
Refuses as-
sumpted to
bribe Cimon.*

*Dariches,
whereof is
called.*

*A noble
saying of Ci-
mon.*

*The benefit of
paues & ser-
vice: and the
discommodity
of ease and
idleness.*

*Cimon plagued
the Persians.*

fire. But *Cimon* makinge an hospitall of his owne house, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permittinge straungers that trauelled by his groundes to gather such furs there, as the time and season of the yeare yielded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world, the goodes to bein common amongst them, as the Poets say they were in the old time of *Saturnes* raigne. And now, where some accused this honest liberality of *Cimon*, obiecing that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good willes by that meanes the manner of life he led, accompanying his liberality, did vterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For *Cimon* euer tooke parte with the nobilitie, and liued after the *Lacedæmonians* manner, as it well appeared, in that he was always against *Themistocles*, who without all compasse of reason encreased the authority and power of the people: and for this cause he ioyned with *Aristides*, and was against *Ephialtes*, who would for the peoples sake haue put downe and abolished *Ariopagus* court. And where all other gouernors in his time were extorcioners, and bribe-takers: (*Aristides* and *Ephialtes* only excepted) he to the contrary led an vncorrupt life in administration of iustice, & euer had cleane hands, whatsoever he spake or did, for the state and common wealth, and would therefore neuer take money of any man liuing. And for prooffe hereof, we finde it wrytten, that a noble man of *Persia* called *Refaces*, being a traitor to his master the king of *Persia*, fled on a time vnto *Athens*: where being continually bayted and wearied, with the common accusations of these tale bearers & picke thanks, that accused him to the people, he repayed at the length vnto *Cimon*, & brought him home to his owne dore two bowles, thone full of dariches of gold, and the other of dariches of siluer, which be peeces of money so called, because that the name of *Darius* was written vpon them. *Cimon* seeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather chooseth: to haue him his frende, or his hirling. The barbarous noble man answered him, that he had rather haue him his frend. Then sayd *Cimon* to him againe, away with thy golde and siluer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy frend, that gold and siluer shall euer be at my commaundement, to take and dispose of as I haue neede. About that time beganne the confederates of the *Athenians* to be weary of the warres against the barbarous people, desiring thenceforth to liue quietly, and to haue leasure to manure and husband their groundes, and to traffike also, considering that they had driuen their enemies out of their contrie, and that now they did them no more hurte: by reason whereof they payed the money they were fessed at, but they would furnishe no more men nor shippes as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the *Athenians* compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and prosecuted law against them that failed payment, condemning them in great fines, and that so cruelly, that they made the seignorie and dominion of the *Athenians* hateful vnto their confederates. Howbeit *Cimon* tooke a contrary course to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and voyde ships of the that would not, or could not serue in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become slothfull mongrells in their houses, by too much rest, and to transpore them selues from good souldiers which they had bene, to laborers, marchauntes, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the beauly slothfull desire they had, to liue pleasantly at home. And contrarily, causing a great number of the *Athenians* one after an other to serue in gallies, he acquainted them with continuall paines in his viages: that he made them in thorte space become Lodes and masters ouer others, that gaue them pay, and entertainment. For they beganne by litle and litle to flatter and feare the *Athenians*, whom they saw trined continually in the warres, euer bearing armor, & carying their weapons in their hands, becoming expert souldiers at their charge, by reason of the pay they gaue them: so that in the end, they became subiects & contributaries as it were vnto the, where before they were their frendes & copanions. So as there neuer was *Grecian* Captaine that bridede more the crueltie and power of that mightie *Persian* king, then *Cimon* did. For, after he had driuen him out of all *Greece*, he left him not so, but following him foote horte, as we comonly say, before the barbarous people could take breath, or geue wile and direct order for their doings: he made so great speede, that he tooke some of their cities from them by force, and other some by practise, causing them to rebell against the king, and turne to the *Grecian* side. Inomuch as there was not a man of warre left for

A for the king of *Persia*, in all *Asia*, from the contrie of *Ionie*, directly downe to *Pamphylia* and furthermore, being aduertised that the kinges Captaines were vpon the coast of *Pamphylia* with a great armie by sea, because he would feare them in such sorte, that they should not braue any more to shewe them selues upon the sea, on this side of the *Iles* of the *Chelidonians*: he departed from the *Ile* of *Gindos*, and from the citie of *Triopium*, with two hundred gallies, the which at the first had bene excellently well made and deuised by *Themistocles*, as well for swift sayling, as for easie turning. Howbeit *Cimon* made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carie the greater number of men of warre in battell, to assault the enemies. And so went first against the *Phaselites*, who were *Grecians* borne, and yet notwithstanding would neuer take the *Grecians* parte, nor receiue their armie into their haues: landed there, destroyed all the contrie, and then came and camped with his armie hard at their walles. But the men of *Chio* being auncient frendes of the *Phaselites*, and to *Cimon*'s armie at that iorney: did somewhat pacifie his anger, and gaue aduertisement to them of the title of their doings by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and shotte ouer the walles. So as in the end they procured their peace with condition, that the *Phaselites* should pay ten talentes for a fine: and furthermore should also follow the armie of the *Grecians*, and from thenceforth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous people. Now *Ephorus* sayth, that the *Persian* Captaine that had charge of the armie by sea, was called *Tithraustes*, and the Captaine of the armie by land, *Phereclates*. But *Callisthenes* wryteth, that *Arimandes* the sonne of *Gobrias*, was the kinges Lieutenaut, hauinge chiefe authority ouer the whole armie that lay at anker, before the riuier of *Eurymedon*, & had no desire to fight, because they looked for a new supply of fourescore sayle of the *Phenicians*, that should come to them from *Cyprus*. But *Cimon* contrarily, fought to fight before these gallies of the *Phenicians* came to ioyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, determining to geue a charge, and to compell them to fight, would they; or would they not. Which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew neerer into the mouth of the riuier *Eurymedon*, because they should not compasse them in beehinde, nor force them to come to battell against their willes. Which notwithstanding, when they saw the *Athenians* come to set upon them where they lay, they made out against them, a flecte of sixe hundred sayle, as *Phereclates* declareth: or as *Ephorus* wryteth, three hundred and fifty sayle only. But they did nothinge worthe of so great a power, at the least touchinge the fight by sea, but turned their prooes straight to the riuier: where such as could recouer the mouth thereof in time, saved them selues, flying to their armie by land, which was not farre from that place set also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardy by the way, they were slaine, and their gallies sonke or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great number of them, for many were slayed as it is likely, and many also were splitted to peeces, and yet the *Athenians* tooke two hundred of them prisoners. In the meane season, their armie by land came neerer to the sea side: which *Cimon* perceiuing, stood in some doubt whether he should lande his men or not: because it seemed a hard & daungerous thing vnto him, to land in spight of his enemies: and to put forth the *Grecians* already wearied with the first battell against the barbarous people, who were altogether whole, freshe, and lustie, and withall many in number against one. Neuerthelesse, perceiuing that his men trusted in their force; besides the corage which the first victorie gaue them, and that they desired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them a land while they were whorpe yet with the first battell. And so with great furie and lowde cries they ranne immediatly against the barbarous people, who stood still & sturded not, & receiued their first charge very valliantly: by reason whereof, the battell grew sharpe and bloody inomuch as there were slaine all the greatest personages & men of best accompt of all the *Athenians* armie. But the other fought it out so valliantly, that in the ende they wanne the field, and with maruelous difficultie made the barbarous people flye, whereof they slue a great number in the place, and tooke the rest prisoners with all their tents & pauillions, which were full of all fortres of riches. Thus *Cimon* like a valliant champion of the holy games, hauing in one selfe day wonne two victories, and hauing excelled the battell by sea also, which the *Grecians* had wonne within the channell of *Salamina*, with that which he wanne

Chio on the.

*Cimon wanne
the city of Pa-
siliu.*

*Arimandes
the kinges
Lieutenaut of
his whole ar-
my by sea, fly-
ing as encke
before the riu-
er of Eury-
medon.*

*Cimon with-
out the Por-
tians both by
sea and land.*

*Cimon tooke
two hundred
sayle prisoners
at the battell
fought by the
riuier of Eury-
medon.*

*Cimon over-
came the bat-
tell of the bar-
barous people
also by land.*

then vpon the lande: and the battell which the GRÆCIANS wanne by lande before the they PLATEES, with that which he wanne the day before on the seay: he was not contented with all this. For, after two so famous victories obtained, he would once againe fight for the honor of the tokens of triumphe: and being aduertised that the foure score sayle of the PERSIANS (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arrived at the head of *Hydra*, he layed thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this fleet, knowing the certainty of the ouerthrow of their chiefe armie, but stood in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was ouerthrowen in that sorte: and therefore were they so much the more affrayed, when they descried a farre of the victorious armie of *Cimon*. To conclude, they had all their shippes, & the greatest parte of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. The victorie against the PERSIANS did so dawne and plucke downe the pride and losie mind of the barbarous PERSIAN king, as he made that condicon of peace so much spoken of in ancient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armiees thenceforth should come no neerer to the GRÆCIAN sea, then the carriere of a horse, and that he would fayle no further forward, then the Iles *Chelidonians*, and *Cyaneans*, with any gallies or other shippes of warre. Howbeit the historiographer *Callisthenes* wryteth, that it was no parte of any condicon copried within the condicon of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of *Cimon*: great an ouerthrow: and that afterwarde he kept so farre from the GRÆCIAN sea, that *Pericles* with fiftie sayle, and *Ephialtes* with thirty onely, did sayle beyonde the Iles *Chelidonians*, and no barbarous fleet euer came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst the common actes of *Athenes*, which *Craterus* hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found wrytten at large, as a thing that was true in deede. And it is sayd, that for this occasion the *Athenians* built an altar of peace, and that they did *Callias* great honor, for that he was sent Ambassador vnto the king of *Persia* to take his othe for confirmation of this peace. So whe all these spoiles of the enemies were sold to the that would geue most, there was such store of gold and siluer in the sparing cofers of their treasure, that there was enough to serue their turne for any seruice they would employ it to, & besides that, they had sufficient to build vp the side of the wall of the castell which looketh towards the south, this voyage and spoyle did so enrich them. And it is sayd moreover, that the building of the long walles that ioyned to the citie with the haven, which they call the legges, was built & finished afterwards: howbeit the first fundacions thereof were built with the money *Cimon* gaue towards it, so that the worke met with moorish and watery places, by meane whereof they were driuen to fill vp the marishes, with force of flyntes & great logges, which they threw vnto the bottom. It was he also that first did beautifie and set forth the citie of *Athenes*, with places of liberall exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plant trees to be set in the market place: and the Academic which before was very drye and naked, he made it now a pleasant groue, and full of goodly springes which he brought into it, and made fine covered arbors to walke in, and goodly long smooth allies to runne a good comely in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine PERSIANS dwelling in *Cherronesvs*, (to say a demy Ile of the contrie of *Thracia*) would not be gotten out, but sent to the people of high *Thracia*, to pray their aide to defend them selues against *Cimon*: of whom they made but litle accompt, because he was departed from *Athenes* with a very few shippes, who set vpon them only with foure gallies, and tooke thirtene of theirs. And so hauing driuen the PERSIANS out of *Cherronesvs*, and subdued the *Thracians*, he conquered all the contrie of *Cherronesvs*, from *Thracia* vnto his owne contrie. And departing from thence vnto the Ile of *Thasos*, that had rebelled against the *Athenians*, and hauing ouercome them in battell by sea, he wanne three and thirtie of their shippes, and besides that tooke their citie by siege, and wanne the mynes of golde lying beyonde the same to the *Athenians*, with all the lands that belonged vnto them. This conquest made his way open into *Macedon*, and gaue him great oportunitie to haue taken the best parte thereof at that present time. But because he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he was suspected to haue taken money, and to haue bene bribed by presentes of king *Alexander*: whereupon, his secret enemies layed their heades together, and accused him. But *Cimon* to clear him

Cimon brought the king of Persia to condicon of peace.

Callias sent Ambassador to take the othe of the king of Persia.

Cimon was at the charge of certaine common buildings.

Cimon drove the Persians out of Thracia.

Cimon accused and discharged.

A him selfe before the iudges of this accusation, sayd vnto them: I haue practised frendshippe neither with the *Ionians*, nor yet with the *Thessalians*, both which are very niche and wealthie people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as some other haue done, to reueille both honor and profit by them. But in deede I am a frende to the *Lacedæmonians*, for I confesse I loue them, and desire to followe their sobrietie, and temperance of life, the which I preferre and esteeme aboue any riches or treasure: although I am very glad howwithstanding to enrich our state and common wealth with the spoyles of our enemies. *Steimbrotus* reporteth this accusation, and sayth: that his sister *Elpinice* went to *Pericles* house. (who was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to pray him not to deale so extremely with her brother: and that *Pericles* laughing on her, sayd, alas, thou art too old, *Elpinice*, thou now tooeuer come these matters. Yet for all that, when *Cimon*'s cause came to hearinge, he was a more gentle aduersarie, then any other of his accusers, and rose vp but once to speake against him, and that for manners sake only: so that *Cimon* thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And furthermore, so long as he was present in *Athenes*, he alwayes kept the seditious people in obedience, who would euer crosse and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, because they would haue all the sway and rule in their owne handes. But when *Cimon* was sent abroade any whither to the warres, then the common people hauing no bodie to gainsay them, turned, and altered the gouernment of the citie tople turuey, and confounded all the ancient lawes and customes which they had obserued of long time, and that by the procurement and setting on of *Ephialtes*. For they tooke away all hearing of causes in maner from the court of *Areopagus*, & put all authoritie of matters iudicial into the handes of the people, and brought the state of the citie into a pure Democraie, to say: a common weale ruled by the sole and absolute power of the people, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether fauored the peoples faction. Wherefore *Cimon* at his returne, finding that authoritie of the Senate and counsell so shamefully defaced and troden vnder foote, was maruelously offended withall, and sought to restore thaucient state of iudgement againe as it was before, and set vp the gouernment of the nobility (called *Optimacie*) that was established in the time of *Cleisthenes*. But then beganne his enemies againe with open mouth to crye out vpon him, reuiuing the olde former naughty rumor that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne sister: & furthermore accusing him, that he did fauor the *Lacedæmonians*. And amongst other things there ranne in the peoples mouthes the verses of the Poet *Esopis*, which were made against *Cimon*.

*No wicked man he was, but very negligent,
And there withall to wyne much more, then vnto money bent.
He stalle sometimes awry, at Sparta for to sleepe:
And left poore Elpinice his wife, at home alone to weepe.*

And if it be so, that being thus negligent & geuen to wyne, he haue gotten so many cities, and wonne such sundry great battells: it is out of doubt then that if he had bene sober & careful, there had neuer bene before him nor since any GRÆCIAN Captaine, that had passed him in glorie of the warres. In deede it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*: for of two twynnes which he had by his wife *Clitoria*, he named thone of them *Lacedæmonius*, and thother *Eleus*, as *Steimbrotus* wryteth, saying that for that cause *Pericles* did euer twit them in the teeth with their mothers stocke. Howbeit *Diodorus* the Geographer wryteth, that both those two, and an other third called *Thestalus*, were borne of *Isodice*, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, the sonne of *Megacles*. Howsoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Cimon*'s credit grew the greater, by the fauor and countenance which the *Lacedæmonians* gaue him, who had hated *Themistocles* of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that *Cimon* being but a youg man, did beare more sway in *Athenes* then he. Which the *Athenians* perceiued well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning: because the goodwill of the *Lacedæmonians* towards him, did bring them great commodity. For when the *Athenians* beganne to growe of great power, and to practise secretly that the confederats of the GRÆCIANS should forsake the *Lacedæmonians* to ioine with them: the *Lacedæmonians* were not angrie withall, for the honor and loue they bare vn-

Cimon praish the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians. Steimbrotus the historian.

Areopagus was a college of Mars, Athens, where the iudges called Areopagites did sit to iudge causes of murder, and other weightie matters concerning the common wealth. Democraie rule of commonwealth. Pericles in Cimon's absence reduced the commonwealth vnto the state Democracy. Optimacie the gouernment of the nobility.

Cimon followed the Lacedæmonian manner.

to *Cimon*, who did alone in maner manedge all thaffayres of *Greece* at that time, bicause he was very curteous vnto the confederates, and also thankfull vnto the *Lacedæmonians*. But afterwarde when the *Athenians* were aloft and of great power, and that they saw *Cimon* stucke not for a litle matter with the *Lacedæmonians*, but loued them more then they would haue had him: they beganne then to enuy him, bicause in all his matters he had to do, he euer highly praised and extolled the *Lacedæmonians* before them. But specially, when he would reprove them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perswade them to do any thing: the *Lacedæmonians*, sayd he, I warrant ye do not so. That, as *Strabo* layth, made him maruelously to be maliced of the people. But the chiefest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out vpon this occasion. The fourth yeare of the reaigne of *Archidamus*, the sonne of *Zeuxidamus* king of *Sparta*, there fortuned the wonderfulllest and most fearefull earthquake in the cite of *Lacedæmon*, and thereabouts, that euer was heard of. For the earth in many places of the contrie opened, and fell as into a bottomlesse pit. The mountaine *Taygetum* shooke so terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the cite was layed on the ground and ouerthrowen, fise houses only excepted, the rest being wholly destroyed. And it is said also, that a lile before this earthquake came, the young men of that cite were playing with the young boyes exercising the selues starke naked vnder a great gallery couered ouer: & as they were sporting together, there started vp a hare hard by them. The young men spying her, ranne after the hare starke naked and oyled as they were, with great laughter. They were no sooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell downe upon the boyes that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memorie of the same, the tombe where they were afterwarde buried, is called vnto this day *Sismarias*, as much to say, as the tombe of those which the earthquake had slaine. But king *Archidamus* foreseeing straight vpon the fodaine the danger that was to come, by that he law present, perceiving his citizens busie in sauing their householde stuffe, and that they were running out of their houses: made the trompetters to sound a hotte alarome vpon it, as if their enemies had come stealingly vpon them to take the cite, to thende that all the inhabitants should presently repayre vnto him (settinge all busines aparte) with armor and weapon. That fodaine alarome doublelesse saued the cite of *Sparta* at that time: for the *Ilotes*, which are their slaues and bondmen in the contrie of *Laconia*, and the contrie clownes of litle villages thereabouts, came running armed out of all partes, to spoyle and robbe them vpon the fodaine, that were escaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then beganne afterwarde to make open warres vpon them, when they had drawen certaine of their neighbors vnto their confederacie, & specially the *Messenians*, who made hotte warres vpon the *Spartans*. Whereuppon the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Periclidus* vnto *Athens* to demaunde ayde: whome *Aristophanes* the Poet mocking, sayed.

*VVith visage pale and v-vanne, he on the sulter faze,
In skarlet gowne requiring ayde, to succor their estate.*

Against whom *Ephialtes* also spake very much, protesting that they should not ayde nor relieue a city that was an enemy vnto *Athens*, but rather suffer it to fall to the ground, and to spurne the pride and arrogancy of *Sparta* vnder their feete. But *Cimon* (as *Crisias* saith) being more carefull for the benefit of *Sparta*, then for thenlarging and encreasing of his country: brought it to passe by his perswasion, that the *Athenians* sent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore *Ion* rehearseth the very selfe wordes that *Cimon* spake to moue the people to graunt his request. For he besought them that they would not suffer *Greece* to halte, as if *Lacedæmon* had bene one of her feete, and *Athens* the other: not to suffer their cite to lose an other cite their friend, and subiect to the yoke and defence of *Greece*. Hauing therefore obtayned ayde, to leade vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, he went with his army through the *Corinthians* contry: wherewith *Lachartus* a Captaine of *Corinth* was maruelously offended, sayinge, that he should not haue entred into their contry with an armie, before he had asked licence of them of the cite. For sayd he, when one knocketh at a mans dore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the master of the house commaundeth him.

*A maruelous
great earth-
quake in La-
cedæmon.
Taygetum
mount.*

*Archidamus
fodaine policy
saues the city.
Ilotes (slaves)
bondmen to
the Lacedæ-
monians.*

*Cimon pers-
wad ayde for
the Lacedæ-
monians.*

A him. But ye *Corinthians* (sayed *Cimon* to him againe) haue not knocked at the gates of the *Cleonians*, nor of the *Megarians*, to come in, but haue broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinkinge that all should be open vnto them that are the stronger. Thus did *Cimon* stoutly aunswere the *Corinthian* Captaine againe, bicause it stood him vpon, and so went on with his armie through the contrie of *Corinth*. Afterwarde the *Lacedæmonians* sent againe vnto the *Athenians*, to require ayde against the *Messenians* and the *Ilotes*, (which are their slaues) who had wonne the cite of *Ithome*. But when the *Athenians* were come, the *Lacedæmonians* were afayed of the great power they had brought, and of their boldnes besides: wherefore they sent them backe againe, and would not imploy them of all other their confederates that came to their succor, bicause they knew them to be men very tickle, desiring change and alteracions. The *Athenians* returned home, mistaking much that they were sent backe againe: inasmuch as euer after they hated them that fauored the *Lacedæmonians* in any thing. And for the *Lacedæmonians* sake therefore, taking a small occasion of offence against *Cimon*, they banished him out of their contrie for tenne yerres: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that were banished with the *Ostracism* banishment. Now within the terme of these tenne yerres, the *Lacedæmonians* fortuned to undertake the deliuey of the cite of *Delfes*, from the seruitude and bondage of the *Phocians*, and to put them from the custodie and keeping of the temple of *Apollo*, which is in the sayd city. Wherefore, to obtaine their desire and purpose, they came to plante their campe neere vnto the cite of *Tanagre* in *Phocide*, where the *Athenians* went to fight with them. *Cimon* vnderstanding this, although he was in exile, came to the *Athenians* campe armed, with intent to do his duty to fight with his contrie men against the *Lacedæmonians*, and so went into the bandes of the tribe *Oeneide*, of the which he was him selfe. But his owne contrie enemies cried out against him, and sayd, that he was come to none other ende, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwarde bring them to the city selfe of *Athens*. Whereuppon the great councill of the fise hundred men were afayed, and sent to the Captaines to commaunde them they should not receiue him into the battell: so that *Cimon* was compelled to departe the campe. But before he went, he prayed *Euthippus* *Anaphlystian*, and his other frendes that were suspected as him selfe was, to fauor the *Lacedæmonians* doings: that they should doe their best endeour to fight valliantly against their enemies, to thintent their good seruice at that battell might purge their innocencie towards their contry men: and so they did. For the *Athenians* keeping the souldiers *Cimon* had brought with him, which were a hundred in all, they set them aparte by them selues in a squadron, and fought it so valliantly and desperately, that they were slaine euery man of them in the field, leauing the *Athenians* maruelous fory for them, and repenting them that they had so vniustly mistrusted them as traitors to their contrie. Wherefore they kept not their malice long against *Cimon*, partly as I am perswaded, bicause they called his former good seruice to minde which he had done to their contrie aforetime, and partly also, bicause the necessitie of the time so required it. For the *Athenians* hauing lost a great battell before *Tanagre*, looked for no other about the spring of the *E* year, but that the *Peloponnesians* would inuade them with a great power: wherefore, they reuoked *Cimon*'s banishment by decree, whereof *Pericles* selfe was the only author & procurer. So ciuill and temperate were mens enimities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publicke state and weale: and so much did their ambition (being the most vehement passion of all other, and that most troubleth mens mindes) geue place, and yeelde to the necessities and affayres of the common weale. Now when *Cimon* was againe returned to *Athens*, he straight pacified the warre, & reconciled both cities together. And when he saw that the *Athenians* could not liue in peace, but would be doing still, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for lukers sake: to prevent them that they should not fall out with any of the *Grecians*, nor by scowring and coasting vp and downe the contrie of *Peloponnesus*, and the Iles of *Greece*, with so great a naue, should moue occasion of ciuill warres amongst the *Grecians*, or of complaints vnto their confederates against them: he rigged & armed out two hundred gallies to go againe to make warre in *Cyperus*, & in *Egypt*.

*Cimon bani-
shed for ten
yerres.*

*Cimon called
from exile.*

bicaufe he would acquaint the ATHENIANS with the warres of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the spoyles of those their naturall borne enemies. But when all things were in readines to departe, and the armie prest to shippe and sayle away: *Cimon* dreaming in the night had this vision. It seemed vnto him that he saw a bitch argue with him, and barking earnestly at him, & that in the middest of her barking, she spake with a mans voyce, and sayd vnto him:

Come hardily, spare not: for if thou come by me,

My vnhelpes, and I which here do stand, will quickly welcome thee.

This vision being verie hard to interpret, *Astrophilus* borne in the cite of POSIDONIA, a man expert in such coniectures, and *Cimons* familiar frende, tolde him that this vision did betoken his death, expounding it in this sorte. The dogge commonly is an enemy to him he barketh at. Again, nothing gladdeth our enemy more, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitch, signifieth nothing els, but an enemy of the *MEDS*: bicaufe the armie of the *MEDS* is mingled with the barbarous people and the *GRÆCIANS* together. Besides this vision, as he did sacrifice to the god *Bacchus*, the Priest opening the beast after it was sacrificed, about the blood that fell to the ground, there assembled a swarme of antes, which caried the congealed blood of from the ground by lide and lide, and layed it all about *Cimons* great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: *Cimon* at the last spied it by chance, and as he was looking of them to marke what they did, the minister of the sacrifice brought the beastes liuer that was sacrificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they iudged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, hauing all things readie for preparation of this iorney, so as he could not well goe backe, he launched into the sea, and hoysed sayle, and sending three score of his gallies into EGYPT, sayled with the rest vpon the coast of PAMPHYLIA. Where he wanne a battell by sea of the king of PERSIA, ouercomming the gallies of the PHENICIANS and the CILICIANS, and conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into EGYPT. For he had no small thoughtes in his minde, but reached to high enterprises, and determined vterly to destroy the whole Empire of the mighty kinge of PERSIA, and specially for that he vnderstoode *Themistocles* was in maruelous credit and reputation amongst the barbarous people, bicaufe he had promised the king of PERSIA to lead his armie for him, and to doe him notable seruice whensoever he shoulde haue occasion to warre with the *GRÆCIANS*. It is thought this was the chiefe cause that made *Themistocles* poison himselfe, bicaufe he dispaired that he could not performe that seruice against *GRÆCI* which he had promised: assuring him selfe that it was no easie matter to vanquish *Cimons* courage, and good fortune, who lay at that time with his armie all alongest the Ile of CYPRVS, promising him selfe great matters at that instant. But in the meane season, *Cimon* sent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of *Iuppiter Ammon*, to aske him some secret question: for no man euer knew neither then nor since, for what cause he had sent them thither, neither did they also bring backe any answer. For they were no sooner come thither, but the oracle commaunded them straight to returne: saying vnto them, that *Cimon* was then coming to him. So *Cimons* men receiuing this answer, left the oracle, and tooke their iorney backe to the seawardes. Now when they were commen againe to the *GRÆCIANS* campe, which at that present lay in EGYPT, they heard that *Cimon* was departed this worlde: and reckoning the dayes sence his death, with the instant of their answer receiued by the oracle, that *Cimon* was then coming vnto him: they knew straight that darkely he had signified his death vnto them, and that, at that very time he was with the goddess. He dyed at the siege of the cite of CITIVM in CYPVS, as some reporte, or else of a hurte he receiued at a skirmishe, as other holde opinion. When he dyed, he commaunded them that were vnder his charge, to returne into their contry againe, and in no case to publishe his death: which commaundement was so wisely and cunningly handlede, that they all came home safe, and not an enemy, nor any of their confederates that once vnderstoode any thing of it. So was the armie of the *GRÆCIANS* gouerned and led by *Cimon*, though him selfe was dead, the space of thirtie dayes, as *Phanodemus* wryteth: But after his death, there was no *GRÆCIAN* Cap-
taine

Cimons dream.

The interpretation of the dream.
Cimons death prognosticated.

The cause of Themistocles willing death.

The death of Cimon.

Cimons death kept very secret.

A raine that did any notable thing worthe of fame against the barbarous people, bicaufe the Orators and gouernors of the chiefest cities of *GRÆCE* stirred them vp one against another, and there was no man that would once steppe in as a mediator to make peace betwene them. And thus the *GRÆCIANS* now did one destroy and spoyle another by ciuill warre amongst them selues: which happily gaue the king of PERSIA leaue and time to restore him selfe againe, and contrarily was cause of such viteruine and destruction of the whole power and force of *GRÆCE*, as no tongue can well expresse. In deede a long time after, kinge *Agesslaus* came with an armie of the *GRÆCIANS* into ASIA, and beganne a small warre against the Lieutenantes of the king of PERSIAES gouernors of the lower contries of ASIA. But before he could doe any notable exployte, he was called home againe by occasion of new troubles and ciuill warres risinge amongst the *GRÆCIANS*, and compelled to returne into his contrie, leauing the treasurers of the king of PERSIA, raising of subsidies and taxes vpon the cities of the *GRÆCIANS* in ASIA, although they were confederates of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Whereas in the time that *Cimon* gouerned, they neuer saw any of the kinges sergeauntes at armes, or commissioner, that brought any letters patenttes or commaundement from the king, or any souldier that durst come nere the sea, by fortie furlonges. The tombes which they call vnto this present day *Cimonia*, doe witness that his ashes and bones were brought vnto ATHENS. Neuerthelesse, they of the cite of CITIVM doe honor a certaine tombe, which they say is *Cimons* tombe: bicaufe that in a great dearth and barrennes of the earth, they had an oracle that commaunded them, not to neglect *Cimon*, as the Orator *Nausiferates* writeth it, but to honor and reuerence him as a god. Such was the life of this *GRÆCIAN* Captaine.

No famous deed done by any Grecians to the barbarous people, after Cimon's death.

Cimons monuments at Athens.

The end of Cimon's life.

ZZ. ij

THE LIFE OF Lucius Lucullus.



Lucullus pa-
rents.

Lucullus ac-
cused Seru-
lius the
soothsayer.

The Romans
thought it a
madde deede to
accuse the
wicked.

Lucullus elo-
quence.

AS for **LUCULLUS**, his grandfather was a Consul, and so was **Metellus** (sur-
named **Nuclidius**, because of his conquest of **NUMIDIA**) his vnckle by
the mothers side. His father notwithstanding was conuict of felony,
for robbing the treasure of the state whilest he was officer: and **Cae-
lia** his mother was reported to haue led an vnchaste life. But for **Lucul-
lus** selfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of state: the first thing
he toucht and tooke in hande for the cause of his contrie was, the ac-
cusation of **Seruilus** the soothsayer (who before had accused his fa-
ther) for that he also had delt falsly in his office, and deceiued the common wealth. And
this the **ROMANES** thought very well handled of him, inso much as a pretie while after there
was no other talke in **ROME** but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valliant acte
done by him. For otherwise, though priuately they had no iust occasion, yet they thought
it a noble deede to accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men put
lawe breakers in sute, as to see a notable good course of a dogge at a hare. Howebeit there
followed such sturre and bandinge vpon this sute, that some were verie sore hurte, and o-
ther flaine in the market place: but in fyne, **Seruilus** was cleared and quite dismissed. **Lucullus**
was verie eloquent, well spoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latin tongue:
inso much as **Sylla** dedicated vnto him the commentaries of all his doings which himselfe had
collected, as to one that could better frame a whole historie thereof, and cowche it more elo-
quently together in wryting. For he had not only a ready tongue to vter that he would speake,
and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be seene to doe, hauing matters of sute
or open audience.

*Like tonny fishe they be, which swiftly dine and doppe,
Into the depth of Ocean sea, withouten stay or stoppe:*

But afterwarde also when ye take them out of their common practise and plea-
dings,

*Then are they grauel straight withouten grace or skill,
Their eloquence lyes then in dyke, and they them selues be fill.*

For **Lucullus** had studied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the libe-
ral sciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refresh his witte (after great troubles)

he

As he fell to the studie of Philosophie, which quickened the contemplative parte of his soule, &
mored, or at the least sometimes bridled the ambitious and active parte, especially after the
dissension betwixt him and **Pompey**. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is said,
that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with **Hortensius** the Orator, and **Ser-
fennus** the historiographer (in iest as it were at the first, but afterwards it fell to good earnest)
that he would write the breuiary of the warres of **MARCEVM** in verse or prose, in the Latin or
Greeke tongue, which fouer fell to his lotte: and I thinke his happe was to doe it in prose in
the Greeke tongue, because we finde a litle Greeke storie extant of the warres of the **RO-
MANES** against the **MARSIANS**. He dearly loued his brother **Marcus Lucullus**, as appeared
by many manifest proofes: but the chiefe and most noted prooffe among the **ROMANES** was
this. Him selfe was elder then his brother **Marcus**, and yet for all that would neuer sue to beare
office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwayes till he
should be chosen, and let his owne time passe ouer. This great curtesie to his brother for wanne
the peoples hartes, as **Lucius** being absent, they chose him **Edilis**, and his brother **Marcus**
with him for his sake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the **MARSIANS** warres,
wherein he did many wife and valliant deedes. The cause notwithstanding that moued **Sylla**
to make choyce of him, was rather for his constancy, & good curteous nature, then for any o-
ther respect. For when **Sylla** had once wonne him, he euer after employed him continually in
his most weightie causes: as in a commission specially, he gaue him to coyne money. For in
deede parte of the money that **Sylla** spent in the warres against king **Mithridates**, was coyned
by **Lucullus** commandement within the contrie of **PELOPONNESVS**: whereupon they were
called **Lucullian** peeces, and were currant a longe time amongst the soldierys, to buy such
things as they stood in nede of, and neuer refused by any. **Sylla** being afterwards at **ATHENS**,
the stronger by land, but the weaker by sea, so as his enemies cut of his vittells from him: sent
Lucullus into **EGYPT** and **LIBYA** to bring him such shippes as he found in those partes. It was
in the deepe of winter, and yet he spared not to faye with three brigantines of **GREECE**, and
as many galliots of the **RHODIANS**, putting himselfe not only to the danger of the sea in so
long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing them selues to be the stronger,
went faying euery where with a great naue. But for all these daungers, he first arrived in the
Ile of **CRUTA**, and wanne their goodwilles. From thence went to the cite of **CYRANE**, where
he found the inhabitants turmoyled with ciuil warres, and continuall oppressions of tyrans:
from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them lawes to establishe gouernement a-
mongst them, putting them in remembrance of **Platoes** wordes spoken to their auncesters
in old time, in the spirite of a prophetic. For when they prayed **Plato** to write them lawes, and
to appoint them some forme of gouernment for their common wealth, he made them aun-
swere: it was a hard thing to geue lawes to so riche and fortunate peoples as they were. For to
say truly, as nothing is harder to be ruled, then a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to
receiue counsell and gouernment, then a man in aduersity. This lesson framed the **CYRANE-
SIANS** at that time to be more ciuill and obedient to the lawes **Lucullus** gaue them. When he de-
parted thence, he coasted towards **EGYPT**, where he lost the more parte of his shippes by
pyrates: but for his owne person, escaping their hands, he was very honorably receiued in the
cite of **ALEXANDRIA**. For all the kinges armie came to meete him at sea, gallantly trimmed
and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the king when he returned from any
voyage by sea: and king **Protomye** himselfe being very young at that time, gaue him as hono-
rable entertainment as he possible could. For amongst other honors that he did him, he lod-
ged him in his course, and defrayed his ordinarie dyet, where neuer strange Captaine was
lodged before: and did not only spend the ordinary allowance in feasting of him which he v-
sed vnto others, but commaunded foure times as much prouision more to be made as he had
before. Notwithstanding, **Lucullus** tooke no more then reasonable was for his person: not yet
would he receiue any manner, gift although the king had sent him presents to the value of foure
score talentes. And which more is, would not so much as go see the cite of **MAMPIS**, nor
any other of the famous monuments and wonderfull sightes in **EGYPT**, saying: that it was
for a man that trauelled vp and downe for his pleasure, and had leasure withall, to see such

Lucullus stu-
died Philo-
sophy in his la-
ter time.

Lucullus booke
of the warre
of the Mar-
sians, in
Greeke, like
to his brother
Marcus.

Lucius & M.
Lucullus both
chose **Edilis**.
lat.

*Sylla gaue
Lucullus com-
mission to
coyne money
in Pelopon-
nesus.*

Lucullus ge-
ueth lawes to
the Cyrenians.

A notable
saying of **Pla-
to**.

Lucullus ier-
ney into **E-
GYPT**.

things, but not for him that had left his Capitaine in the field, at the siege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king *Ptoleme* would in no case fall in frendshippe with *La*, fearing least he should thereby put him selfe into warres: but gaue him men and shippes, bringing him into *CYPRVS*. And as he was ready to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gaue him a goodly rich emerald set in gold, which *Lucullus* at the first refused, vnill the king shewed him his picture grauen in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing least the vter refusal might cause the king thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambushe by sea for him. Thus hauing gotten a certaine number of shippes together of the porte townes thereabouts, ouer and besides such as the pyrates and sea robbers had hidden, being parte of their spoyle, and bestowed with their reccitors: went on with them into *CYPRVS*, where he vnderstoode that his enemies lay close in certaine creeks vnder the foreland, watching to boulder him as he sayled by. Whereupon he vnrigged and bestowed his shippes in docks, and sent worde to all the porte townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to prouide him vittells & other necessarie munition to be in readines against the spring. But in the meane while, when he saw time conuenient, he put his whole flecte againe to the sea with all possible speede, went him selfe away, and in the day time caried a lowe sayle, but in the night packt on all the cloth he could for life: so that by this craftie fetch, he wanne *RHODES*, and lost not one shippe. The *ROMANS* they also furnished him with shippes: & besides the, he so perswaded the *GNIDIANS* and the inhabitants of the Ile of *Co*, that they forsooke king *Mithridates*, and went to make warres with him against them of the Ile of *SAMOS*. But *Lucullus* him selfe alone draue kings *C* *Mithridates* men out of *CHIO*, restored the *COLOPHONIANS* againe to libertie: and tooke *Epigonus* the tyranne prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, *Mithridates* was compelled to forsake the citie of *PERGAMVM*, and to retire to the citie of *PRITANE*, within the which *Fimbria* kept him besieged very straightly by lande. Wherefore *Mithridates* hauing the sea open vpon him, sent for his force and nauy out of all partes, not daring to hazard battell against *Fimbria*, who was very valliant, of a venturous nature, & at that time moreouer was him selfe a conqueror. *Fimbria* perceiuing what *Mithridates* ment, and hauing no power by sea of his owne: sent straight to *Lucullus* to request him to come with his nauie into those partes to his ayde, for thouchcomming of this king, the greatest and most cruell enemy that euer the *ROMANE* people had. Bicause that so notable a praye, which they followed with such daunger and trouble, should not escape the *ROMANS*, while they had him in their handes, and was come him selfe within their daunger: and that therefore he should so much the more harken vnto it, bicause that if it fortun'd *Mithridates* to be taken, no man should winne more honor and glorie by his takinge, then he that had stopp'd his passage, and layed handes on him, euen as he thought to haue fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betwene them both: the one that had driuen him from lande, and the other that had stopp'd his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the *ROMANS* would nothinge regard all the famous battells and victories of *Sylla* in *Greece*, which he had wonne before the cities of *CHERONNEA* and *ORCHOMENE*: in comparison of taking the king. This was the effect of *Fimbrias* message sent vnto *Lucullus*, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelyhood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if *Lucullus* would haue beleued him at that time (and haue gone thither with his ships to stoppe the hauens mouth of the citie, in the which *Mithridates* was besieged, considering also that he was so neere at hande) this warre had taken end there, and the worlde besides had then bene deliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But, whether *Lucullus* preferred the consideration and respect he had vnto *Sylla*, whose Lieutenant he was, before all other due regard of priuate or common benefite: or that he detested and abhorred *Fimbria* as a cursed person, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the blood of his Capitaine: or else that it was through the secret prouidence and permission of the goddes that he spared *Mithridates* at that time, to the end he might be reserved as a worthie enemy, against whom he might afterwards shew his valoure: howsoever it was, it so fell out that hearken'd not vnto *Fimbrias* message, but gaue *Mithridates* time and

A notable rich emerald gaue *Lucullus* by king *Ptoleme*. *Lucullus* dainger vnder *Sylla* by sea.

Lucullus firste gaue.

Fimbria besieged *Mithridates* in *Pritane*.

And leasure to flye, and finally to scorne all *Fimbrias* force and power. But *Lucullus* selfe alone afterwards ouercame the kings armie by sea, once neere vnto the head of *Lezum*, which is on the coast of *TROAD*: and an other time neere vnto the Ile of *THADOS*, where *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenant by sea, lay in wayte for him with a farre greater number of shippes then he had. And yet so soone as *Lucullus* had discied him, he sayled before all his nauie being Admirall, in a galley of the *RHODES*, at five ores to a bancke, whereof one *Demagoras* was master, a man well affected to the seruice of the *ROMANS*, and very skillfull in battell by sea. And when *Neoptolemus* on the other side rowed against him with great force, commanding his pylot that he should fo order his galley, that he might stemme him right in the prow: *Demagoras* as fearing the full meetinge of the kings galley which was very strong and heauie, and furthermore well armed with poyntes and spures of brasse before, durst not encounter her with his prow, but nimbly made his gallie to winde about, & turned his poupe towards him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, receiued the blow without hurte, considering that they hit vpon the dead workes, and those partes which are alwayes about water. In the meane time *Lucullus* other shippes were come, who commanding his master to turne the beakehead of his gallie forward, did many famous actes: so that he made his enemies flye, and draue *Neoptolemus* away. And departing from thence, went to seeke out *Sylla* laeuen as he was ready to passe ouer the seas, about *CHERONESVS*: holpe him to waite his armie, and so passed him ouer with safety. Afterwards when peace was concluded, and that king *Mithridates* was come into his realme and contries againe, which lye vpon the sea *Macedonia*: *Sylla* condemned the prouince of *ASIA* to pay the summe of twenty thousand talentes for a syne, by reason of their rebellion. And for leauing of this syne, left *Lucullus* there with commission to coyne money: which was a great comforte and hartes ease vnto the cities of *ASIA*, considering the extremitie that *Sylla* had vsed towards them. For in so grieuous and odious a commission vnto them all, as that was: *Lucullus* did not only behaue him selfe vprightly and iustly, but also very fauorably and curteously. For, as touching the *MITYLENIANS* that were openly in armes against him, he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for satisfaction of thoffence they had committed takinge *Marius* parte, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continue in their naughtines, he went against them: and hauing ouercome them in battell, compelled them to keepe within their walles, and layed siege vnto their citie, where he vsed this policy with them. At none dayes he launched into the sea, in the view of all the *MITYLENIANS*, and sayled towards the citie of *ELBA*: howbeit in the night time secretly returned backe, and making no noyse, layed an ambushe nere vnto the citie. The *MITYLENIANS* mistrusting nothinge, went out the next morning very rashly without order, & without any maner watche or ward, to spoyle the campe of the *ROMANS*, supposing euery man had bene gone: but *Lucullus* comming sodainly vpon them, tooke a great number prisoners, slue about fise hundred such as resisted, and wanne fixe thousande slaues, with an infinite quantitie of other spoyle. Now did the goddes happily preferre *Lucullus*, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miseries and troubles, which *Sylla* and *Marius* made poore *ITALIE* suffer, euen then when he was occupied in the warres of *ASIA*: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and fauor with *Sylla*, as any of his frendes about him. For as we haue sayd before, he dedicated his commentaries vnto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his last will and testament appointed him Tutor vnto his sonne, leaving *Pompey* out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwards betwene them, bicause they were both young men, and vehemently desirous of honor. Shortly after the death of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* was chosen Consul with *Marcus Cotta*, about the threescore Olympiade: and then they began to reuiue the matter againe, that it was very needefull to make warres against *Mithridates*, and specially *Marcus Cotta*, who gaue out that it was not ended, but only slept for a while. Wherefore, when the Consuls came to draw lotes what prouinces they should take charge of, *Lucullus* was maruelous forie that the prouince of *GAULE*, lying betwene the Alpes and *ITALIE*, fell to his lotte: bicause he thought it no contrie wherein any great exploit was to be done; and againe, the glorie of *Pompey* grieved him greatly, whose honor dayly in-

Lucullus would not aide *Fimbria* in besieging *Mithridates*. *Neoptolemus* king *Mithridates* Lieutenant by sea.

Lucullus put to flight *Neoptolemus*. *Mithridates* Lieutenant by sea.

Lucullus firste gaue as the siege of the *MITYLENIANS*.

The firste cause of enuie betwene *Pompey* and *Lucullus*, *M. Cotta* Consul.

created by the famous battells he wan in SPAIN. So that it was most certaine, that so soone as Pompey had ended the warres there, they would haue chosen him generall in the warres gainst *Mithridates*. Wherefore, when Pompey sent to ROME in earnest maner, to require money to make pay to his souldiers, wryting to the Senate, that if they did not fend him money the sooner, he would leaue *Sertorius* there, SPAIN behinde him, and bring his army backe into ITALIE: *Lucullus* made all the meanes he could to haue it quickly sent him, fearing lest he should retorne into ITALIE vpon any occasion, while he was Consul. For he thought that if he returned againe to ROME with so great an armie, he would easily do what him list: and the rather, because that *Cethegus* and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at ROME, because he spake and did all that pleased the common people, being a witty liuer, and dissolutely geuen, for which cause *Lucullus* hated him. But there was another common Orator among the people called *Lucius Quintus*, and he would haue had all *Syllas* doings reuoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole state of the common wealth, and to turmoyle the cite of ROME againe with ciuill disfection, which then liued quietly and in good peace. This *Lucius Quintus* *Lucullus* talked withall a parte to perfwade him, and openly reproued him with such words, that he was dissuaded from his euell purpose, & by reason ruled his rath ambition, handling it both wisely and as cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the common wealth) because it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to growe. While these things were thus in hande, newes came that *Othanius* the gouernour of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereuppon many put forward them selues to sue for this charge, & to court *Cethegus*, as the only man who about all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for *Lucullus*, he made no great reckning of the gouernment of CILICIA in respect of the contry, but because CAPPADOCIA was hand adioyning to it, and perswading him selfe that if he could obtaine the gouernment thereof, they would geue none other (but him selfe) the authoritie to make warres with *Mithridates*. And hauing proued sundry wayes, was compelled in the ende, against his owne nature, to practise a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly deuise to obtaine his desire. There was a woman in ROME at that time called *Præcia*, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasure grace in talke and discourse, howbeit otherwise vnchast after curtilian manner. But because she employed the credit & fauor of them that frequented her companie, to the benefit and seruice of the common wealth, and of them that loued her: she wanne the repute (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louing woman, and ready to fauor and further any good enterpryse, and it wanne her great fame and reputation. But after she had once wonne *Cethegus*, (who ruled all the common wealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her sight: then had she all the whole power & authority of ROME in her hands, for the people did nothing but *Cethegus* preferred it, and *Cethegus* did what euer *Præcia* would will him to. Thus *Lucullus* sought to come in fauor with her, lending her many presentes, and vsing all other curtiesies he could offer vnto her: besides that it seemed a great reward for so proude & ambitious a woman as she, to be seduced vnto by such a man as *Lucullus* was, who by this meane came to haue *Cethegus* at his commaundement. For *Cethegus* did nothing but commend *Lucullus* in all assemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CILICIA who after it was once graunted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of *Præcia*, nor of *Cethegus*. For the people wholly of them selues with one consent did graunte him the charge to make warre with *Mithridates*, because he knew better how to ouercome him, than any other Capitaine, and because that Pompey was in the warres with *Sertorius* in SPAIN, and *Mithridates* also grown too olde, both which two were the onely men that could deseruedly haue contended for this office with him. Neuertheles, *Marcus Cotta* his fellow Consul, made such sute to the Senate, that they sent him also with an armie by sea, to keepe the coastes of PAPHLAGIA, and to defende the contrie of BITHYNIA. Thus, *Lucullus* hauing his commission, went into ASIA with one legion only, the which he leauied a new at ROME: & when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he founde there, which were men married and

cor-

A corrupted altogether of long time, through couetousnes and delicacie of the contry. For amongest others, were the bandes which they called the *Fimbrian* bandes, men geuen ouer to selfe will, and very ill to be ruled by marshall discipline, because they had liued a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were those selue souldiers that together with *Fimbria*, slue their generall *Flaccus*, Consul of the ROMANE people, and that afterwards betrayed *Fimbria* him selfe, and forlooke him, leauing him vnto *Sylla*, being mutiners, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwise very valiant, well trayned, and painefull souldiers. Notwithstanding, *Lucullus* in shorte time brided their boldnes meete well, and reformed the others also, who before had neuer proued (in my opinion) what the value of a good Capitaine and Generall ment, that knew how to commaund: but were vled to flattering leaders; that commaunded the souldiers no more then they them selues liked of. Now concerning the state of the enemies, thus it was with them. *Mithridates* that in the beginning was very braue and bolde (as these flourishing Sophisters commonly are) vnder taking warre against the ROMANS; with a vaine vnprofitable armie, but passing freshe and sumptuous to the eye: but after that he was once foyled and ouercome with no lesse shame then losse, when he came to make this second warre, he cut of all superfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a conuenient furniture to serue for warres at all assayes. For he put by the consufed multitude of sundrie nations, the fierce threatmings of the barbarous people in so many sundrie tongues, and clearly banisht also the riche grauen armors with golde mythes worke, and set with precious stones, as things that more enriched the enemies that wanne them, then gaue strength or corage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe swords to be made after the ROMANE facion, and great heauy shields, and brought to the field a maruelous number of horse, more ready for seruice, then riche in furniture. Then he ioyned six score thousand footemen together, appointed & set in order like vnto the battell of the ROMANS, with sixteene thousand horse of seruice, besides those that drue his armed cottes with stiches about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And besides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of shippes and gallies together, which were not decked with goodly golden pavilions, as at the first, neither with shoues nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and gentlewomen: but furnished full of armor, artilerie, and slinges, and with money also to pay the souldiers. With all this armie and preparation, he went first to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receiued him very gladly, & not those only, but all the other cities of ASIA wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miseries and diseases, by the crueltie of the ROMANE farmers and vicerers, who raising taxes and imposts vpon them, made them abide vntolerable things. It is true that *Lucullus* draue them away afterwards, like the *Harpie*, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mowthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he vsed vnto them, and qualified a litle the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to reuolt. Now *Lucullus* being busie about these matters, *Marcus Cotta* the other Consul (and his companion) supposing that the absence of *Lucullus* was a fit occasion offered him to doe notable seruice, prepared to fight with *Mithridates*. And although he had newes brought him from sundrie places, that *Lucullus* was with his armie in PHRYGIA, and coming towards him: yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honor of triumph assured already in his handes, and because *Lucullus* should be no partaker of it, he aduanced forwardes to geue battell. But *Mithridates* ouercame him both by sea and by lande: so that *Cotta* by sea lost three score of his shippes with all the men in them, foure thousand footemen by lande, and was after with shame thut vp and besieged in the cite of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopelesse to escape, but by *Lucullus* him only ayde and meane. Howbeit there were in *Lucullus* campe, that were very earnest with him to leaue *Cotta*, and to go further, assuring him that he should finde the realm of *Mithridates* both without men of warre, or any defence at all: so that he might easily be Lord of the F. While these were the wordes of the souldiers that spied *Cotta*, because his foolishnes and sonde imagination had not only brought those men to the shambles to be slaine and cast away, whom he had the leading of: but had lost them also, that they could not ouer-

Fimbria souldiers very dissolute and corrupted.

Mithridates armie against *Lucullus*.

Mithridates armie.

After fell into former miseries by the Romans etc.

Cotta the Consul ouercome by *Mithridates* in battle.

Cethegus a vicious liuer. *Lucius Quintus*, a famous Orator at Rome.

Lucullus ambition to make warres against king *Mithridates*.

Præcia a famous courtesan of Rome.

Cethegus ruled all Rome.

The gouernment of Cilicia & the warres against king *Mithridates* were geuen to *Lucullus*.

The godly
saying of Lu-
cullus for the
sowing of a ci-
uizen.

Lucullus ar-
my.

A flame of
fire fell be-
tweene both
armies, one of
the elements.

Lucullus pro-
bablye con-
sideration in
disposeth the
enemy.

Mithridates
besiegeth Cy-
zicus.

come him, and ende this warre without blowes, for that they were driuen to go to his helpe. A Howbeit *Lucullus* making an Oration vnto them, answered, that he had rather saue the life of one ROMANE citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when *Archelaus*, (who had bene *Mithridates* Lieutenant in BORTIAIN the first warres against *Sylla*, and now in this seconde warre tooke parte with the ROMANES) assured him that so soone as they saue him in the realme of PONTVS, they would all rise against *Mithridates*, and yeeke them selues vnto him: *Lucullus* answered him thus, that he would not fiewe him selfe more fearefull, then the good hunters which neuer suffer the beast to recouer his denne. And when he had lo sayd, he marched with his armie towards *Mithridates*, hauing in all his campe thirtie thousand foote men, and two thousand fise hundred horse. When he came to neere vnto his enemies, that he might easly at eye discerne all their host, he wondered at the great multitude of souldiers that were in their campe, and was in minde to geue battell, supposing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and drawe these warres out in length. But one *Marius* a ROMANE Capitaine, whom *Sertorius* had sent out of SPAYNE vnto *Mithridates* with a certaine number of souldiers: came forwardes, and prouoked him to battell. *Lucullus* for his parte did put his men also in a readinesse to fight. But euen as both battells were prepared to ioyne, the element opened vpon the sodaine, without any shewe of change of weather deerned before, and they plainly saw a great flake of fire fall betwene both armies, in forme and shape much like to a tonne, and of the colour of molten siluer. This celestiall signe put both tharmies in such a feare, as they both retired, and fought not a stroke: and this wonderful fight fortun'd (as it appeared) in a place of PHRYGIA, called OTRYES. Nowe *Lucullus* after wards considering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor prouision so great in the world, that could suffice to vittell so many thousandes of people as *Mithridates* had in his campe: any long time together, hauing his enemies campe so lying before him: willed that one of the prisoners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabin, then what come he had left in their cabin. And when the prisoner had answered to all his demaundes, he returned him to prison, and sent for another: then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their come, and other proportion of vittells they had, with the number of men the same should maintaine: he founde that all would be spent in three or four days at the most. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of battell. So he caused a maruelous deale of wheate to be brought into his campe out of euerie quarter, that the same being thoroughly vittelled, he might easly tary the occasion which his enemies necessitie should offer him. *Mithridates* in the meane time, sought which way he might take the cite of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowen before with *Cotta* at the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had lost three thousand men, and tenne of their shippes. And because that *Lucullus* should not vnderstand of his enterpryse, *Mithridates* staley way by night after supper, taking the opportunity of a darke rainy night, and marched thitherwards with such speede, that he was before the city of CYZICVS by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddesse *Adrastia* standeth, which is the goddesse of fatall destinie. *Lucullus* receiuing intelligence of *Mithridates* departure from his campe, followed him straight wayes steppe by steppe, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in disorder, lodged his armie in a village called THRACIA, in a place of great advantage for him, and commodiously seated also vpon the high wayes, and through fare of the neighbors therabouts, by the which they must come of necessity to vitell *Mithridates* campe. Wherefore *Lucullus* wisely foreseeing what would follow: would not keepe his purpose secret from his souldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counsell, and there making an oration vnto them, tolde them openly by manifest demonstration of assured hope, that ere many dayes passed, he would geue victorie into their hands, and that without losse of one droppe of blood. In the meane season, *Mithridates* enuironed the GRECIANS round about by lande, hauing deuided his armie into tenne camps, & stoped vp the mouth of the arme of the sea, which deuideth the cite from firme lande, with his shippes from one side to an other. Now the CYZICENIANS were valliant men, and determin-

ned

A ned to abide all extremitie for the ROMANES sakes: but one thing only troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of *Lucullus*, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe stode in such a place, where they might easly decerne it from the citie. But *Mithridates* souldiers deceiued them, for shewing them the ROMANES campe that lay about hard by them, sayd vnto them: doe ye see yonder campe there? They are the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS, whom *Tigranes* hath sent to the ayde of *Mithridates*. These wordes put the CYZICENIANS in a maruelous feare, seeing such a multitude of enemies dispersed round about them: that when *Lucullus* should come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of *Lucullus* approach, by one called *Demonax*, whom *Archelaus* sent vnto them, but they would not beleue him at the first, taking it for a tale, only to make them be of good corage, and valliantly abide the furie of the siege: vntill such time as a litle boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had takē him prisoner, was come againe vnto them. Of whome they inquired where *Lucullus* was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they teasted to aske that questiō of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the ROMANES campe with his finger: then they beleued it in deede, and were coragious againe. There is a lake neere vnto the cite of CYZICVS called Dascylitide, and it is nauigable with conuenient bigge boates. *Lucullus* tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in a carre, and so caried it to the sea, and there put as many souldiers in her as she could well carry, who by night entred into the citie, the skowte of the enemies neuer discouying them. This small supply did maruelously comforte the besieged CYZICENIANS: and it seemeth that the C goddes, deliting to see their noble corage, would further increase and assure the same, by many manifest tokens which they sent from heauen, and specially by one which was this. The day of the feast of *Proserpina* was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a blacke cowe to offer in solemne sacrifice, as their auncest ceremonies required: so they made one of paste, & brought it hard vnto the altar. Now, the cowe that was vowed to this sacrifice, & which they reered vpon purpose to serue for that day, was feeding amongst the heard of the citie in the fieldes, on the other side of the arme of the sea. But that day the kept alone from all the rest of the heard, and swamme ouer the arme of the sea, and came into the citie: where she went of her selfe vnto the place of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the goddesse *Proserpina* her selfe appeared vnto *Arifagoras* in his dreame, secretary of the state and common wealth of the CYZICENIANS, and D sayd vnto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of LIBIA, against the tromper of PONT, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good corage. The next morning when the secretarie had tolde them his vision, the CYZICENIANS maruelled much at the goddesse wordes, and could not imagine what they ment. Howbeit at the breake of day there rose a great whistling winde, that made the sea billowes rise very high: and the kings engines of batterie which were brought to the walles of the citie to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one *Niconides* a THESSELIAN enginer had made and deuised) began to make such a noyse, and to breake in peeces by the roughnes of the winde, that a man might easly iudge what would follow vpon it. Then all at one instant, the southwinde was become so vehemēt bigge, that in a moment it burst all these engines a sunder, and specially a tower E of wodde of the height of a hundred cubites, which the winde shooke so vehemētly, that it ouerthrew it to the ground. And it is sayd furthermore, that in the citie of LIVM the goddesse *Minerva* appeared vnto diuerse in their sleepe, all in a sweate, and shewing parte of her vaile tiner, as if she had bene newly returned from giuing ayde vnto the CYZICENIANS: in confirmation whereof, the inhabitants of LIVM haue a pillar yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memorie. Now was *Mithridates* maruelous sory for the breaking & losse of his engines, by meanes whereof, the CYZICENIANS had escaped the danger of assaulte, & of the siege in like maner, vntill he truly vnderstood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be such, as the souldiers were compelled to care mans flesh, which (his Capitaines abusing him) had for a time kept secret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth in deede, he left of his vaine ambition obtinately to continue the siege: knowing well that *Lucullus* made not warres with threats and brauery, but (as the common prouerbe sayth) lept on his belly with both his feete, that is to say, he did

The strange
game of Mi-
thridates sould-
iers.

A wonderfull
token of a
cow that came
to offer her
selfe to the
Cyziceni-
ans to be sacrific-
ed.

Arifagoras
vision.

Extremē fa-
mine in Mi-
thridates
campe.
Pro-
uerbe: He
lept on his bel-
ly with both
his feete.

what he could possible to cut of all the vitrells from him. And therefore one day when *Lucullus* was gone to assault a castell that troubled him very neere vnto his campe: *Mithridates* cause he would not lose that opportunity, sent the most parte of his horsemen to get victuall in BITHYNIA, with all his cartes, and beastes of cariage, and his most vnprofitable footemen. *Lucullus* hearing thereof, returned againe the selfe same night vnto his campe, and the next morninge betimes being in the winter season, followed them by the tracke with ten engines of footemen only and all his horsemen. But the snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sharp, and the weather so rough, that many of his souldiers not being able to abide it, dyed by the way. For all that he marched on still, till he ouertooke his enemies about the riuer of RINDACUS, where he gaue them such an ouerthrowe, that the very women came out of the citie of APOLLONIA, and went to steale the vitrells they had loden, and strippe the dead, which were a maruelous great number, as a man may iudge in such a case: and neuerthelesse there were taken fixe thousande horse of seruice, an infinite number of beastes for cariage, and fifteene thousande men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his campe, and passed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the historiographer *Salust*, who wraying of this matter sayth, that here was the first time that euer the ROMANES saw any camells. Me thinks it straunge how he should thinke so, that they who long before had ouercome *Antiochus* the great vnder *Scipio*, and thothers that a litle before had fought against *Archelaus*, neere vnto the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHERONEA, should not haue scene camells. But to returne againe to our matter. *Mithridates* being feared with this ouerthrow, resolved with him selfe immediatly to flic, with all the speede he could possibly make: and to entertaine and stay *Lucullus* for a time behinde him, determined to sende *Aristonicus* his Admirall with his army by sea, into the sea of GRECE. But as *Aristonicus* was ready to hoysse sayle, his owne men betraied him, and deliuered him into the handes of *Lucullus*, with tenne thousand crownes which he caried with him, to corrupt if he could parte of the ROMANES army. *Mithridates* hearing of this, fled by sea, leauing the rest of his armie by lande in the handes of his Captaines, to be brought away by them as well as they could. *Lucullus* followed vnto the riuer of GRANICUS, where he set upon them, and after he had slaine twenty thousande of them, tooke an infinite number prisoners. And they say there dyed in that worthe, what souldiers, what slaues, what lackeis, and other stragglers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred thousand people. This done, *Lucullus* returned to the citie of CYZICUS, where after he had spent some dayes, enjoying the glorie due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment of the CYZICENIANS: he went to visite the coast of HELLESPONT, to get shippes together, and to prepare an armie by sea. And passing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of *Venus*: where, as he slept in the night, it seemed to him he saw the goddesse appeare before him, which sayd these verses vnto him.

O Lyon fierce, and soveraine: why sleepest thou so sounde?

Since at thy hande so sayre a praye, is ready to be founde.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his friends to him, tolde him the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came some vnto him from the citie of LIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene galleies of kinge *Mithridates*, hauing fise ores to euery bancke, that were scene in the haven of the ACHAIAIANS, and that sayled towards the Ile of LEMNOS. Whereupon *Lucullus* tooke shippe straight, went and tooke them euery one: for at his first comming he slue the Captaine called *Isidorus*, and went afterwards to the other mariners that lay at ancker on the coast side, who seeinge him come, drew towards land with their shippes, in purpose to runne them all a shore, and fighting aboute hatches, hurt many of *Lucullus* souldiers, because they could not compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had layed their shippes was such, as there was no way to force them before, their galleies floating in the sea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. *Lucullus* with much a do all this notwithstanding, found meanes in the end to put a shore certaine of the best souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily lande. These souldiers went straight and set vpon the enemies behinde, slue some of them euen at their first comming, & compelled the rest to cut a funder the

Rindacus fl.

Lucullus overcame Mithridates his army.

Mithridates fled by sea. Granicus fl. Lucullus overthrew Mithridates footemen by the river of Granicus.

Lucullus dreame.

A the cables that fastned the galleies to the bankes. But when they thought to flic from lande, the galleies brused and brake one another: and that worst of all was, rannē vpon the poyntes and spures of *Lucullus* galleies. And so many of them that stood aboute hatches were slaine, the rest taken prisoners: amongst whom, *Marius* the ROMANE Captaine was brought vnto *Lucullus*, whom *Sertorius* had sent out of SPAIN vnto *Mithridates*. He had but one eye, and *Lucullus* had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye: because *Marius* should not dye so happy a death, as to be slaine, but that he should dye some shamefull death, and be condemned by order of lawe. That done, *Lucullus* went in person with all the speede he could possible to follow *Mithridates*, hoping to finde him yet vpon the coast of BITHYNIA, where *Voonius* should haue stayed him: for he had sent *Voonius* before with a certaine number of shippes vnto the citie of NICOMEDIA to stop him from flying. But he taried so long in the Ile of SAMOTHRAZIA sacrificing to the goddes of the same, and to be receiued into the fraternite of their religion, that he could neuer after come neere *Mithridates* to stoppe him from flying: hauing already made sayle with all the whole fleet, and halting with all possible speede to recouer the realme of PONTVS, before *Lucullus* could returne from whence he went. But in sayling thitherwardes, he met with such a terrible storme, that caried parte of his shippes to away, that they ranne stragling to seeke their fortune, and parte of them splitted and drowned outright: so that all the coastes and riues thereabouts, for many dayes after, were full of dead bodies and shippes wrackes cast a shore by waues of the sea. Nowe for *Mithridates* owne persone, he was in a shippe of great burden, the which for her greatnes could not sayle neere the shore, nor recouer land, he was also very euill to be guided by the pylots in so boylerous a storme: the mariners besides were put out of all their skill and knowledge, and the shippe her selfe moreouer tooke in such store of water, and was so heauely charged withall, that they durst no more put her out to the sea. By reason whereof *Mithridates* was compelled to goe aboard a litle pinace of pyrates, and to put him selfe and his life into their handes, by whose helpe in the ende, (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to lande, and recouered the citie of HERACLEA in the realme of PONTVS. Now here is to be noted, that the great brauerie *Lucullus* shewed vnto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the fauor of the goddes. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of their warres to prepare a great naue of shippes, and therewithall had geuen order also for three thousande talentes: *Lucullus* stayed them by letters that they should not doe it, wraying brauely vnto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be strong enough to driue *Mithridates* from the sea, with the onely shippes he would borrowe of their frendes and confederates. And in deede, through the special fauor of the goddes, he brought it so to passe: for they say, that this terrible storme that destroyed the armie of *Mithridates*, was raised vp by *Diana*, being offended with the men of the realme of PONTVS, because they had destroyed her temple in the citie of PERIAPUS, and had caried away her image. Now there were diuers that counsellled *Lucullus* to deserre the rest of this warre, vntill an other season: but notwithstanding all their persuasions, he went through the contrie of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to invade the realme of *Mithridates*. In the which voyage, at the first beginning he lacked vitrells, so that there were thirty thousand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried euery one of them a bushell of wheate on their shouldiers: howbeit entering further into the contrie, and conquering the whole, there was such exceeding plenty of all things, that an ox was sold in his campe but for a Drachma, & a slaue at foure times as much. And of all other spoyle there was such great store, that either they made no reckening of it, or else they made hauoke of it, because there was no man to sell it vnto, euery man hauing so much of his owne. For they ranne ouer all the contrie vnto the citie of THEMISCYRA, and to the vallies that lay upon the riuer of Thermodon, and stayed no where longer then they were a spoyleing. Thereupon the souldiers beganne to murmure at *Lucullus*, because he assured all the cities vpon composition, and neuer tooke any of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich themselves by spoyle: and yet sayd they, he would make vs now go further, and leaue AMISVS a great rich citie which we might easily take by force, if it were but a litle straightly besieged, and lead vs into the de-

Lucullus overcame Mithridates navy by sea.

Mithridates in great danger upon the sea by tempest.

Lucullus commendable.

Lucullus journey into Pontus.

An ox bought for a Drachma.

The murmuring of Lucullus souldiers.

ferres of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALDEIANS to fight against *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* paid a
 fed over all these complaints, and made no reckoning of them, because he would never have
 thought that they would have fallen into such mutinie and furie, as afterwards they did: and
 contrarily excused him selfe the more carefully to them that blamed & reprovied him, for his
 long tarrying vpon townes and villages that were not worth the reckening, and suffering *Mithridates* in
 the meane time to gather a new force and armie together at his pleasure. For, said
 he, that is the mark I shotte at, and that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I doe, wi-
 shing nothing more, then that he might once againe make him selfe strong, and bring also
 cond armie to the field, that might embolden him to come eftsoones to the fight with vs, and
 runne away no more. Doe you not see, sayd he, that at his backe he hath an infinite number
 of desert contries, where it is vnpossible euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him al-
 so the mounte Caucasus, and many other vnpassable places, which are sufficient not only to
 hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings besides that would flie battell,
 and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a litle way from the contrie of the CABIRENI-
 ANS vnto the realme of ARMENIA, where *Tigranes* the king of kings inhabiteth, whose po-
 wer is so great, that he drieth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, and carieth whole townes and
 cities of GREECE vnto the realme of MEDIA, who hath all SYRIA and PALESTINE in his
 handes, and hath slaine and rooted out the kinges and successors of the great *Seleucus*, and
 hath caried away their wiues and daughters prisoners by force. This great and mightie kinge
 is allyed vnto *Mithridates*, for he married *Mithridates* daughter: and it is not likely that when
Mithridates shall come and intreate him to helpe him in his distresse, that *Tigranes* will re-
 fuse him, but rather we must thinke certainly that he will make warres vpon vs in his defence.
 And thus, in making hault to drue out *Mithridates*, we shall bring our selues into great dan-
 ger, to prouoke a new enemy, euen *Tigranes* against vs, who of long time hath lurked for
 iust occasion to make warres with vs: and he can haue no honeste cause to take armes, then
 to defend and keepe a king his neighbour, and to neere a kinsman, from vtter destruction, and
 one that is compelled to seeke vpon him for succor. What neede we then to prouoke him to
 procure it, and teache *Mithridates* (which he purposeth not) to whom he should repaire for
 aide, to make warres against our selues, and pricke him forward, or to say better, put him with
 our owne handes into the way to go seeke aide of *Tigranes*: which of him selfe he will neuer
 doe, (thinking it a dishonor vnto him) onlesse we drue him to it for very necessitie. Is it not
 better for vs to geue him leasure and time, to gather a second force againe of him selfe, and
 his owne people, that we might rather fight with the COLCHIANS, TIBARENIANS, CAP-
 PADOCHIANS, and with such other people whome we haue so many times overcome: then
 with the MEDES and ARMENIANS? With this determination *Lucullus* taried a great while
 before the citie of AMISVS, continuing this siege of purpose, without distressing them at all.
 Afterwards when winter was past, he left *Murena* there to continue the siege, and him selfe
 with the rest of his armie went to meete *Mithridates*: who had planted his campe neere vnto
 the citie of CABIRA, determining to tarie the ROMANES coming, hauing gathered toge-
 ther againe a new armie of fortie thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, in the
 which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he passed ouer the riuier of Lycus, & went
 and presented battell to the ROMANES in the plaine field. There the horsemen skirmished, &
 the ROMANES had the worfe: for there was one *Pomponius* a ROMANE taken, of great estim-
 cion, who was brought vnto king *Mithridates* hurt as he was. *Mithridates* asked him, if in
 using his life, and healing his woundes, he would become his seruauant and frend. Straight-
 lyed *Pomponius*, with all my hart quod he, so that thou make peace with the ROMANES: if
 not, I will euer be thine enemy. The king esteemed his corage much, and would doe him no
 hurt. And as for *Lucullus*, he was affrayed to come into the plaine, because his enemy was the
 stronger of horsemen: and he doubted also on thother side to take his way by the mountaines,
 because it was very high, vneafie to clime, and full of woddes and forrestes. But as he stood
 thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GREECIANS by chaunce that were fled, and hidden in
 cause hard by, among the which there was an old man called *Artemidorus*, who promised *Lu-
 cullus* if he would beleue and follow him, he would bring him into a sure strong place to lodge

*Lucullus ora-
 tion & excuse
 to his souldi-
 ers.*

*Tigranes,
 king of Ar-
 menia, married
 Mithridates
 daughter.*

*Mithridates
 camped at Ca-
 bira.*
*Mithridates
 armie.*
Lycus fl.

*The constan-
 cy of a Ro-
 mane souldier.*
*Lucullus fleeth
 Mithridates
 horsemen.*

A his campe, where was a castell about the citie of CABIRA: *Lucullus* beleued the olde mans
 wordes, wherefore so soone as night came, he raised great fires in his campe, and went his
 way: and after they had passed certaine straight and dangerous wayes of the mountaines, he
 came in the morning vnto the place which *Artemidorus* had promised to bring him. Now the
 enemies were maruelously amazed when day light came, to see him there ouer them; in a
 place where if he list to fight, he might come apon them with aduantage; and if he liked not
 to stirre, it was vnpossible to compell him. For he stood indifferent then to hazard battell or
 not. But in the meane season, they say certaine of the kinges campe by chaunce were a hun-
 ting the harte. The ROMANES perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them off by the way: and
 they began by this means one to charge another in such sorte, reliefe growing still from ei-
 ther side, as *Mithridates* men grew the stronger. But the ROMANES seeing their men flie from
 the trenches of their campe about, were in such a rage, that they all ranne in a choller to *Lu-
 cullus* to pray him he would leade them to battell, and geue them a signall to fight. *Lucullus*, be-
 cause he would shew them by experience how much the presence & eye of a good wise Cap-
 taine in time of neede was worth: commaunded them they should not once stirre, and he
 him selfe in person went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the first of his men
 he met withall flying, to stay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they present-
 ly did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together againe, did easily make
 their enemies returne, that before had them in chafe, and draue them backe, fighting with
 them euen hard to their owne forte. Afterwards vpon his returne againe to his campe, he
 C sette his souldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to shame them withall, which the
 ROMANES are wont to vse in such a case: & that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelue
 foote longe, being in their thirties, all vntrussed, and their other companions present seeinge
 them doe it. Now there was in king *Mithridates* campe, one *Olthacus*, prince of the DARD-
 DARIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vpon the marshes of Maotin) a no-
 ble gentleman of his persone, vallyant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good iudge-
 ment to doe any great enterprise as any that was in all the armie, and furthermore a prince of
 great good grace and entertainment in companie, knowing how to facion him selfe with all
 men. This prince, being alwayes at strife with other Lodes of his contrie, and contending
 who should haue the first place of honor and fauor about the king: went vnto *Mithridates*, &
 D promised him that he would do him notable seruice, and that was, that he would kill *Lucullus*.
 The king was very glad of this promise, and praised him maruelously in secret: howbeit open-
 ly of purpose he did him many iniuries, because he might haue some colour to counterfeate
 anger and displeasure, and to geue way for him to goe yelde him selfe vnto *Lucullus* as he did.
Lucullus was maruelous glad of him, because he was one of the chiefeest men of name in all his
 campe, and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediatly in the which he behaued him
 selfe so well, that *Lucullus* greatly esteemed his wisdom, and commended his diligence; in
 such sorte that he did him this honor, to call him sometimes vnto the counsell, and make him
 sit at his borde. One day when this DARDARIAN prince *Olthacus* thought to haue found fit
 occasion to execute his enterprife, he commaunded his footemen to be ready with his horse
 E out of the trenches of the campe: and at none dayes when the souldiers tooke rest, and slept
 here and there in the campe, he went vnto *Lucullus* tent, thinking to haue found no body there
 to kepe him from coming in, considering the familiaritie *Lucullus* shewed him, saying also
 he had matters of great importance to talke with him of and sure he had gone in immediatly
 vnto him, if sleepe that casteth away so many other Capitaines, had not at that time preferred
 & saued *Lucullus* that slept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called *Menedemus*, who by
 good fortune kept the dore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, because *Lucullus*
 being wearied with trauell and lacke of sleepe, was but then newly layed downe to rest. *Oltha-
 cus* whatsoeuer the other sayd to him, would not be so answered, but tolde him he would
 come in whether he would or not, for he must nedes speake with him in a matter of great im-
 F portance. *Menedemus* answered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance,
 nor more necessarie, then the preservation of his masters life and health, who had neede to
 take rest: and with these wordes, he thrust him backe with both his hands. *Olthacus* was affrayed

*The fight of
 a Generall in
 a battell in of
 maruelous
 force.*

*Apolittick
 cause of the
 Romanes to
 punishe
 so cowardly souldi-
 ers.*
*The Dardari-
 ans who
 people they
 be.*

*Lucullus deli-
 ger by Oltha-
 cus consilia-
 cy.*

*Olthacus
 prince of the
 Dardarians.*

*Lucullus life
 saved by
 sleepe.*

then, and withdrew him self secretly out of the trenches of the campe,ooke his horse, and rode straight to *Mithridates* campe without his purpose he came for, which was to *Lucullus*. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and opportunity of time, euen in matters deliuereth meanes, to saue or destroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines geuen vnto the sicke and diseased perſones. Shortly after, *Lucullus* sent one of his Captaines called *Sornasius* to get vittells, with tenne ensignes of footemen. Whereof *Mithridates* being aduertised, sent presently at his tayle one of his Capitaines also, called *Menander*, vnto whom *Sornasius* gaue battell, and flue him with great slaughter of his men beside. And afterwards *Lucullus* sent an other of his Lieutenantes called *Adrianus* with a great companie of souldiers, to get vittells into his campe more then he should neede. *Mithridates* did not let slippe this occasion, but sent after him two of his Capitaines also called *Menemachus* and *Agrus*, with a great number of men, as well footemen as horsemen: all which were slaine, two only excepted, that brought newes backe to *Mithridates* campe: the which he fought to saue as well as he could, saying that the losse was much lesse then it was thought for, and that it formed through the ignorance and rashnes of his Lieutenantes. But *Adrianus* at his returne, passed by *Mithridates* campe with great pompe and maiestie, carying a huge number of cam-loden with come and spoyle he had wonne: which draue *Mithridates* felle into so great despair, & all his people into such a feare and trouble, that he presently determined to remove thence. Whereupon, the nobility and such as had place of credit about him, beganne to fad before, and secretly to conuey their stuffe out of the campe, but vterly prohibiting others to doe the same. The rest of the souldiers seeing the stowtnes of the kinges minions, beganne to set vpon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to issue out of the campe. This mutinie grew to such a fury, that they ouerthrew their cariages and sumpter moyles, and flue them presently downe. Amongest others there was slaine *Dorylaus*, one of the chiefeſt Capitaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne, for the which they killed him: & *Hermus* the Priest of the sacrifices was troden vnder foot, and smothered at the campe gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great disorder. The king him selfe amongst others fled, but hauing neuer a one of his garde about him, nor any of the quieries of his stable to bring him a horse: *Ptolomy*, one of the groomes of his chamber, perceiuing him in the company of them that fled, lighted of his owne horse, and gaue him the king, but euen in manner too late. For the *ROMANES* that followed him were then euen hard at his tayle: and it was not for lacke of speede they missed the taking of him, for they were very neere him: but the couetousnes of the souldiers was the losse of the praye they had so long fought for, with so great paine and hazard of battells, and deprived *Lucullus* of the honor and reward of all his victories. For they were so neere vnto him, that if they had but followed *Mithridates* neuer so litle further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horse that caried him away. But one of the moyles that caried his gold and siluer (whether by chance, or of pretended policie of *Mithridates*, as a matter purposely habandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the midst of the high way betwixt him that fled, & the *ROMANES* that followed: who stayed there to robbe the gold & siluer, fighting about it, that *Mithridates* by that meane wanne ground so farre before them, as they could neuer after come neere him againe. And this losse was not all which the couetousnes of the souldiers made *Lucullus* to lose. For, one of the chiefeſt secretaries of the king being taken, called *Callistratus*, whom *Lucullus* commaunded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had fide hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedines of them, flue him by the way, and yet notwithstanding *Lucullus* suffered them to spoyle and destroy the whole campe of their enemies. After *Mithridates* flight, *Lucullus* took the cite of *CASIRA*, and many other castles and strong places, where he founde great treasure, and the prisons full of poore prisoners of the *GRECIANS*, & many Princes a kinne vnto the king him selfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then seeing them felues deliuered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefit of *Lucullus*, thought with them selves they were not only taken out of prison, but reuiued & turned againe vnto a second life. There was also taken one of king *Mithridates* sisters called *Nissa*, whose taking fell out profitable for her: because

Lucullus vi-
ſtory of cer-
taine of *Mi-*
thridates
Captaines.

Mithridates
noble men &
ſanitiars,
cause of mu-
tiny & ouer-
throw of his
whole army.

Mithridates
ſleth.

Couetousnes,
the ouertrow
of ſouldiers.

A ſtratageme
of *Mithrida-*
tes.

A because all *Mithridates* other wiues and sisters, whom they placed furthest of, as out of all danger (and sent into a contrie of great safety, neere vnto the cite of *PANORACIA*) dyed pitifully, and were miserably slaine. For *Mithridates* sent one of the groomes of his priue chamber vnto them called *Bacchides*, to bring them word that they must all dye. Amongest many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kinges sisters, called *Roxane* & *Statira*, which were forty yeres old a peece, & yet had neuer bene married: & two of his wiues also whom he had married, both of the contrie of *IONIA*, the one called *Berenice*, borne in the Ile of *CNIO*, and the other *Monime*, in the cite of *MILETUM*. *Monime*, she was very famous amongst the *GRECIANS*: for notwithstanding king *Mithridates* importunate dealing, being ſtate in loue with her, inſomuch as he sent her fiftene thousand crownes at one time, yet she would neuer geue eare vnto his sute, vntill such time as the mariage was agreed vpon betwene them, and that he had sent her his Diademe or royall bande, and called her by the name and tide of Queene. This poore Ladie after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long liued a wofull life, bewailing continually her accursed beauty, that in steade of a husband, had procured her a maſter: and in steade of the matrimoniall companie which a noble woman should enioy, had gotten her a gard and garriſon of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, ſtate from the ſweete contrie of *GRECE*: in change whereof, she had but a dreame and ſhadow of the hoped goods she looked for, hauing vnfortunately left the within her owne contrie the happily enioyed before. Now when this *Bacchides* was come vnto them, & had commaunded them from the king to chooſe what maner of death they would, & which euery one of the thought most easieſt, and leaſt painefull: *Monime* pluckt of the royall bande from her head, and tying it on a knot about her necke, hung her selfe, but the band not being strong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cried out: O cursed and wicked tiſſue, wilt thou not yet ſerue me to end my ſorrowfull dayes? And ſpeaking theſe wordes, caſt it on the ground, and spit apon it, and held out her throte to *Bacchides* to be cut a ſunder. The other, *Berenice*: she tooke a cuppe full of poyſon her mother being preſent, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which she did, and they dranke it of betwene them. The force of the poyſon was ſtronger enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not ſo quickly to destroy the daughter: be-
cause she had not taken that proportion which would haue ſerued her turne, but drew out the paines of her death in length, vntill ſuch time as *Bacchides* haſting to diſpatch her, she in the end did ſtrangle her ſelfe. As for the kings two ſisters, *Roxane* & *Statira*, which were virgines yet vnmarried, they ſay, that one of them also dranke poiſon, curſing & deteſting the cruelty of her brother: howbeit *Statira* gaue neuer an euill word, nor was ſaime hated or ſorrowfull to dye, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that ſeeing him ſelfe in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was careful to cauſe them dye, before they ſhould ſell as ſlaues into the hands of their enemies, and before they could come to diſhonor them, or do them villany. Theſe pitiefull miſfortunes went to *Lucullus* heart, who was curious and gentle of nature: neuertheleſſe he went on further, till following *Mithridates* at the heeles vnto the city of *TALAVRA*. And there vnderſtanding that he was fled foure dayes before vnto *Tigranes*, in *ARMENIA*, returned backe againe, hauing firſt ſubdued the *CHALDEANS*, and the *ISSA-*
RENIANS, taken *ARMENIA* the leſſe, and brought the cities, caſtells, and strong places vnto his obedience. That done, he ſent *Appian Claudius* vnto king *Tigranes*, to ſummon him to de-
liuer *Mithridates* vnto him: & him ſelfe tooke his iorney towards the cite of *ARMENIA*, which was yet beſieged. The cauſe why this ſiege continued long, was the ſufficiencie and great ex-
perience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called *Callimachus*: who vnderſtoode ſo well howe all ſortes of engines of batterie were to be vſed, and was ſo ſubill beſides in all inuen-
tions that might ſerue to defende a place beſieged, as he troubled the *ROMANES* much in this attempt: but afterwards he was not only met withall, and payed home for all his labor, but alſo outrea-
ched by *Lucullus* for all his ſineleſſe. For where before he had alwayes fled to
found the retreat at a certaine hower, & to call his men backe from the aſſaulte, to reſt them:
Rome day he brake that order on the ſodaine, & commaigned to aſſaulte the walles, at the firſt
charge wanne a peece of it, before thoſe within could come in time to reſiſt them. *Callima-*
chus ſeeing that, and knowing it was now vnpoſſible to keepe the city any longer, forſooke it.

Mithridates
ſleth his wife
and ſiſters.

The coming of
Monime *Mi-*
thridates
wiſe.

Monime her
throte was
cut.

Berenice ſtra-
glid her ſelfe.

The coming of
Statira *Mi-*
thridates ſi-
ſter.

Appian *Cla-*
udius ſent vnto
Tigranes from *Lucul-*
lus.
Callimachus
gouernor of
Armia.

Lucullus was
aſſiſſed.

*Callimachus
seeth fire of
Amisus and
fleeth.*

*Lucullus cur-
seste towards
the cite of A-
misus.*

*Lucullus gen-
tle saying.*

*Tyrannus the
grammarian
taken.*

*Lucullus re-
sisteth Asia
from extreme
cruelty.*

But before his departing he set the cite a fire, either for the malice to the ROMANS, because he would not they should enriche them selues with the sacke of so great a cite: or els for policy of warre to haue the more leasure to saue him selfe, and sic. For no man gaue them that fled by sea, because the flame was so great, that it disperfed it selfe euen to the walles, and the ROMANS souldiers; they only prepared to spoyle. *Lucullus* seeing the fire went out, had compassion of the cite whichin, and would gladly haue holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the souldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, every one plying after the spoyle, making great noyse with clashing of harnesse, and being very lowdly sides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to spoyle, hoping thereby to saue the houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the souldiers then selues in seeking all about with torches & linckes lighted, to see if any thing were hidden they set a number of houses a fire. So as *Lucullus* coming into the cite the next morning, and seeing the great defolation the fire had made, fell of weeping, saying vnto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought *Sylla* happy, howbeit he neuer wondred at his good fortune, then that day he did. For, *Sylla* layd he, desiring to saue the cite of *ATHENS*, the goddess graunted him that fauor that he might do it: but I that would fauine follow him therein, and saue this cite, fortune thwarting my desire, hath brought me to the reputation of *Mummius*, that caused *CORINTH* to be burnt. Neuertheless he did his best endeour at that time to helpe the poore cite againe. For touching the fire, euen immediately after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and *Lucullus* selfe before he left the cite, made a great number of the houses which were spoiled by fire, to be built vp againe, and curteously receiued all the inhabitants that were fled, besides them he placed other *GRÆCIANS* there also, that were willing to dwell amongst them; and increased the boundes and confines of the cite which he gaue them, one hundred and twenty furlonges into the contrie. This cite was a colony of the *ATHENIANS*, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire flourishd, and that they ruled the seas by reason whereof, many flying the tyranny of *Aristion*, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the same. This good happe fell vpon them, that forsaking their owne goodes, they went to possesse and enioy the goodes of other men but the very citizens of *ATHENS* it selfe that had escaped from this great defolation, *Lucullus* clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and sent them againe to their contrie. *Tyrannion* the grammarian was taken at that time, whom *Murena* begged of *Lucullus*; and *Lucullus* hauing graunted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he deliuered him discourtously, and did much abuse *Lucullus* liberality and gift vnto him. For in bestowing this prisoner vpon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane *Murena* should take him for a bondeman, whereby he should neede afterwarde to make him free. For seeing to make him free, and restore him to libertie: was no more but to take that freedom and liberty from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other things, and not in this only, *Murena* layd him selfe open to the world, that he had not all the partes a worthy Captain should haue in him. When *Lucullus* departed from *AMISUS*, he went to visite the cite of *ASIA*, to thend that whilest he was not now occupied with warres, they might haue some refreshing of lawes and iustice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long tyme in *ASIA*, the poore contry was so afflicted, and oppressed with so many euils and miseries: that man liuing would feant beleue, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreme and horrible couetousnes of the farmers, custumers, and ROMAN vsurers did not only deuoure him also kept it in such bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were driuen to sell their goodly young sonnes and daughters in marriage, to pay the interest and vley of the money which they had borrowed to discharge their fines withall: & publicly the tables dedicated vnto the temples, the statues of their goddesses, and other church iuells: and yet in the end they them selues were also iudged to be bondmen & slaues to their cruell creditors, to wend out their dayes in miserable seruitude. And yet the worst of all was, the payne they put them to before they were so condemned: for they imprisoned them, set them on the racke, tormented them vpon a litle brazen horse, sette them in the stocks, made them stande naked in the

great

A greatest heate of sommer, and on the less the deepest of winter, so as that bondmen seemed vnto them a reliefe of their miseries, and a reliefe of their tormentes. *Lucullus* found the cities of *ASIA* full of such oppressions, but in a thotte time after he deliuered them all what was wrongfully committed. For first he tooke order, they should account for the vley that was payed monthly, the hundred parte of the principall due onely, and no more. Secondly he cut off all vleys that passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor & vsurer should enioy the fourth parte of the profites & reuenues of his dettor. And he that ioynd vley with the principall, that is to say, tooke vley vpon vley, should lose the whole. So that by this order, all dettes were payed in lesse then foure yeares; and the owners landes and reuenues set cleare of all maner payments. This furcharge of vleys, came of the twenty thousand talentes, wherein *Sylla* had condemned the contrie of *ASIA*: the which summe they had payed twice before vnto the farmers and collectors of the ROMANS, who had raised it, still heaping vley vpon vley, to the lumme of fixe score thousand talentes. Wherefore these collectors and farmers ranne to Rome, and cried out vpon *Lucullus*, saying, that he did them the greatest wrong that could be, and by meanes of money, they procured certaine of the common counsellors to speake against him: which they might easily doe, because they had diuerse of their names in their bookes that delt in traffaires of the common wealth at Rome. But *Lucullus* was not only beloued of those contries whom he did good vnto, but was wished for and desired also of others, who thought the contrie happy that might haue such a gouernor. Now for *Appian Claudius*, whom *Lucullus* had sent before from *PHRYGIA* vnto king *Tigranes* in *ARMENIA*, and whose sister at that time was *Lucullus* wife: he first tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high contry, making him fetch a great compasse about, by many dayes iorneyes spent in vaine: vntill such time as one of his intractable bondmen that was borne in *SYRIA*, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leaving the wrong wayes they had led him, within fewe dayes past ouer the riuier of *Euphrates*, and arrived in the cite of *ANTIOCH*, surnamed *EPHAPNE*. Where he had commaundement to abide *Tigranes* returne, who was then in the contry of *PHENICIA*, where he subdued certaine cities, & had some other yet to conquer. *Appian* in the meane time wanne secretly diuers of the princes and noble men, that obeyed this *ARMENIAN* king but for feare, by force, and against their willes, & amongst whom was *Zabdius*, king of the prouince of *GORDIENIA*: & promised the aide of *Lucullus* also to many the cities that sent vnto him; (which had not long before bene subdued & brought into bondage) to whom neuertheles he gaue in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once stirre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of these *ARMENIANS* was intollerable to the *GRÆCIANS*, and specially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Which by reason of his great prosperitie, was growen to such pride and presumption; that whatsoever he did comonly esteeme best, & make most reckoning of, he would not only haue it, and vse it as his owne, but also tooke it that all was made for him selfe whatsoeuer, and this great ouerweening grew, by reason of fortunes speciall grace and fauor towards him. For at the beginning he had but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations; and plucked downe the power of the *PARTHIANS* as much as any man that euer was before him: He replenished the contry of *MESOPOTAMIA* with *GRÆCIAN* inhabitants, which he brought by force out of *CALCEDON* and *CAPPADOCIA*, compelling them to inhabit there: He made the *ARABIANS* change their maner of liuing, who are otherwise called the *SCENITES*, as much to say, as rent dwellers; because they are vagrant people that dwell in no other houses but tents; which they euer vie to carie with them, and brought them out of their naturall contrie; and made them followe him, viling them for his commodity in trade of marchandise. There were euer many kings in his contry that waited on him: but amongst others, he had foure kings that warred continually on his person, as his footemen: for when he rode abroad any whether, they ranne by his side on their shins: And when he was set in his chaire of state to geue audience, they stood on the sides about his chaire holding their handes together, which countenance shewed the most manly selfe confession and tokens of bondage that they could do vnto him: as if they had shewed

AAA nij

The boldnes
of Appius
Clodius, Lu-
cullus Am-
bassador vnto
Tigranes.

Appius abste-
nence from ta-
king of gifts.

Tigranes and
Mithridates
meeting.

Metrodorus
praiseth, and
death.

Amphicrates
an Orator of
Athenes, dyed
in king Tigranes
court.
Seleucia a ci-
ty standing a-
gainst Tigris.
A platter too
litle to holde a
Dolphin in,
pro.

thereby that they resigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and Master, more ready to suffer, then any thing to doe. Notwithstanding, *Appius Clodius* being a thing abashed nor feared with all this tragical pompe, when audience was geuen him toke king *Tigranes* boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king *Mithridates* away with him, who was due to the triumph of *Lucullus*: & therefore did summonne him to deliuer that king into his handes, or else that he proclaimed warres vpon him selfe. They that were present at this summonnes, knew well enough that *Tigranes* (although he set a good countenance of the matter openly with a faine counterfeit laughing) yet hearing these wordes so boldly & gallantly spoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quicke, and hitte at the heart. For *Tigranes* hauing reigned, (or to say better tyrannically gouerned) fye and twenty years space, had neuer heard any bold or francke speache but that. Notwithstanding, he answered *Appius*, that he would not deliuer *Mithridates*: and if the *ROMANES* made warres with him, that he would defende him selfe. And being greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letters gaue him nor the title, king of kinges, but only king simply: in the letters he wrote backe to *Lucullus* againe, he did not so much as vouchsafe to call him Captaine onely. But when *Appius* tooke his leaue, he sent him goodly riche presentes which he refused. Whereupon the king sent others againe vnto him, of the which *Appius* tooke a cuppe only, because the king should not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will: and so sending all the rest againe vnto him, made great hast to returne to his Captaine *Lucullus*. Nowe *Tigranes* before that time would nor once see king *Mithridates* his so neere kinsman, who by fortune of warres had lost his possant and great a kingdom, but proudly kept him vnder in fennie, marriage, and vnholme grounds, without any honor geuen vnto him, as if he had bene a very prisoner in deede: howbeit then he sent for him honorably, and receiued him with great curtesie. When they were neere together in the kinges palace, they talked secretly one with another, & excusing them selues, clearing all suspicions conceiued betwene them, to the great hurt of their seruantes and frendes, whom they burdened with all thocccasion of vnkindnes betwene them: amongst which number *Metrodorus* *SCYPIAN* was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in speache, and one whome *Mithridates* so much loued and esteemed, that they called him the kinges father. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his warres had sent him Ambassador vnto *Tigranes*, to pray ayde of him against the *ROMANES*. At which time *Tigranes* sayd vnto him what sayest thou to it *Metrodorus*: what aduise wilt thou geue me? *Metrodorus* either because he had regard vnto *Tigranes* profit, or else because he was loth *Mithridates* should escape, answered him againe. As Ambassador, O king, I would wish you should do it: but as a counsellor, that you should not do it. *Tigranes* now reported this speache vnto *Mithridates*, not thinke king he would haue hurt *Metrodorus* for it, though in deede he presently put him to death vpon it. Whereat *Tigranes* was hartely sorie, and repented him greatly to haue tolde him so much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, hauing but only requiued *Mithridates* euill will before conceiued against him. For he had borne him displeasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that *Metrodorus* should be put to death: but in recompence thereof *Tigranes* buried his body honorably, sparing no cost at all vnto the dead body of him, whome he liuing he had betrayed. There dyed in king *Tigranes* court also, an Orator called *Amphicrates*, if he deserue that mention should be made of him, for the citie of *ATHENS* sake whereof he was borne: for it is sayd, that when he was banished out of his contrie, he fled into the citie of *SALEUCIA*, which standeth vpon the riuer of *Tigris*. When the inhabitants of the same prayd him to teache them the arte of eloquence in their contrie, he would not vouchsafe to, but answered them proudly: that a platter was too litle to holde a Dolphine in, meaning that their citie was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto *Cleopatra*, *Mithridates* daughter, and king *Tigranes* wife, where he was quickly suspected and accused, so that he was forbidden to frequent the *GRECIANS* company any more, which grieved him so much, that he famished him selfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very honorably buried by the Queene *Cleopatra*, nere vnto a place called *Sapha*, as they call it in that contrie. Now when *Lucullus* had quieted all thinges in *ASIA*, and had established good lawes

among

Among them, he was not careless also of games and pleasaunt pastimes, but while he was at leasure in the city of *EPHESVS*, he made many games, feastes, wrestlings and fence playes at the shape for ioy of his victory, delighting all the cities of *ASIA* with them, the which in recompence thereof did institute a solemne feast also in the honor of him, which they called *Lucullus*, and did celebrate it with great ioy, theewing a true and no faine friendship and good will towards him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honors they could deuise to geue him. But after that *Appius Clodius* was returned from his Ambassage, and had tolde *Lucullus* that he must make warres with *Tigranes*: *Lucullus* went backe againe vnto the realme of *PONTVS*, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garison, and brought it before the city of *SINOPE* to lay siege vnto it, or rather to besiege certaine *CILICIAN*s that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of *Mithridates*. But when they sawe *Lucullus* come against them, they flue a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the city, fled their way by night. *Lucullus* being aduertised of it, entred the citie, put eight thousand of the *CILICIAN*s to the sword which he found there, and restored the naturall citizens and inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the original cause that made him to be carefull to persecute the city, was this vision he had. He thought in his nightes dreame, that one came to him, and sayd: goe a litle further *Lucullus*, for *Autolyus* commeth, who is desirous to speake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vision ment. It was the selfesame day on the which he tooke the city of *SINOPE*, where following the *CILICIAN*s that escaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground vpon the sea side, which the *CILICIAN*s would haue caried away: but they were taken and followed for neere, that they had no leasure to shipp it. This statue (as it is reported) was one of the goodliest and notablest workes of *Sthenis* the Image grauer. And some say that it was the image of *Autolyus* who founded the city of *SINOPE*. For *Autolyus* was one of the princes that went out of *THESSALIE* with *Heracles* to go against the *AMAZONS*, and he was the sonne of *Demachus*. And they report that at the returne from this voyage, the shippe in the which *Autolyus* was in barked, with *Demoleon* & *Phlogius*, made his shipwracke vpon a rocke on the coast of *CHERRONESVS*, where she was cast away: howbeit that he & his men escaping with all their furniture, came to the city of *SINOPE*, which he tooke from certaine *SYRIANS*, who came (as they say) of one *Syrus* the sonne of *Apollo*, and of the nimphe *Sinope* *Astopus* daughter. *Lucullus* vnderstanding this matter, called a saying of *Sylla* to minde, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may geue more credit vnto, then that which is signified to vs by dreames. In the meane season he was aduertised, that *Tigranes* & *Mithridates* were ready to come downe into *LYCAONIA*, and *CILICIA*, because they might first enter *ASIA*. *Lucullus* marueled much at *Tigranes* counsell, that since he was minded to warre with the *ROMANES*, he did not vse *Mithridates* ayde in his warres at such time, as when he was in his best strength and force: and that he did not then ioyne his power with *Mithridates*, rather then suffer him to be destroyed and ouerthrowen, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding him selfe with those, that could not helpe them selues. While these thinges passed in this sorte, *Archares* king *Mithridates* sonnie, that kept the Realme of *BOSPHORVS*, sent a crowne of gold vnto *Lucullus*, of the weight of a thousand crownes, praying him that he would name him a frende and confederate of the *ROMANES*. Whereupon *Lucullus* thought he was then at the very last ende of his first warre, and leaving *Sornatius* with sixe thousand men to keepe the realme of *PONTVS*, he departed with twelue thousand footemen, and lesse then three thousand horsemen to go to the second warres. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a parte of him to goe with so small a company to fight with so many warlike nations, and to put him selfe vnto the hazard of so many thousandes of horsemen, in a maruelous large contrie, and of a wonderful length, enuironed round about with deepe riuers, and mountains, couered with snowe all the yeare through: so that his souldiers, which otherwise were no speciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an euill will, and did stubbornly disobey him. And on thother side, the common counsellers at *ROME* cried out on him continually, and openly protested before all the people, that out of one warre he sowed an other, which the

Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.

Lucullus dreame.

A statue made by Sthenis.

Autolyus founder of the city of Sinope.

The Syriens why so called.

Syllas note for dreames.

Mithridates sonne Archares frendshippe of Lucullus.

Lucullus goeth against Tigranes with a small company.

The quarrelling consellers at Rome, enuie Lucullus prospering.

common wealth had nothing to doe withall, and that he looked after none other thing, but still to raise new occasions of warres, to the ende he might alwayes haue armies at his commandement, & neuer leaue the warres, because he would make him selfe great with the wealth and perill of the common wealth. These crying counsellors in the end obtained their purpose, which was: to call home *Lucullus* againe, and to substitute *Pompey* in his place. But *Lucullus* all that, marched on with his army with all the possible speede he could, so that he came few dayes vnto the riuier of *Euphrates*, the which he found very high and rough by reason of the winter season: which troubled him maruelously at that present, doubting least it would hold him there a long time in finding out of boates, & making of postes and planckes to build a bridge to passe ouer his army. But towards night the water beganne to fall a litle, and in the night fell so much, that the next morning the riuier was come to her ordinary streame: and moreover, the contrie men there selues discerning certaine litle Ilandes that appeared vnto them in the midst of the water course, and the riuier very calme as a marrie the rounde about them, did honor *Lucullus* as a god, because it was a thing they had neuer seene chaunce before, as though at his comming the riuier had sodainly yeelded vnto him, and was become gentle to geue him safe and easie passage. And because he would not looke that opportunity, he passed ouer his army immediately: and was no sooner on thother side, but he met with a happy token of good lucke, which was this. On thother side of the riuier, there was a certaine number of kyne consecrated to *Diana Persica*, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyonde the riuier of *Euphrates*, do reuerence and honor aboue all the other goddesses: and these kyne they employ to none other vse, but only to sacrifice them vnto this goddesse. They wander all about the contry where they will, without any maner of tying, or shackling otherwise, haueing only the make of the goddesse, which is a lampe printed vpon their bodies, and they are not easie to be taken when one would haue them, but with great a doe. One of these consecrated kyne, after that *Lucullus* army was passed ouer *Euphrates*, came to offer her selfe vpon a rock which they suppose is hallowed or dedicate vnto this goddesse, bowing downe her head, and stretching out her necke, like those that are tyed thorte, as if she had come enen of purpose to present her selfe to *Lucullus*, to be sacrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a bull also vnto the riuier *Euphrates*, in token of thanks for his safe passage ouer. *Lucullus* the first day did nothing but encampe him selfe only, on the other side of the riuier: but the next morning, and the other dayes following, he went further into the contry by the way of *Sophene*, hurting none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly receiued his army. For when his men would haue had him to haue take a castell by force, where they said was great store of gold and siluer: he shewed them mownte *Taurus* a farr off, and told them it is that which we must rather go to take. As for the things which be in this Castell, they be kept for them that vanquish: and going on still with great iomeys, passed ouer the riuier of *Tigris*, and so entered the realme of *Armenia* with a maine armie. Now for *Tigranes*, the first man that ventured to bring him newes of *Lucullus* comming, had no ioy of it: for he cut of his head for his labor. And therefore from thenceforth there durst no man say any thing vnto him, vntill such time as he was at the last enuironned rounde with fire, which *Lucullus* army had raised about him, before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was sporting and gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that *Lucullus* in deede were a noble Captaine, if he durst butray *Tigranes* comming downe in the citie of *Ephesus* only, and howe he would straightlie out of all *Asia*, so soone as he might but heare tell of his comming against him with so triumphing an army of so many thowland men. And thus may we see, that like as all bodies and braines, are not a like strong nor able to cary much wine: so in like case all wittes be not resolute and constant, neuer to doe amisse, nor to swarue from reasons bandes in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, *Mithrobarzanes*, one of *Tigranes* familiars, was the next man that enterprised to tell him the troth: whose boldnes had litle better reward for his newes, then the first that was beheaded. For *Tigranes* sent him immediatly with three thowland horse, and a good number of footemen, commanding him that he should bring *Lucullus* aliae vnto him, and that furthermore, he should marche vpon the bellies of his men. Now was *Lucullus* already camped with parte of his army, & the other parte comming after, when his skowtes brought him

Lucullus came to the riuier of Euphrates, & found it very high, and rough. The streame and sodaine fall of the riuier of Euphrates, from her great swelling.

Diana Persica.

Kyne consecrated to Diana Persica.

A strange thing of a cow that came to offer her selfe to Lucullus to be sacrificed. The contry of Sophene.

Tigris.

Tigranes sent the first messenger that brought the newes of Lucullus approach.

Tigranes sent Mithrobarzanes against Lucullus.

A him newes of the barbarous Captaines approach: which at the first put him in feare, that if the enemy should come and assaile them thus scattered in companies, & not ranged in battell, and ready to fight, he might ouerthrow them whiles they were in disorder. And therefore he remained within his campe to fortifie the same, and sent *Sextilius* one of his Lieutenants, with a thowland fixe hundred horse, and as many footemen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commanding him to approach as neere to his enemy as he could without fighting, only to stay him there, vntill such time as he heard newes that all his army was come together into his campe. *Sextilius* went to doe his commandement, but he was compelled to fight, (though against his will) *Mithrobarzanes* came so brauely & lustely to assaile him. So was the battell stricken betwene them, in the which *Mithrobarzanes* was slaine valiantly fighting, & all his men either broken or killed, fewe excepted, that onely by flying saued them selues. After this ouerthrow, *Tigranes* forsooke his great royall citie of *Tigranocerta* that he built him selfe, & went to mownt *Taurus*, where he assembled a great number of men out of all partes. But *Lucullus* would geue him no leasure to prepare him selfe, but sent *Murana* on the one side to cut them by the way, and to ouerthrowe those that were assembled about him: and on the other side *Sextilius* to stoppe a great company of the *Arabians* that were comming to *Tigranes*, whom *Sextilius* set apon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in maner euery man. And *Murana* following king *Tigranes* at the heeles, spied an occasion to geue the charge as he passed a long and narrow valley, in the bottom whereof the way was very ill, and specially for an armie of such a length: & taking the opportunity, set apon the reterward, which *Tigranes* perceiuing, fled straight vpon it, making all his cariage to be thrown downe in the way before the enemies to stay them. There were a great number of the *Armenians* slayne in this ouerthrow, and moe taken. Those things hauing thus successe, *Lucullus* went to the citie of *Tigranocerta*, the which he besiegeth round. In that citie were a maruelous number of *Grecians* that had bene brought thither by force out of *Cilicia*, and many of the barbarous people also whom they had vsed in the like forcible maner, as they had done the *Adiabians*, the *Assyrians*, the *Gordienians*, and the *Cappadocians*, whose townes and cities *Tigranes* had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reason whereof, this city of *Tigranocerta* was full of golde and siluer, of mettels, statues, tables and pictures, because euery man (as well priuate, as Princes and Lords) studied to please the king, to enrich and beautifie this city, with all kindes of furniture and ornaments fit for the same. And hereupon *Lucullus* straightened the siege as much as he could, perswading him selfe that *Tigranes* would neuer suffer, that it should be taken, but (though he had otherwise determined) yet for very anger would present him battell, thereby to enforce him to raise his siege. And surely he guessed right, had it not bene that *Mithridates* had dissuaded him by expresse letters and messengers that he should in no case hazard battell, and perswaded him rather to cut of the vittells on all sides from the *Romanes* with his horsemen. The selfe same counsell and aduise did *Taxiles* (the Captaine whom *Mithridates* sent) geue him in his campe, and prayed him very earnestly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the *Romanes*. *Tigranes* patientlie harkened to their reasons at the first. But when the *Armenians* were come, and all the force of the contry besides, and the *Gordienians*, and that the kinges of the *Medes* and of the *Adiabians* were come also with all their power, and that on thother side there came a maruelous great host of the *Arabians* that dwell apone the sea of *Babylon*, and a multitude of the *Albanians* from the *Caspian* sea, and of the *Iberians* their neighbors, besides a great company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by the riuier of *Araxes*, some comming freely to doe him pleasure, other for their penions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table nor in counsell, but of assured hope of victorie, and of great braggies and barbarous threatmings, so that *Taxiles* was in great daiger of him selfe, because he was against the determination taken in counsell for geuing of the battell. Now was it thought that *Mithridates* did enuy the glory of king *Tigranes*, and therefore did thus dissuade him from battell. For which respect *Tigranes* would not so much as tary for him, and because also *Mithridates* should haue no parte of the honor of his victory: but went into the fild with all this great army, vauing amongst his famili-

Lucullus sent Sextilius against Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius slew Mithrobarzanes and ouerthrew his force. The city of Tigranocerta built by Tigranes.

Lucullus besiegeth Tigranocerta.

Taxiles persuaded Tigranes not to fight with the Romanes.

The praede
saying of Ti-
granes.

Tigranes
whole armie:
two hundred
three score
thousand
men.

Lucullus army
against Ti-
granes.

liars as they reporte, that nothing grieved him but one, that he should fight with *Lucullus* alone, and not with all the other *ROMANE* Captaines. Now this brauery was not so fond, nor so farre out of square, but that there was great likelyhoode of it when he saw so many fundie nations about him, so many kinges that followed him, so many battells of armed footemen, and so many thousande of horsemen. For he had in his army of bowmen and slinges onely, twenty thousand: five and fifty thousand horsemen, whereof fuentene thousande men of armes, armed from toppe to toe, as *Lucullus* him selfe wrote vnto the Senate: and a hundred and fifty thousand armed footemen, deuied by ensignes and squadrons: of pyoners, carpenters, masons, and such other kinde of handy craftes men, to plaine wayes, to make bridges to passe ouer riuers, to stoppe streames, to cut wodde, and to make such kinde of workes, of this sorte of people, the number of five and thirty thousand, who followed in battell ray in the reward of the army, making their campe seme farre greater, & by so much the more stronger. When *Tigranes* shewed on the toppe of mownt *Taurus*, and that they might plainly see his whole army from the city, and that him selfe also might easily decerne *Lucullus* armie that besieged *Tigranocerta*: the barbarous people that were within the cite were so glad of this fight, that they made wonderfull shewes of ioy, and great clapping of handes, threatening the *ROMANES* from their walles, and shewing them the army of the *ARMENIANS*. *Lucullus* in the meane time fate in counsell to consider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his siege, and goe with his whole armie vndeuided against *Tigranes*. But others liked not that he should leaue so great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he should raise his siege. *Lucullus* made them aunswere, thar neither of them both did counsell him well, but both together did counsell him right. Whereuppon he deuied his armie, and left *Murena* at the siege of *Tigranocerta* with sixe thousand men: and he with foure and twenty cohorts (in the which were not aboute tenne thousand armed footemen) and all his horsemen, with a thousand bow men and slinges or thereabouts, went towards *Tigranes*, and camped in a goodly broad field by the riuers side. The *ROMANES* seemed but a handfull to *Tigranes* campe, so that for a while *Tigranes* parafysed but a may game of them to sporte withall. For some mocked them to scorne, other drewe lottes, and played away their parte of the spoyle, as if they had already wonne the fildie: and euery one of the kinges and Captaines came and offered them selues to *Tigranes*, and besought him euery man for him selfe, that he would geue him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would please him to sit by in some place to see the sporte. *Tigranes* then, because he would shewe that he could be as pleasaunt as the rest, spake a thing known to euery man. If they come as Ambassadors, quod he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but fewe. And thus they played vpon the *ROMANES*, and tooke their pleasure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, *Lucullus* brought all his men armed into the fildie, and put them in order of battell. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on thother side of the riuier towards the East, and by chaunce the streame of the riuier turned sodainly towards the West, where there was a better ford to passe ouer. Wherefore *Lucullus* marching with his army by the riuers side, following the streame to meete with some forde, halting to get ouer, *Tigranes* thought he had marched away, and called for *Taxiles*, and sayd vnto him, laughing. Doe thou thinke *Taxiles*, those goodly *ROMANE* legions, whom thou prailest to be men so inuincible: howe they fle away now? *Taxiles* aunswere the king againe. I would your good fortune (O king) might worke some miracle this day: for doubtlesse it were a straunge thing that the *ROMANES* should fle. They are not wont to weare their braue cotes and furniture vpon their armor, when they meane onely but to marche in the fildes: neither doe they carie their shieldes and targets vncafed, nor their burganets bare on their heades, as they doe at this present, hauing thrown away their leather cafes and coverings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we see so bright and glittering in our faces, is a manifest signe that they intend to fight, and that they marche towards vs. *Taxiles* had no sooner spoken these wordes, but *Lucullus* in the view of his enemies, made his ensigne bearer turne sodainly that caried the first Eagle, & the bands tooke their places to passe the riuier in order of battell. Then *Tigranes* secretly comen to him selfe, as out of dronkennes: cried out alowde twise, or thrise, come they then to vs? But then

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The ordering
of Tigranes
battell.

Arri blacke or
vntoforme
dye.

Lucullus bat-
tell with Ti-
granes.
Lucullus ar-
mor.

Lucullus fa-
mous victorie
of Tigranes.

Tigranes
Right.
Tigranes dia-
deame taken
by Lucullus.

was there no small sturre and tumult, to put such a world of people into battell. The king *Tigranes* him selfe vndertooke to leade the middle battell, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the *ADRIANIANS*, and the right vnto the king of the *MEDES*: in the which were the most parte of the complete armed men, who made the first front of all the battell. But as *Lucullus* was ready to passe the riuier, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wish him to take heede that he fought not that day, because it was one of those which the *ROMANES* thought vnforgunate; and call them *Atri*, to say, blacke: for vpon one of those dayes, one *Cepus* was overthrowen in a set battell with all his army by the *CINIBES*. But *Lucullus* gaue the a pretty aunswere againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (sayd he) for the *ROMANES*. It was the sixteenth day of the month of October. And so with those wordes encouraging his men, passed ouer the riuier, and went him selfe the foremost man, and marched directly towards his enemy, armed with an apina of Steele, made with scalloppe shelles, shining like the sunne, & vpon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding his sword drawn in his hand: to let his men vnderstand, that they must sodainly ioyne with their enemies, and fight at the swordes pointe, that were not acquainted to fight but a farre off with shotte and slinges, and that he would so quickly winne the distaunce of grounde they had to marche ere they could ioyne, that they should haue no leasure to shoote. And furthermore, perceiving that the strength of their men of armes (whereof they made so great accompt) was ranged in battell vnder a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and quen, and the way vp the hill not passing foure furlonges trauaill, and not very hard nor steepe to clime: he sent thither certaine horsemen of the *THRACIANS* and *GAULES* which he had in pay, and commaunded them to geue a charge on the flanke to disorder them, & assay to cut their launces, with their swordes. For all the strength of these men of armes consisteth in their launces, and they can do nothing for them selues, nor against their enemies, they are so heauely armed and loden: so as it seemeth they are locked vp in their armor, as in an iron prison. And he him selfe therewithall taking two ensignes of footemen, stroue also to gaine the toppe of the hill, his souldiers following him hard at the heeles with a notable corage, because they saw him the foremost man trauailing a foot, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten vp to the toppe, he itayed a litle in the highest place he could finde, and then cried out with a lowd voyce: oh companions, the victory is ours. And as he spake those wordes, he ledde them against these men of armes, commaunding them they should not medle with throwing of their darts, but taking their swordes in their handes they should strike at their thighes and legges, because they haue no other partes of their bodies naked. Howbeit there was no need of such fight, for they taryed not the *ROMANES*, but with great crying out turned their horse heades immediatly, and ranne cowardly (them selues and their horses, heauie armed as they were) through the middlest of the bandes of their footemen, before they had striken a stroke. And thus were so many thousandes of men broken without any stroke striken, or any man hurt, or one drop of blood seene to be spilt. But the great slaughter was, when they beganne to fle, or (to say better) when they thought to fle: for they could not fle, they ranne so one upon an others necke by reason of the maruelous length and bredth of their battells. *Tigranes* amongest the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, & seeing his sonne running the same fortune, flying as him selfe did, tooke of his diadeame or royall bande from his head, and gaue it him weeping, commaunding him to saue him selfe as well as he could by some other way. But the young prince durst not put it on his head, but gaue it to one of his truly seruantes to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought vnto *Lucullus*: so that amongest the other spoyle and prisoners, there was taken *Tigranes* diadeame. It is thought that there were slaine at this ouerthrow, aboute a hundred thousand footemen, and very few of all the horsemen saued. On the *ROMANES* side, there were aboute a hundred hurt, and fiewe slaine. *Antiochus* the Philosopher speaking of this battell in a treatise he made of the gods, wryteth that the sunne neuer saw the like ouerthrow. And *Strabo* an other Philosopher in a certaine abridgement he made of stories sayd, that the *ROMANES* were ashamed, and laughed at them selues that they had drawn their swordes against such dastardly slaues. And *Timo Linius* declareth also, that the *ROMANES* were neuer in any battell with so small a number of fighting

BBB

*Lucullus
praise.
Two passages
kings out-
come by con-
trary means.*

*Lucullus took
Tigranocerta.*

*Lucullus im-
pose and ci-
uility.*

*Zarbiennus
king of the
Gordienians
slaine by Ti-
granes.*

men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerers were not in all the world the twentieth parte (nothing like) of those that were ouercome. Wherefore the oldest and best ex-
perienced Captaines of the ROMANES did highly commend *Lucullus*, because he had ouer-
come two of the greatest & most mighty Princes of the world, by two sundry contrary meanes,
the one by tract and delay, and the other by speede and swiftnesse. For he vndermyned and con-
sumed *Mithridates*, by holding backe, & delaying, at that time when all his strength was whole
and to the contrary he destroyed *Tigranes* with great speede and haste. And thus did he that,
which few Captaines could euer do: that is, vied delay of time to execute, and valliant expe-
dition to winne the victory. This was the cause why *Mithridates* made no hast to come to the
battel, thinking still that *Lucullus* had vied his wonted policy, to delay and geue backe alwaies,
and therefore he came by small iorneyes vnto *Tigranes* campe. But meeting at the first with a
fewe of the ARMENIANS, that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he
straight mistrusted the ouerthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them naked &
fore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seeke out *Tigranes*, whom
he found alone, forsaken of his men, and in very poore estate, yet did not he requite *Tigranes* in
aduersity with that pride and disdain he had vied him before in his miserie: but lighted of his
horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gaue him all his officers, and traine
of a kings court that followed him to serue him, comforting him, & exhorting him to plucke
vp his hart againe, and to be coragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leauied a frethe of
the whole force & power they could from all the partes of their dominions. In the meane season,
there fell out great sedition in the city of *TIGRANOCERTA*, betwene the GRECIANS and the
barbarous people: for the GRECIANS, they would haue yeelded vp the towne into *Lucullus*
hands. Whereupon, *Lucullus* geuing an assault to the city at that very instant, wanne it, & se-
ised vpon the kings treasure there, leauing all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which,
besides all other riches, there was eight thousand talents in ready money. And yet besides all
that, he gaue of the spoile that was won ap^{on} the enemies, eight hundred Drachmas vnto euery
souldier. And vnderstanding that there were diuers musitians, common players, minstrels,
and such kinde of people meete for feastes and sporte, whom *Tigranes* had sent for thither from all
partes, to dedicate the Theater he had made in his city: he caused all the to serue at the sportes
and feastes of this victory. After the solemnization whereof, he sent the GRECIANS home
againe vnto their contry, and gaue them money to defraye their charges by the way, and the
barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their natie contries. And so
it fortuneth, that by the desolation and destruction of a city forsaken, many others were built
again, and stored with people: because those cities had thereby recouered their naturall in-
habitants againe, who euer after did loue & honor *Lucullus*, as their benefactor and founder. All
other things prospered also, according to his vertue and merites. For *Lucullus* liked better the
praise that came of bounty, of iustice, and of clemencie: then that came by force of mai-
shall prowes & cheualry. For in deedes of armes, he sayd his army partly deserued praise, and
fortune also caried the best parte away: but the praise of the other, were onely due vnto him
selfe. Whereby he shewed the valor of an excellent good man, well taught and trained vp in
vertue: and so reaped the frute of his worthy deserts. For by those good partes, he wanne the
hartes of the barbarous people in such sorte, that the kinges of the ARABIANS came of good
will to put them selues and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the SOPHENIANS
also yeld them selues vnto him. The GORDIENIANS in like manner, they liked *Lucullus* so well,
that they would willingly haue forsaken their cities, houses & contry, to follow him with their
wives & children vpon this occasion. *Zarbiennus* king of these GORDIENIANS, as we haue re-
cited before, had priuily entred amity with *Lucullus*, by meanes of *Appius Claudius*, who could no
longer away with the tyranny of *Tigranes*. This practise was bewrayed vnto *Tigranes*, who put
Zarbiennus, his wife, & children to death, before the ROMANES maine army came into the con-
try of ARMENIA. Howbeit *Lucullus* did not forget it, but passing through his realme, gaue him
very royall funeralles. For hauing heaped vp a huge pile of wodde, sumptuously set out with
cloth of gold and siluer, & other rich spoiles of *Tigranes*: he him selfe in person, would needes
set it a fire, and made the funerall effusions and accustomed sprincklings at burialsles, with his
friends

A friendes and kinfemen, doing him this honor, as to call him friend and confederate of the Ro-
MANE people, & appointed also a great summe of money besides to erect a sumptuous tombe
for him. For they found great store of gold and siluer in the kinges castell, and there was pleny
of prouision allof three hundred thousand buhells of wheate: the which did enrich his
souldiers maruelously, and made *Lucullus* to be wondered at, that hauing received not one
Drachma from the sparing coffers at ROME, he had notwithstanding made the warre enter-
taine it selfe. About the selfe same time also, the king of the PARTHIANS sent Ambassadors vn-
to him to offer him his friendship and allyance: which *Lucullus* willingly accepted, and sent
Ambassadors fro him also of acceptation, who made report to *Lucullus* at their returne, that
the king of the PARTHIANS stood doubtfull how to resolue which parte he should take; and
that secretly he sent vnto *Tigranes*, to aske the realme of MESOPOTAMIA for his reward to aide
him against the ROMANES. *Lucullus* being truly enformed of the king of PARTHIAES double
dealing, determined to leaue *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as two enemies wearied & ouercome,
& a litle to proue the force & power of the PARTHIANS by making warres vpon the, thinking
it great honor vnto him, if he might discomfit and ouerthrow three so mighty kings one after
another, like a valliant conqueror that had ouercome three famous Captaines together, and
had passed through the contries of three of the greatest Princes vnder the sunne, alwayes a
conqueror, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto *Sernadinus* and other
of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of PONTVS, that they should repaie
to him with all speede with the bandes they had vnder their charge, for that he was determi-
ned to departe out of the contry of GORDIENIA, to go against the PARTHIANS: howbeit his
purpose altered by occasion. For his Lieutenantes that had many times before founde their
souldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commaundements, knew plainly then their cancred
souldiers & incorrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by
any compulsion or perswasions they could vie: but contrarily they cryed out, and tolde them
plainly, that they would no longer tary where they were, but would goe home to their contry,
and leaue the realme of PONTVS without gard or garrison at all. And further, that worst of all
was, when these newes were brought to *Lucullus* campe, they gaue a full example of boldnes
to his souldiers there, to mutiny in such sorte, hauing good will and disposition thereunto
of themselves before. For their purses being full, and they acquainted with finenes, were become
so dull and lasie, that they could endure no paines nor hardnes of warres, but desired to liue in
all idleness and ease. And hearing the reporte of their fellows stourenesse, called them iustice
laddes, saying, they must needes take the like course, and doe as they taught them, vaunting
of their good seruice of long time done, which well deserued leaue nowe to departe home with
safety, and thenceforth take their rest. *Lucullus* hearing of this their talke, & many other their
words worse, and fuller of sedition then these: brake of his enterprise against the PARTHIANS,
and went againe in the midst of sommer to meete with *Tigranes*. But when he was come to
the top of mount Taurus, it grieved him to see the fields so full of wheate yet standing, which
came by the season of the year, and coldnes of the ayer, being so lacke and slowe in all those
partes. Neuertheles, he came downe into the valley, and at two or three skirmishes ouerthrow
the ARMENIANS, that ventured to abide his coming downe. And ranne ouer all the valley,
and destroyed the whole contry, without let or stoppe of any man, taking away the prouision
of come that was made for *Tigranes* campe: wherby he straightened his enemies vnto that neede
and necessity of vittells which him selfe feared, & yet ceased not to prouoke them (by all other
meanes) to come to battell. Sometime enclosing their cape with trenches about, as if he ment
to famish them: sometime againe destroying and spoyling the whole contry before their face.
But because they had so ofte bene discomfited, they would no more stirre; nor once moue a-
gainst him. *Lucullus* perceiuing that, in the end raised his campe, & went and layed siege vnto
ARTAXATA, the chiefe city of the kingdom of ARMENIA, in the which were *Tigranes* lawfull
wives & young children, hoping that *Tigranes* would rather hazard an other battell, then suf-
fer that city to be lost. It is sayd that *Hannibal* of CARTHAGE (after king *Antiochus* was ouer-
throwen in battell by the ROMANES) went vnto king *Artaxerxes*, whom he taught many necessa-
ry and profitable things for his realme: & amongst other, considering that one of the good-

*Lucullus pri-
uately to goe
against the
Parthians.
Lucullus found
diuers full so
mutiny.*

*Full purses, &
ease maketh
mutinous
souldiers.*

*Lucullus be-
sieged Artaxata,
the chief
city of Arme-
nia.*

*Artaxerxes king
of Armenia.*

Hannibal
boulded Ar-
menia.

Armenia ft.

Lucullus or-
der of his ar-
my.

Other do read
in this place
against the A-
rmenians,
which are
people of Me-
dia.
Three kings
ranged in
battell.
Lucullus ma-
ked Tigranes
flye against.

The contry of
Mygdonia.
Nisibis, alijs
Antiochia, a
city of Myg-
donia.

lieft and pleasauntest places of all his kingdom lay wast, and no reckoning made of it, between a
plat of a city, brought the king thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The king liked
his deuise maruelous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to see the worke fini-
shed. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the kings name, *Armenia*;
and held euer after the reputation of the chieft place of the whole realme of *Armenia*,
Tigranes being aduertised that *Lucullus* went to laye siege thereunto, could not endure it, but
went with all his army to follow the *ROMANES*, and the fourth day came and camped hard by
them: insomuch as there was but the riuer of *Arfanias* betwene them, which the *ROMANES*
of necessite must passe ouer to goe to *ARTAXATA*. *Lucullus* hauinge first sacrificed vnto the
goddess, assuring him selfe of the victorie, as if he had it already in his handes: made his armie
passe ouer in order of battell, putting twelue cohortes in the fronte, and the other behinde,
fearing least the enemies hauing a great number of men of armes shoulde enuironne them at
their backes. They had against them also the *MARDIAN* bow men a horse backe, and the *LUB-
RIANS* with their lances, in whom *Tigranes* trusted more then in any other, as in the best foot-
diers he had in pay: and yet for all that they did no notable seruice. For when they had skirmi-
shed but a little with the horsemen of the *ROMANES*, they durst not tarie the legionaries or
footebands that came behinde them, but disperfed them selues, some flying one way, some an-
other, which intified the *ROMANES* horsemen to follow the chafe. But when the men of armes
that were about *Tigranes* perfon, sawe the horsemen so scattered abroad, they began straight
to breake vpon the footemen. *Lucullus* seeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly
they were armed and appointed, being somewhat affrayed thereof: sent in hast to call in his
horsemen that followed the chafe, and in the meane time him selfe marched foremost against
these Lordes and Satrapes, which were in the fronte before him with all the nobility of their
hoast, whom he put in such a feare, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned
taile and fled. There were three kings ranged in battell one hard by another, howbeit of the
three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly, was *Mithridates* king of *PONTVS*, who had
not the hart so much as to abide the cries of the *ROMANES*. The chafe was very long: for it
continued all night vntill such time as the *ROMANES* were wearied with killing, taking of pri-
soners, and packing vp of all kindes of spoyle. *Titus Livius* sayeth, that there were flaine moe
men in the first battell: but greater personages in the seconde, and the chieft of the enemies
were all taken. After this battell *Lucullus* hart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to
goe further into the contry, euen vtterly to destroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the
equinoctiall autumnne, (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that sea-
son haue thought) there fell out so great a cold, that for the most part it did nothing but snow:
and if the element did any thing cleere, then frose it so hard, that the horse could come by no
water, the riuers were so extremely congealed with ice. And there could no man passe ouer
by forde: for they did not so soone enter, but the ice brake, and cut the vaines & sinewes of the
horse legges a sunder, they were so hard and thicke withall. And furthermore, the contry be-
ing full of trees, woddes and forrestes, and the wayes very narrowe, not being able to passe by
the fieldes, they were through wet with snow that fell vpon them: & when they came to their
lodging, then it was worfe, for there were they constrained to lye in soft & moyst places. And
therefore the souldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refused to goe a-
ny further. And first they sent their Collonnells and Captaines to intreate *Lucullus* to leaue of
this iorney. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in trowpes, and in the night time
beganne to murmur and groyne in their tents (which is a certaine signe and token of a mi-
nious armie, that hath a minde to rebell against their Generall) although that *Lucullus* vsed all
gentle perswasions to winne them with patience to abide this iorney, at the least, till time they
might take the cite of *CARTHAGE* in *ARMENIA*: to thende they might there destroy the
worke and memory of the greatest enemy that euer the *ROMANES* had in this world, meaning
Hannibal. But when he saw all this would not preuaile, he brought them backe againe, & pas-
sed ouer mount *Taurus* an other way, and came downe into the contry called *MYGDONIA*, a
very hotte and fertile fylde, where there is a great city, and maruelously replenished with in-
habitauntes: who call it *NISIBIS*, and the *GRECIANS* call it *ANTIOCH*, of *MYGDONIA*. In
that

A that city *Gouras* was *Gouernor*, who was *Tigranes* owne brother: but for experie in engines
of battery, and for sufficiency and skill in such matters, there was *Callimachus* also, he that so
matroulously troubled *Lucullus* before at the siege of the city of *AMISVS*. *Lucullus* placing his
campe before this city, besieged the same by all such meanes as might enforce it, and that lo
valliantly, that in very (horre) time he took it by assault. And as for *Gouras*, who submitted him
selfe to *Lucullus* mercie, he was very curteously intreated. But for *Callimachus*, he would not
once heare him speake, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would saue his life, he would
tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but him selfe onely. But
Lucullus commaunded them to bring him with gnyes to receiue the punishment he had iustly
deserued, for setting the city of *AMISVS* a fire, and taking from him the meane to shewe the
B *GRECIANS* his goodnesse, affection and liberality towards them. Vntill this present time, it
might be truly sayd, that good fortune euer fauored & followed *Lucullus* in all his enterprises
and affayres: but from that time forwards, it was quickly seene that the fauorable blast of for-
tune failed him, he did all his things with so great payne, and all that he did fell out contrarie
vnto him, and to very ill purpose. In deede he did euer hew the valiancy, patience, and great
courage that should be in a valliant Generall, or Lieutenant of an armie. But his exploits and
doinges had neuer after that easie grace, nor shining glory they were wont to haue: but to the
contrary, he was like to haue lost all that he had wonne before, through the misfortunes that
fell vpon him, and for the brawles and vaine contention he had with his people to no purpose.
But the worst was, that they make him selfe thonly author of all these euills, because he could
C not, or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multitude of his souldiers: thinking that
whatsoeuer a Generall, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them
he hath vnder his charge, is to dishonor him selfe, and to geue cause vnto his souldiers to de-
spise his authoritie. But that which made most against him was this: that he gaue no estima-
tion to gentlemen, and men of like quality to him selfe, but did disdain them, and thought them
vnworthy to be equall with him. For these they say were his faultes and imperfections, but o-
therwise that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes & good condicions that could be possi-
bly wished for, or desired. For he was a tall gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wise
and discreete, as well in matters of gouernment, as in warres: and as well to perswade the peo-
ple in peace, as to encourage his souldiers in warre. *Salustius* wryteth of him, that his souldiers be-
gan to mislike with him, euen from the first entry into these warres, because he made them lye
out two winters together in the field, one after another: the one before the city of *CIZICVS*,
and the other before the city of *AMISVS*. And euen as much did the other winters following
vexe and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies contry, or else if they lay in their
frendes, yet he made them campe abroad in the field, and shrowd them selues in their tentes:
for *Lucullus* neuer entred with his army into any city or confederate towne of *GRECE*. Now
if the souldiers of them selues misliked *Lucullus*, the counsellors at *ROME* that were his enemies,
and enuied his prosperity and glory, gaue them yet greater occasions to mutine against him.
For they continually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this warre in
length, purposely because he would alwayes haue occasion to rule, & meanes to get, hauing in
E his hands in manner all *CILICIA*, *ASIA*, *BITHYNIA*, *PAPHLAGONIA*, *GALATIA*, *PONTVS*, *ARMENIA*,
and all the provinces and regions as farre as to the riuer of *Phasis*: and yet he had not
long before spoyled the Princely houles of *Tigranes*, as if he had bene sent thither only to sack
and spoyle, and not to destroy & ouercome those kings. And they say that it was *Lucius Quin-
tius*, one of the Prætors, that spake these wordes. It was he also that most moued the people to
take order, that *Lucullus* should be called home, & other sent to succede him in the charge &
gouernment of the contries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane, it was also ordained: that
diuers which were vnder his charge, should be disperfed with all for their othes, and licenced
to leaue the warres when they thought good. But besides those & such like great causes, there
was yet another more dangerous plague, & that most ouerthrew *Lucullus* proceedings, pas-
sing all the other euills being put together: and that was *Publius Clodius*, a wicked, licentious,
and a harebrained man. He was *Lucullus* wiues brother, and she was so light of her body, that
Clodius her brother was accused of incontinencie with her. This *Clodius* being at that time in

Lucullus sa-
kerh Nisibis
by assault.

Callimachus
did set the ci-
ty of Amisus
a fire.
The intreatie
of Lucullus
good fortune.

Lucullus cause
of all his mis-
fortune.

Lucullus
fancie.

Lucullus ver-
mes.

The cause
why Lucullus
souldiers mis-
liked with him.

Lucullus army
euer lay in the
field, winter
and summer.

Phasis ft.

Publius Clo-
dus a wicked
man.

Publius Clodius stirred up the soldiers against Lucullus.

Lucullus campe, cared not that estimation and credit he thought him selfe worthy of. For he tooke him selfe equall with the best, and would needes haue bene holden for chiefe: when in deede there were many of farre better desert, he being noted both for a vicious and ill disposed person. Whereupon he beganne for sight to suborne the bandes called *Fimbrians*, and to stirre them vp against *Lucullus*, sowing sweete and pleasant wordes amongst the souldiers, which being wonted therunto, looked still to be flattered. For they were those whom *Fimbrius* had procured to kill the Consul *Flaccus*, and choose him in his steede for their Capitaine. By reason whereof they gaue good care to *Clodius* words, and called him a noble Capitaine, a louer of souldiers. For when he spake vnto them, he made as though he had pittied them, for that they should neuer see an end of their great paynes and warres, but should miserably consume their dayes in fighting continually, sometime with one nation, and sometime with another: and that they wandered through all the contries of the world, receiuing no worthy reward of so long and painfull seruice, seruing only to gard *Lucullus* cartes & camells laden with plate and vessell of golde, and siluer, and other precious stones. Where the souldiers that had serued vnder *Pompey*, tooke nowe their ease at home in their contry with their wiues and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly fayer cities, as rich burgeses and wealthy citizens: and yet they had not driuen *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* out of their kingdomes, into desert places vnhabitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houles of *Asia*, but only made a litle warre in *Spain* against those that were banished, & in *Italy* against fugitiue slaues. Shall we then sayd he, cary harmesse on our backs all the dayes of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped vntill this present, rescue our selues, our bodies & liues for that noble Capitaine, who esteemeth the greatest honor and glory he can achieve vnto, is to make his souldiers rich that serue vnder him? *Lucullus* army was so seduced and corrupted, with these munions and seditious accusations, that the souldiers would no longer follow him, neither against *Tigranes*, nor against *Mithridates*: who went presently out of *Armenia* into his realme of *Pontus*, and beganne to conquer it againe, whilest the *Roman* souldiers mutining against their General, remained idle in the prouince of *Gordiena*, excusing them selues by the winter season, & tarrying vntill *Pompey* or some other Capitaine should quickly come to raise the siege, and succede *Lucullus*. Notwithstanding, when they vnderstoode that *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus* Lieutenants, and that he went against *Sornatius* & *Triarius*: they were then ashamed of them selues, and became contented to be led by *Lucullus*. But *Triarius* in a brauery, when he heard that *Lucullus* drew neere, made hast to winne the victory, as if it had bene cocke sure before *Lucullus* came: and was him selfe ouerthrowen in a great battell, where some say there dyed aboue seuen thousand *Romanes*, amongst the which were a hundred and fifty centurions, & foure and twenty Captaines or Collonnells of a thousand men a peece, and yet besides, *Mithridates* tooke their campe also. Shortly after this overthrow, *Lucullus* came thither, who hid *Triarius*, whom the souldiers fought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when *Lucullus* was come, he prouoed sundrie meanes to procure *Mithridates* to battell: but *Mithridates* would not once stirre abroad, because he looked for *Tigranes* that came downe with a mighty power. Whereupon he determined againe to goe against *Tigranes* to fight with him, before *Mithridates* and he ioynd forces together. But as he was in his iorney towards him, the *Fimbrian* bandes beganne to rebella new, and would not follow his enignes, saying, and alleaging of them selues, that by decree of the people they had leaue to departe, and were discharged from their othe: and furthermore that *Lucullus* had no more to do to commaund them, considering that the government of the prouinces which he had, was geuen vnto others. *Lucullus* perceiving this, did so humble him selfe vnto them, supposing that way to winne them, as there was no kinde of vncomely humilitie but he submitted him selfe vnto it: in somuch as he went into their tentes to pray and intreate them one after another, with water in his eyes, and with fo great lowlinesse, as euen to shake handes with them. But they fiercely reiected all his curtesies and fayer intreaties, casting their pennyleffe purses before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, since he had with the spoile of them all so well enriched him selfe alone. Neuerthelesse, at the intercession and earnest request of the other soldiers, these *Fimbrian* bands were compelled to promise,

The Fimbrian souldiers forsake Lucullus.

Lucullus forced to humble him selfe to his rebellious souldiers.

A misse that they would yet tary all that sommer, so that if no man in the meane time offered them battell at the ende of the terme, they might go where they would. *Lucullus* was forced to accept this condicon, or else to remaine alone, & consequently to forsake the contry of the barbarous people. With much a do thus he kept them together, but in such sorte, as he durst no more venter to compell them to come to battell, contenting him selfe that they were willing onely to stay with him, being forced to suffer *Tigranes* in the meane time to destroy and ouerrunne the contry of *Cappadocia*, & *Mithridates* also to bragge againe, of whom he had before written to the Senate that he had vterly ouercome him: in somuch as there came commissioners & deputies from *Rome* by his owne procurement, to order the state of the realme of *Pontus* with him, as of a kingdom already wonne to the *Roman* Empire. But when they were come, they found him not master of him selfe, & that his owne souldiers flowted him, and did him all the spite and iniury they could. For they were so vnruely towards their Capitaine, and did so much disdain him, that when the end of the sommer was come, they armed them selues with armor and weapon, and drawing out their swordes in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the fildes: and after they had made the noyse and cryes accustomed when they ioynd battell, and made as though they fought, hurling and swinging their swordes in the ayer, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promised *Lucullus* to tary. On another side *Pompey* had written vnto the other souldiers that were yet in campe, to come vnto him: for through the peoples fauor at *Rome*, the practises and flatteries of the common counsellors there, he was substituted General in *Lucullus* place. Which much misliked the Senate and nobility: for they thought *Lucullus* greatly wronged to haue a succesor sent, not to succcede him in troubles and dangers, but in honor and glory of triumphe. And that they should compell him not onely to resigne vp the office of a General to another, but (for the good seruice he long time had done) the reward of his honor due for the same: and this also more misliked them, that were then about him. That so soone as *Pompey* was arrived in *Asia*, he tooke all power & authority from *Lucullus*, to punish or reward any man, for good or ill seruice done to the common wealth in those warres, & did moreover prohibite by publicke bills set vp in euery common place, that they should no more repaire vnto him, nor obey ought, that he, or any of the ten commissioners sent to dispose of the state of the prouinces wonne by him, should commaund or ordaine: and because *Pompey* came with a greater power and army then his, he was in some feare of him. Their friends thought good neuerthelesse they should meete together: and so they did inconuently, in a village of *Galatia*, where at their first meeting they saluted ech other very courteously, reioycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. *Lucullus* was the elder man, but *Pompey* of greater dignity, because he had bene General of the *Roman* people in many warres, & had already triumphed twise. The bundells of rodde which the sergeants caried before them, were wreathed about with lawrell branches for the victories they had both achieved: but *Pompeys* bundells were withered away, because they had come a longe iorney through hotte and drye contries. *Lucullus* officers seeing theirs withered, courteously gaue them of theirs fresh and new gathered: which *Pompeys* frendes tooke for a signe of good lucke. For to say truly, the things that *Lucullus* did in the time of his charge, were cause of the honor that *Pompey* afterwards wanne. Howbeit in the end for all their talke, they were no whit the better frendes: but departed thome from thother more straunge then they met. For *Pompey* by a plaine edict, brake, reuoked, and disannulled all *Lucullus* ordinaunces, and taking from him all his other souldiers, left him but only fixtene hundred to accompany his triumphe, and yet they followed him with vnwilling mindes: such was *Lucullus* imperfection & mayme, either by nature, or frowardnes of fortune, that he lacked the chiefe thing a General should haue, which was, to be beloued of his souldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongst many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimity, wisdom, iudgement, & iustice: the riuier of *Euphrates* had not bene the vtermoost confines of the Empire of *Rome* on *Asia* side, but it had extended as farre as the sea *Hyracane*, yea euen vnto thutmost parte of the world. For king *Tigranes* had already conquered the other nations that lye beyonde that, sauing the contry of *Parthia*, which then was not so great nor stronge, as it appeared afterwarde in

The Fimbrian souldiers carie out the sommer, open edicon to departe when sommer was done.

Pompey, Lucullus succesor in Asia.

Injuries offered Lucullus by Pompey.

Lucullus and Pompey meeting.

Mistakinges betwene Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus not beloued of his souldiers.

Craſſus time: nor fo ioynd and knit together, but (what through ciuill diſſentions amongſt them at home, and forrein warres of their neighbors abroad) was ſo weake, that with ſmall difficulty they could defend themſelues from the *ARMENIANS*, that continually harried them out of their ſkinnes. But to take things rightly as they be in deede, me thinks that *Lucullus* did more hurt vnto his contry by other, then he did benefit the ſame by him ſelfe. For the tokens of triumph and victories which he wanne in *ARMENIA* ſo neere vnto the *PARTHIANS*, the cities of *TIGRANOCERTA* and of *NISIBIS* which he had ſacked and ſpoyled, the great treaſure that he brought to *ROME*, and the *Diademe* alſo of *Tigranes*, which was thewedin triumphe as a priſoner with the reit: moued *Craſſus* with ſuch a maruelous deſire to paſſe into *ASIA*, as if all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an aſſured ſpoyle, and a purpoſed pray vnto all thoſe that would come to take them. But *Craſſus* ſarre otherwiſe, finding him ſelfe galled and troubled with the arrowes of the *PARTHIANS*, knew then by prooſe, that *Lucullus* had not ſo much overcome his enemies for that they wanted ſkill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wiſedom and valiantnes. But that ſhalbe ſcene hereafter. Furthermore, *Lucullus* being now returned to *ROME*, found firſt of all his brother *Marius* accuſed by one *Gaius Memmius*, for that he had done in his office of treaſurer, in *Sylla*es time, and by his commandment, whereof he was cleared by ſentence of the iudges. But *Memmius* of ſpight turned his anger againſt *Lucullus* ſelfe, ſtirring vp the people againſt him, and letting them vnderſtand that *Lucullus* had kept backe and robbed much parte of the treaſure, which ſhould haue comen to the common wealth, and that to worke his ſeate the better, had prolonged theſe warres as he did: wherefore he perſwaded them ſtarty to deny him the honore of his triumphe. And truly *Lucullus* was in great daunger to haue loſt it vnto: but that the noble men of the city, and they that were of greateſt authority, intermeddled them ſelues with the tribes when they came to paſſe it by voyces of the people, whome they intreaced ſo much through ſute and perſwaſion, that in the end, with much a doe, the people ſuffred him to enter the city in triumphe. So *Lucullus* made a triumphant entry, nor terrible nor troubleſome for the long ſhewe or ſight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he brought thither with him, as many other Capitaines had done before him. For he cauſed the ſhowe place (which they call *Circus Flaminius* at *ROME*) to be ſet out and furniſhed chiefly with armor and weapons of the enemies to a maruelous number: and with the kinges engynes and inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleaſant ſight to behold. And in this ſhow, there was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, tenne cartes of warre armed with ſythes that paſſed by, and three ſcore of the chiefeſt frendes and Capitaines of the two kinges that were led priſoners through the city. And there were alſo drawn after them, a hundred and tenne gallies all armed in the prooues with ſtrong ſpurs of copper, and a ſtatue of *Mithridates* all of cleane gold, ſixe foote high, with a rich target ſet with pretious ſtones. Beſides all that, there were twenty cubberds as full of ſiluer plate as could be, and thirty cubberds full alſo of golden veſſell, armor and coyne of gold, caried vpon mens ſhoulders. After them followed eight mules laden with golden beddes, and ſixe and fifty other mules that caried ſiluer bullion, & a hundred & ſeu en other moyles that caried ſiluer coyne, amounting to the ſumme of two hundred three ſcore and tenne thouſand ſeſtertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of accompt caried alſo, wherein were particularly written the ſummes of mony which *Lucullus* had deliuered before vnto *Pompey* for the warre againſt pyrates on the ſea, & vnto the treaſurers and high treaſors, to put into the ſparing coffers of the common wealth at *ROME*. And afterwarres in an article by it ſelfe, that he had geuen nyne hundred and fifty Drachmas to euery ſouldier by the polle. After the ſhewe of this triumphe was ended, he made a generall feaſt, in the which he feaſted all the city and villages thereabouts, which the *ROMANES* call *Vicos*. And afterwarres forooke he his wife *Clodia* for her vnchaſt and wanton life, and married *Servilia Caſca* ſiſter: howbeit he wanne nothing by the exchange, for he ſped as euill with the ſeconde, as he did with the firſt. For, ſauing that ſhe was not ſlandred with thineſt of her owne brethern, otherwiſe ſhe was as diſhoneſt and vnchaſt as *Clodia*: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers ſake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as he had done *Clodia*. Nowe when he had filled the Senate with a maruelous hope and expectation of him,

Craſſus deſire to conquer Aſia upon fight of Lucullus triumphe. See the life of Craſſus that ſuccedde he had. Lucullus reuerſe to Rome.

Lucullus triumphe.

Lucullus forſakeſ Clodia and marieth Seruilia Caſca: ſiſter, as vnchaſt as Clodia.

A thing (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withſtande *Pompeys* tyranny, and to withſtand and maintaine the authority of the nobility and Senate againſt the people), for that by his noble deedes he had atchieued ſo great fame and reputacion, he ſodainly gaue ouer all deliſhings in thaffayres of the common wealth: either becauſe he ſawe it ſo beſt, being a hard thing now to keepe it from ruine: or elſe (as other ſayd) for that he felt him ſelfe ſufficiently furniſhed with honor and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to liue quietly all at his eaſe, after ſo great paynes, trauailes and troubles, the end whereof fell nor out ouer fortunately. And ſurely ſome were of his minde, and liked this great change of his maruelous well: becauſe he did not as *Marius* did, neither happened on the ill ſuccelle and end that *Marius* had. For *Marius* after the notable victories which he brought from the *CITIZENS*, and after his valliant actes in warres which had won him great honor, yet would he be ſo leaue of, when he might haue bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an vnſatiable minde, and ambitious deſire to rule and beare ſway, (being withall a very olde man) went and ſorted him ſelfe amongſt young men deſirous of gouernment, who brought him not only to comit many outrages, but made him ſelfe alſo to ſuffer greater cruelties. It is thought alſo that *Marius* had ended his aged courſe more happily, if after he had quenched *Catiline* coſpiracy, he had then taken his eaſe. And ſo had *Scipio* in like caſe, if when he had ioynded *NUMANTIA* vnto *CARTHAGE*, he would then haue quieted him ſelfe. And therefore, ſome ſay, that there is a certaine reſolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wiſe man ſhould medle any more with thaffayers of the common wealth: no more then a man whole youth & ſtrength is gone and decayed, is any more fit to iuſt, wreſtle, or enter into ſuch exerciſes of the body. But contrarily, *Craſſus* and *Pompey* mocked *Lucullus*, becauſe he gaue him ſelfe ſo much to pleaſure and paſtime: as if to liue pleaſantly, & delicatly did not worke become his age, then to comend an army, or to gouerne thaffayres of a common weale. And for my parte, reading *Lucullus* life: me thinks that I read an auncient comedy, the beginning whereof is tedious, & the latter end ioyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you finde notable exploits done by him in warres, and great good gouernment alſo in peace: but in the end they all turned into feaſts, and banquetts; and lacking litle of maſkes and mommeries, dauncing with torches, and all other ſuch delights fitte for young men. For I bring within the compaſſe and reckoning of his finches and pleaſures, his ſumptuous buildinges; his ſtately walles and galleries, his home houſes and ſtoutes, his tables and pictures, his ſtatues alſo: and the great workmanſhippe and curioſitie he had beſides of all other cartes by him, gotten together out of all partes to his infinite charge; abuſing therein the world of goodes and treaſure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwiſe. In ſomuch, that notwithstanding exceſſe and ſuperfluity hath euer ſince increaſed vntil this preſent time, yet they reckon the gardens *Lucullus* made, to be the moſt ſumptuous and delicateſt places that the Emperors haue. And therefore *Tubero* the Stoike Philoſopher, hauing ſene theſe ſtately works which *Lucullus* had cauſed to be made neere vnto *NAPLES*, by the ſea ſide, (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged vpon vawtes) and great ditches caſt by force to make the ſea paſſe and runne through his houſes, to keepe fiſh therein, and lodgings alſo that he built in the ſea it ſelfe: he called *Lucullus*, *Xerxes* the gownman, as if he would haue ſayd, *Xerxes* the *ROMANE*. For eu en ſo did *Xerxes* in olde time cauſe the mountaine *Athos* to be cut in ſunder, and a channell to be digged there to paſſe his ſhippes through. He had alſo many other pleaſant places within the territories of *ROME*, neere vnto *THESELYUM*, where there were great large halles ſet vpon tarraſſes to ſee rounde about farre off in the day time. And *Pompey* going thither ſometime to ſee him, reproved him greatly, telling him that he had built a maruelous ſayer ſommer houſe, but not to be dwelt in, the winter ſeaſon. *Lucullus* laughing, answered him: doe ye thinke me to haue leſſe wit and reaſon then ſtorkes or cranes, that I can not ſhift houſes accordinge to the ſeaſon? An other time there was a Prator of *ROME*, that makinge playes to ſhewe the people paſtime, ſent vnto *Lucullus* to borrow certaine purple clokes to ſet forth his players. *Lucullus* made him aunſwer, that he would cauſe his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demanding of him, how many he ſhould neede: the other aunſwered, that a hundred would ſerue his turne. Whereupon *Lucullus* told him againe, he would

Lucullus genneth ouer gouernment of the common wealth.

Lucullus buildinges and pleaſures.

Lucullus gardens of greateſt eſtimation.

Lucullus called Xerxes the gown man. Xerxes cut through the mountaine Athos, & made a channell for his ſhippes to paſſe thorow.

*Lucullus cu-
riosity & ex-
cessiveness
and service.*

*Cato saying
of Lucullus.*

*Certaine say-
ings of Lu-
cullus.*

*Lucullus ha-
ving dinner
laid ap-
pointed every
hall his cer-
tain rate of charge
of diet.*

furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therefore the Poet *Horace* writing of this story, addeth to a notable exclamation against superfluity, saying: that men think themselves poore house, where there is no more riches then necessary, and where there is not more than appeareth in sight, and that the master knoweth of. He was a vain man in his ordinary service at his borde, not only in that his beddes whereon he fedde, were covered with rich pettes of purple, and him selfe served in gold and silver vessel set with precious stones, but there was dauncing, musike, plays, and other such like pastimes of ordinary; but also for that he was continually served with all sortes of fine dainty dishes, with workes of paltrey, banqueting dishes, and frute curiously wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondered at of men of simple vnderstanding and meane condicon. Therefore was *Pompey* marvellously esteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sicke, and that the *Philistia* had willed him to eate of a thruse. For when his seruants told him they were hard to come by in sommer, but at *Lucullus* house where they brought them vp all the yeare through: he would in no wise they should aske any of him, but sayd vnto his *Philistia*. What if *Lucullus* were not geuen to pleasure: could not *Pompey* liue? And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more easily come by. *Cato* was *Lucullus* friend & kinsman both, and yet he so much disliked his manner of liuing and ordinary expence: that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpose) touching meane dyet, sobriety, & temperance of life: *Cato* could no longer abide him, but rose vp, and sayd vnto him. What wilt thou not leaue babbling to vs all day: thou that art riche as *Craesus*, that liuest as *Lucullus*, and speakest as *Cato*? Other affirme that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not *Cato* that spake them: neuertheless it is certaine, by the notable sayings they haue gathered of *Lucullus*, he did not only delight to liue so delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some wryte that he feasted certaine *Grecians* many dayes together in his house, that were come out of *Greece* to *Rome*; and that they being men brought vp with the sobriety and simplicity of *Greece*, after they had bene feasted there diuers times, were ashamed, & refused to goe thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to *Lucullus*, supping that he had made them this great chere for their owne sakes. *Lucullus* hearing of it, told them: my Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that. In deede I must needs graunt that there is somewhat more then ordinary, to welcome you with all: but I tell you truly, the most paine is for *Lucullus* sake. An other time when he supped all alone, and his men had layed but one bord, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his steward to know why he was served so: the steward answered him. My Lord, because I sawe you fende for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What, sayd he againe: knewest not thou that *Lucullus* should suppe to night with him selfe? In fine, *Lucullus* fare was commonly known through *Rome*, that there was no talke but of *Lucullus* noble housekeeping. Whereupon, *Cicero* and *Pompey* being desirous to see the prooffe thereof, came one day to him in the market place seeing him at pleasure: (for *Cicero* was *Lucullus* very good friend, and *Pompey* also; and though there was some iarre betweene them for matters of warres, he did not let for that to come vnto him, and to speake gently one to another) and *Cicero* after he had saluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, sayd he, with all my hart: I pray you come to me. Well then, sayd *Cicero*, *Pompey* and I will come and suppe with you to night, with cōdicion that you prouide no more then your ordinary. *Lucullus* told them againe, they should then fare but badly, and therefore it were better they taried till to morrow. But they would none of that, nor no suffer him to speake with his men, for feare he should cōmaund them, to provide somewhat more then for him selfe. Neuertheless, at his desire, they suffered him only in their presence alowde to tell one of his men, that he would suppe that night in *Apollō*: (for so was one of his most stately and sumptuous halles of his house called) and with that word only finely deceived them both, and they neuer found him. For every halles had his certaine summe and rate appointed for the charge and expence of euery supper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and seruice for the same. So that when his seruants had their watche worde but in what halles he would suppe, they knewe straight what charge he would be at for his supper, & what orders should be obserued therein. Now *Lucullus*

marcer

*Philistia Lucullus
supper treat
in Apollō.*

*Lucullus his
library.*

*Lucullus la-
ued Philoso-
phie.*

*Antiochus of
Ascalon an e-
loquent rebor-
nian.*

*The opinion
of the Aca-
demicks.*

*Marcus Craf-
sus, Cato,
Lucullus, a-
gainst Pom-
pey.*

*Lucullus and
Cato against
Pompey.*

*Pompey,
Craesus, Ca-
sar, conspired
together a-
gainst the
State.*

*Cicero calleth
him Lucius
Pestius, how-
beit it may be
that he was a
Brutian borne.*

Antiochus was to spende when he made any feast in the halles of *Apollō*, fifty thousand pence, and that the day the supper was prepared according to that value: inso much as *Pompey* marvelled howe it could be possible that a supper of so exceeding great charge could be so sodainly prepared: In such things therefore did *Lucullus* laudably and riotously spend his goodes, like people in deede gotten of slaues and barbarous people. But that specially which he bestowed in goodly trariffes & fayer walks, or other pleasant places thereabouts conuenient to stand reason together, and neuer shut dore against them: where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the *Muses*, being very glad when other matters were dispatched, they had so much leasure as but to goe thither. And *Lucullus* selfe would also many times be amongst them, in those trariffes and pleasant walks, delighting much to talke with them: and he did euer helpe to dispatch them that had any busines with him, and graunted the thing they requested of him. To conclude, his house was a common receite for all them that came from *Greece* to *Rome*. He loued all manner of Philosophy, and refused no sect of the same. But from his youth vpward, he euer loued & esteemed best the *Academicke* sect, not that which they call the new *Academicke* (although it florished at that time through *Carneades* workes, which *Philo* made such estimation of) but the old *Academicke*, which the Philosopher *Antiochus* of the city of *Ascalon* did defende and maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rethorician and well spoken, whom *Lucullus* sought to win by all means to make him his friende, and to haue him in house with him: because he might inuey against *Philo*s hearers and followers, whose scholler *Cicero* among the rest was, that wrote a notable booke against this olde *Academicke* sect. And in the same he reciteth *Lucullus*, maintaining the opinion of the old *Academicke*: who hold, that a man may certainly know, and comprehend something, and called that *Catalepin*: but *Cicero* defended the contrary. The booke is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we haue rehearsed before) very good friendes, and had both one selfe desire for government in the common wealth. For *Lucullus* did not so withdraw him selfe from matters of state, that he would no more medle at all, nor heare speake of them: but he betimes gaue ouer all ambition & contention, as a thing of no small daunger, & breeding great reproache and dishonor to *Marcus Craesus*, and *Cato*, to be chiefe in authority. And these two were they that defended the Senate, and whom they raised vp to withstand *Pompey*s greatnes, being affrayed of him, after that *Lucullus* had refused the chiefe place of authority. But otherwise, *Lucullus* would be in the marketplace at courtes and common counsells, to pleasure his friendes when they requested him: and would goe to the Senate also, when there was occasion to breake any new practise, or to ouerthrowe *Pompey*s ambitious policie. For he ouerthrew all the orders and constitutions that *Pompey* had made, after he had overcome the kinges, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: to and with the helpe of *Cato* hindered a distribution of money which *Pompey* had wrytten for to *Rome*, to be bestowed amongst his souldiers. Whereupon *Pompey* fell in friendship, (or to speake more plainly, in conspiracy) with *Craesus* and *Cesar*, by whose helpe and assistance, he besieged *Rome* with armes and souldiers: and made the people by force to passe and confirme what he would haue done, after he had violently expelled *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the market place. Whereat the noble men were much offended, and misliking the great wrong they had offered *Lucullus* & *Cato*, *Pompey*s followers suborned a *Brutian*, and said he was taken lying in waite to kill *Pompey*. Whereupon the sayd *Brutian* being examined by the Senate, named certaine: when he came before the people, he named *Lucullus*, saying that he had hyered him to kill *Pompey*. But no man beleued him. For they perceiued openly in the market place, that he was procured by them selues falsely to accuse *Lucullus*, & *Pompey* other aduerfaries. And this was procured more plainly within few dayes after, when they threw the body of this *Brutian* dead in the midst of the streete, out of the prison: who they say dyed of him selfe with sickness. Howbeit the markes being plainly seene of the halter wherewith they had strangled him, and the stripes appearing also which they had geuen him: did plainly shew that they them selues

did it, whom after they had suborned to accuse *Lucullus*, they flue in this manner. This was the cause why *Lucullus* did more the before absent him selfe from meddling in publicke causes: but after, when he sawe that they had so wickedly exiled *Cicero*, and found meanes also to suborn *Cato* farre enough of, vnder pretenced colour to fende him with charge into the Ile of *Cyprus*: then he gaue vp altogether. Some wryte that a litle before his death, he was not poore in his wittes, decaying through age by lide & lide. Howbeit *Cornelius Nepos* sayth, that he was not for age, nor sickenes, that his wittes did alter: but through payson which one of his flauers had geuen him, whom he had made free, called *Callisthenes*: who gaue it him, not of any ill intent, but bicause his master should loue him the more, supposing that this payson had power to make him loue him. But he troubled his wits so much with this payson, that *Lucullus* while he liued was faine to haue his brother *Marcus* to ouersee his goods. Notwithstanding this, while he was dead, he was as much bewayled and lamented of all the people, as if he had dyed in his best credit, and greatest prosperity. For all the people ranne to honor his funeralles, and his body was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citie. The people would not in any case haue buried him within the field of *Mars*, as they had before buried *Sylla*. But bicause no man thought of it before, and also for that things necessary were not easily to be provided for the place: his brother *Marcus* be sought the people they would be content his funeralles might be at a towne of his owne, neere vnto the city of *Thysclvum*, where his tombe was prepared, and he him selfe liued not long time after. For as *Lucullus* both in age, and honor, had not left him farre behinde him: so did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwayes dearly loued him, he could not then long liue, and suruiue him.

Lucullus fell out of his wits before his death.

Callisthenes poisoned *Lucullus* whereof he dyed.

THE COMPARISON OF *Lucullus* with *Cimon*.



Lucullus death blessed.

Nothing (in my opinion) made *Lucullus* more happy, then to dye when he did, before he sawe the chaunge & alteration of the comon weale, which the fatall destinies plagued the *ROMANES* withall, with sedition & ciuill warres: and that he dyed in his contry yet enjoying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was likest vnto *Cimon* about all other things: who died whilest the *GRECIANS* were in good loue and peace with other, and not in broyle of discorde and ciuill warres. In dedde *Cimon* dyed in his campe, being Generall of his contry, at the siege of the city of *CITIVM* in *CYPRVS*, not withdrawn to his home, as one wearied, liuing idly, or leading a voluptuous life in feastes and banquettes, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphes: but as *Plato* said, (when he wisely blamed and reprobred *Orpheus*, who promifeth perpetuall drunkenes in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that liued well in this life) merily. And truly it is a

great

A great comfort and contentation of minde, for an old man feeble with age, and compell'd by weaknes, to withdraw him selfe from the world, as well in matters of gouernment, as in peace, as in warres: and quietly to passe his time in studie, where delight is ioyned with benefit contemplation. But to finish his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleasure, at another end, and moreover, to grow old by pleasure and vanity, islempling of *gambles* all the rest of his life: after he hath made such warres, & commanded such armies, that mens mindes thinke a thing vnworthy of an honest *ACADIVCKE*, and altogether vnmeet for one professing old *ACADEMICK* doctrine, but fit rather for a man geuen ouer altogether to *Epicurus* discipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be considered of in these two men, that the ones youth was altogether virtuous and reproachfull, and thothers to the contrary, honest and vertuous. But he is the better that chaungeth for the better: & that nature is alwayes more commendable, in which a vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young; then that which by continuance of time becometh still the contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one selfe means: but they did not both the like vie their riches. For it were to no purpose to compare the buildings of the walls that standeth south within the castell of *ATHENS*, which was built with the money *Cimon* brought thither: with the fine built chambers, and high raised turrets to gale a farr, & continued about with conduits of water, which *Lucullus* erected by *NAPLES*, with the spoyles of the barbarous people. Neither is *Cimon*'s table also of moderate fare & dyet, but yet open to any man comparable to *Lucullus* borde: which was sumptuously furnished, and shewed the greatness of his Lord. For *Cimon*'s bord fed many mouthes daily with a small charge: and *Lucullus* table exceeded in expence, to feede a few, with superfluous dainties. Onlesse they will say, that time caused this difference betwene them. But who can tell, if *Cimon* had bene at leasure to haue withdrawn him selfe to quiet in age from gouernment, and armes, he also would not haue ledde a more sumptuous & dissolute life, geuen to all pleasure, then *Lucullus* did? For of his owne nature he loued wine, banquettes, and playes, and was also geuen to women, as we haue told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate successe of things doe bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises: that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine desires. And therefore had *Lucullus* dyed abroad in the warres, whilst he commanded armies: there had not bene that liuing man, how curious soeuer he had bene to reprove other mens faultes, that could haue detected him of any reproachfull vice.

D And thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres, no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by sea as by land. And like as in games of prize and exercises of body which are shewed in *GRACE*, they that in one selfe day winne the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a straunge custome, not conquerours only, but victors also, to honor them withall: euen so me thinke that *Cimon* in like case hauing in one selfe day crowned *GRACE* with two notable markes of triumphe, for two battels he wanne, the one by sea, and the other by lande, deserueth to haue some place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreover, *Lucullus* receiued the authoritie to command, of his contry and common weale: but *Cimon* gaue his contry both authority & ability to command. *Lucullus* found his contry a commanding people to all their friends and confederats: through whose aide he ouercame his enemies. And *Cimon* contrarily found his contry marching vnder an others ensigne, and through his vallianties did so behaue him selfe, that he made his city goe before her confederats, and triumphe ouer her enemies: compelling the *PERSIANS* by force to geue them the rule by sea, and pettwarding the *LACEDEMONIANS* willingly to geue place vnto them by lande. Now if the chiefe thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make him selfe to be beloued of his fouldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was *Lucullus* despised of his fouldiers, & *Cimon* esteemed and wondred at, euen of the confederates them selues. For *Lucullus* was forsaken of his owne men: and *Cimon* was followed by very straungers, for the confederates did ioyne together with him. *Lucullus* returned home into his contry, forsaken of those he caried out with him. *Cimon* returned againe, finding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his contry three notable things, & hard for them to haue compassed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, geuen them authority & rule of their confederats, and ioyned frendshippe with

Cimon was victorious obtained in one day.

Great difference betwixt *Cimon* & *Lucullus*.

CCC

Grane magi-
strates, resem-
bled by similitu-
dine vnto
good Surgeons.

Mithridates
king of Pon-
tus, dyed in
the realme of
Bithynia.
Tigranes king
of Armenia,
submitteeth
himselfe to
Pompey.

the BACEDÆMONIANS. Both of them vnderooke to destroy great Empires, and conquer all ASIA. But neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his death, which cut him off on the Iodaine being General, and when his affaires prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or because he would not satisfie the complaints & griefes of his men, which caused them so much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be layd also, that in this fault he was like vnto *Cimon*: who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his countie for the space of tenn yeares, because that in tenn yeares space (as *Plato* sayth) they should no more heare him speake. For to say truly, it seldom times happeneth, that the graue wittes of noble men do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common people. be- cause they strining continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieue them as much, as surgeons doe their patients when they binde vp their sores with bandes to cure them. For though by that binding they restore & bring to their natural places againe the broken bones or members out of ioynt: yet put they the patient to great paine and griefe. And therefore me thinks neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, *Lucullus* wet a great deale further with his army, then euer *Cimon* did. For he was the first ROMANE Capitaine that passed ouer mount Taurus, and the ruer of Tigris with an army. He tooke and burnt almost in sight of both the kinges, the royall cities of ASIA, TIGRANOCENTA, CABIRA, SINOPE, and NISIBIS. Towards the north, he went as farre as the ruer of Phasis: towards the east, into MEDITERRANEAN and fourthward, euen to the redde sea, and vnto the realmes of ARABIA, subduing all vnto the ROMANE Empire. And hauing ouerthrowen all the power of these two mighty kinges, he tooke from them all, but their persons only: who fled and hid them selues like wild beastes, in infinite deserts and vnpassable forrestes. Wherein is easily discerned the difference betwixt the doings of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor overthrow at all by *Cimon*, fought a battell immediately after against the GRECIANS, & ouerthrew the greatest parte of their army in EGYPT: where *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, after *Lucullus* victories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding him selfe altogether pulled downe on his knees, and broken by the former battells: durst neuer once only shew his army vnto *Pompey*, out of the strength of his campe, but fled into the realme of BOSPHORVS, where he dyed. And *Tigranes*, he went and humbled him selfe on his knees, vnarmed, and without weapon, vnto *Pompey*: and taking his diadem of from his head, layd it at his feete, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for those which *Lucullus* had triumphed for. By reason whereof he escaped good cheape, & thought him selfe happy, when *Pompey* gaue him only the mark and tide of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the more worthy Capitaine, & stowest champion, that leaueth his enemy in weake estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwarde with him. And furthermore, *Cimon* found the power of the king of PERSIA ouerharried, the pride and fiercenesse of the PERSIANS layd a grounde, by many great battells they had lost before vnto *Themistocles*, king *Pausanias*, & *Lerychides*, who had ouerthrowen them: and going now againe to fight a fresh with them, it was an easie thing to overcome the bodies of those, whose hearts were already vanquished. Where *Lucullus* to the contrary, assailed *Tigranes*, that had neuer bene overcome, but bare a marvellous lofty minde with him, for the many great battells and conquestes he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betwene those that *Cimon* ouerthrew, & those that were ranged in battell against *Lucullus*. So that all things weyed and considered, it were hard to iudge which of them two proued the worthiest man: for that it seemeth, that the goddes did fauor both the one and the other, telling the one what he should doe, and the other what he should not doe. And thus it appeareth by testimonie of the goddes, they were both good men, and that they both obtained euermlasting glorie.

The end of *Lucullus* life.

THE

THE LIFE OF Nicias.



HAue reason (as I thinke) to compare *Nicias* with *Craffus*, and the effects that happened to the one in PARTHIA, with those that befell the other in SICILE: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my wrytings, not to thinke me in entermiddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, *Thucydides* hath gone beyond him selfe, both for variety & liuelines of narration, as also in choice & excellent words) to haue the like intent and opinion; that *Timaeus* the historiographer had. Who, hoping by the grauity & life of his words and reportes; to darken the glorie of *Thucydides*, and make *Philistus* (in comparison of him selfe) appeare ignoraunt, & without any grace of historicall narrations) hath in his history of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battells by sea and by land; and the reporte of those speches and orations, which are deliuered by them with great iudgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neere them whose he commends to passe, as doth the footeman to the LYDIAN coche, as layth *Pindarus*; and besides this, with him selfe foed and of small iudgement, or as *Diphilus* layth,

A lubber laden with Sicilian greafe.
And in diuers places, he falleth into *Xenarchus* follies. As where he sayth, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the ATHENIANS, that *Nicias* the Capitaine (whose name was deriued of this word NICE, signifying victory) disfrayed their attempts against SICILE: and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the *Hermes* (to say, the images of *Mercury*) it was fore-
C showed that they should receiue great ouerthrowes by the General of the SYRACUSIANS, called *Hermocrates*, the sonne of *Hermion*. And further, that it was not vnlilkely that *Heracles* did fauor the SYRACUSIANS, by reason of the goddesse *Proserpina*, (protector and defender of the citie of SYRACUSA) to requite her for that she gaue him *Cerberus* the dogge, portor of hell; and that he did malice the ATHENIANS besides, because they tooke the WESTERNES partes: (who came of the TROYANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promise and faith with him, whose citie him selfe had ouerthrowen in reuenge of the wrong that *Laomedon* king of TROY had offered him. Howbeit *Timaeus* shewes as much wit and iudgement, in deliuering vs such toys in an history: as he doth in correcting the stile of *Philistus*, or in condemning and railing of *Plato* and *Aristotle*. But in my fantasie, this ambition & contention to wryte

The praise of
Thucydides.

Timaeus fol-
loweth.

Timaeus re-
proacheth *Plato*
and *Aristotle*.

CCC ij

Nicias a
quell.

Nicias, a si-
mular man.

The nature of
the people.

Nicias lib-
erality & ma-
gnificence.

or to speake more clerkely then others, sheweth alwayes a base enuious minde, like a scholer full of his schoole pointes. But when it striueth with thinges that are past all challenge & correcting, then is it extreme follie and madnes. Sence therefore I may not passe ouer nor omit certain thinges, which *Thucydides* and *Philistus* haue already set downe, and especially those wherein they lay open *Nicias* nature and qualities, which the variety of his successes and fortune did couer. I must lightly touch them, and reporte so much as is necessary, & conuenient, least men condemne me, for slouth and negligence. And in the rest I haue endeouored to gather and propounde thinges not commonly marked and knownen, which I haue collected as well out of sundry mens workes & auncient recordes, as out of many olde antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will serue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of *Nicias* therefore may be sayd that which *Aristotle* hath written of him: that there were three famous citizens of *ATTENS*, very honest men, & which fauored the comūnalty with a naturall fatherly loue: *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, *Thucydides* the sonne of *Milobius*, and *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*. But of the three, this last was of smallest account: for he is flowred as a forrenner borne in the Ile of *Ceos*, and chalenged besides for incontinēt & irresolute in matters of state and government: and inclining sometimes to one faction, sometime to another, he was called *Cathurnus*, a kinde of buskin indifferently seruing for both legges, and in old time was vsed of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, *Thucydides* being the elder, did many good actes in fauor of the nobility against *Pericles*, who alwayes tooke parte with the inferior folke. *Nicias* that was the younger, had reasonable estimation in *Pericles* life time: for he was ioynd Captaine with him, and oftentimes also had charge by him selfe alone without him. After *Pericles* death, the nobility raised him to great authority, to be as a strong bulwarke for them, against *Cleons* insolency & boldnes: and with all, he had the loue of the people, to aduance and preferre him. Now this *Cleon* in troth could do much with the people, he did so flatter and dandle them, like an olde man, still feeding their humor with gaine: but yet they them selues whome he thus flattered, knowing his extreme couetousnes, impudency, and boldnes, preferred *Nicias* before him, bicause his grauity was not feuer nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modesty, that he seemed to feare the presence of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and esteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearefull & mistrustfull nature & disposition: in warres he cloked his feare with good fortune, which euer fauored him alike in all his iorneyes and employes that he tooke in hand, where he was Captaine. Now being much affrayed of accusers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the citie, was founde to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good will of the people: and by meanes thereof rose daily more and more, bicause the people commonly feare those that hate them, & aduance them that feare them. For the greatest honor nobility can do to the commūnalty, is to shewe that they doe not despise them. Nowe *Pericles*, who through his perfit vertue only, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole state & common wealth of *ATTENS*, he needed no counterfeite colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to winne their fauor and good willes: but *Nicias* lacking that, and hauing wealth enough, sought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauor. And where *Cleon* would enterraine the *ATTENIANS* with pleasaunt toyes and deuisies, and could feede the peoples humor that way: *Nicias* finding him selfe no fit man to worke by such encounter, crept into the peoples fauor with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with such like sumptuousnes, exceeding in cost and pleasaunt sportes, not only all those that had bene before him, but such also as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his consecrating vnto the goddesses the image of *Pallas* in the castell of *ATTENS*, the gilt being wome of: and the chappell which is vnder the festiuall table of *Bacchus*: for he many times had the chiefe prise in *Bacchus* daunces, & neuer went away without some game. And touching this matter, there goeth a reporte that at certaine playes whereof *Nicias* defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth upon the players stage before the people, apparelled like *Bacchus*, & being a goodly tall young man, without any heare on his face, the *ATTENIANS* tooke such pleasure to see him so attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. Therewithall *Nicias* stood vpon, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leaue the body of a man in bondage, that

openly

A openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon forthwith made this young flauie a free man. Men wryte also of certaine sumptuous and deuout actes he did in the Ile of *DELLOS*, where the daunfers and fingers which the cities of *GRACE* sent thither to singe rimmes and verses in the honor of *Apollo*, were wont before to arriue disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ranne to see them, who made them singe straight without any order, and landing in hast out of their shippes, they left their apparell, and put on such vestements as they should weare in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heades, all at one present time. But *Nicias*, being commaunded to go thither to present the fingers of *ATTENS*, landed first in the Ile of *RENIA*, hard adioyning to the Ile of *DELLOS*, with his fingers, his beates for sacrifice, and with all the rest of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had caused to be made at *ATTENS*, vpon measure taken of the channell, betwext the one and thother Ile set out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with nosegayes and garlandes of triumphe, and with excellent wrought tapistry: which in the night he set vp vpon the channell, being not very broad, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his fingers to passe ouer upon it, singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, euen vnto the very temple of *Apollo*. And when the sacrifice, the feast, and games that were to be played were finished, he gaue a goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered vp to *Apollo*, bought landes besides that cost him tenne thousande Drachmas, which he consecrated also vnto the god *Panion* of the Ile: and ordained, that the profittes of the same should be yearely bestowed by the *DELTIANS*, upon an open sacrifice and feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and prosperity of *Nicias*: and so caused it to be wrytten and grauen upon a pillar he left in *DELLOS*, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offspring, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palme tree being broken by windes, it fell upon the great image of the *NAXIANS* gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremony and act of his, there was a maruelous pompe, & great shew of popular ambition: neuer thelesse, he that shall consider of his life and actions, may easily perswade him selfe that aboute all he did it of very pure zeale & deuotion, and secondly, to geue pleasure and pastime to the people. For by *Thucydides* reporte of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly geuen to religion. We finde wrytten in one of the dialogues of *Palsphoon*, that *Nicias* did sacrifice dayly to the goddesses, and kept a soothsayer continually in his house, geuing out abroade, that it was to counsaile with him what should happen about the assayres of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquier of his owne busines, and specially of his mynes of siluer. For he had many great mynes about *LAVRION* side, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great danger, and he was driuen continually to kepe a maruelous number of slaues at worke there. The most parte of *Nicias* riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many crauers and hangers on him, whome he gaue money vnto: for he gaue as well vnto wicked people that might doe mischief, as vnto them that deserved reward, and were worthe of his liberalitie. Thus was his feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was also a reuenue to the good: and hereof the comical Poets doe deliuer vs auncient testimony. For *Teleclides* speaking of a certain informer sayth thus:

E
Charicles did refuse to geue one Mina for to stay,
 The brating of his secret birth, conueyed close away:
 But Nice, the sonne of *Nicerate*, did willingly bestow,
 A brace of Minaze dole told. And though I will doe know
 The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him beuoyse:
 For why? The man is my good friend, and wisse I dare well say.

And he, whom *Eupolis* mocketh in his comedy intituled *Maricas*, bringing a plaine simple man upon the stage, doth aske him:

The informer.

F
 How long is it a goe since thou didst speake with *Nicias*?

The plaine man.

I saw him standing euen right now vpon the market place.

The informer.

*This man affirms he saw him there. And wherefore should he say
He saw him, but of some intent his leuades to beuoyay?
Now first ye see how Nicias here is taken in the trap,
For all his walking close in cloudes to geue the priuy slip.*

The Author.

*O foolish folke, suppose ye that so good a man as he,
In any fault or shamefull fact will tardy take be?*

And Cleon threatening in the comedie of *Aristophanes*, intitled the Knights, sayth these words.

*The Orators if by the throte I take,
Then sure I am, that Nicias streit will quake.*

Phrynichus selfe also telleth vs glaunsingly, that he was so timorous and easie to be frayed, when he sayd speaking of an other man:

*A good stout man (I know full well) he was,
And not a coward like to Nicias.*

*Nicias was
not so offende.*

Now *Nicias* being thus timorous of nature, and fearing to geue any litle occasion to the Orators to accule him: kept him selfe so warely, that he neither durst eate nor drinke with any man in the city, nor yet put forth him selfe in companie to talke, or passe the time amongst them, but altogether auoyded such sportes and pleasures. For when he was in office, he would neuer out of the counsaile house, but still busied him selfe in dispatching causes, from morning till night, and was euer the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of state in hande, then was he very hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no access vnto him, but kept close in his house: and some of his frendes did euer answerre them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, saying, that he was busie then about affayers of the common wealth. One *Hieron*, whom *Nicias* had brought vp in his house, and had him selfe taught him both learning & musike, was his greatest procurer and instrument to keepe him from speech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnes and grauity. This *Hieron* (as it is reported) was the sonne of *Dionysius Chalcus*, of whom they finde certain Poeticall workes at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of men that were sent to dwell in *ITALIE*, did build there the cite of *THYRIE*. *Hieron* I say did ferue his turne, and holpe him secretly to inquier what he would vnderstande of the Soothsayers, and gaue out these wordes among the people: that *Nicias* led too miserable and painefull a life, for the ouergreat care he tooke to serue the common wealth: inso much, as though he were in his hotte house to wash him, or at his table at meate, his minde ranne still of some maten about the common wealth, and to serue the state, did neglect his owne priuate affayers: so that he scant beganne to sleepe & take rest, when others commonly had slept their first sleepe, and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was growen crabbed and vncourteous, euen to such as before had bene his familiar frendes. So that, sayd he, he loseth them together with his goodes, and all for seruice of the common wealth: where others grow rich, and win frendes, by the credit they haue to be heard of the people, and can make mery among them, and sporte with the matters of state which they haue in their handes. Now in troth, such was *Nicias* life, that he might truly say that which *Agamemnon* spake of him selfe in the tragedie of *Euripides*, called *Iphigenie in Aulide*.

Nicias life.

*In our ward shew of state ly pompe all others I exceede,
And yet the peoples vnderling I am in very dede.*

And *Nicias* perceiuing that the people in some things did serue their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, & wiser then others, although they yet mistrusted their sufficiency, and had a speciall eye to them, plucking downe their corage, by taking their authority from them: as for prooffe the condemnation of *Pericles*, the banishment of *Damon*, and the mistrust they had of *Antiphon* *RHAMNYSIAN*, and moreover by that they did vnto *Paches* (that tooke the Ile of *LESBOS*) who being brought before the iudges in open counsell to geue vp an accompt of his charge, drewe out his sword, and slue him selfe in presence of them all.

Nicias

A *Nicias* I saye, remembering these examples, sought euer to flee from these offices; which were either too great, or too smal, and when he accepted any, had speciall regard to worke surely, & to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily coniecture, prospered maruelous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisdom, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiencie, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the goddess, contented him selfe to lessen his glory, and that onely to auoyde enuy. As the euent of thinges falling out euen in his time doe sufficiently witness vnto vs. For the cite of *ATHENS* hauing susteined many great losses and ouerthrowes, he was neuer a party, nor had ought to doe any of them. As once for example: the *ATHENIANS* were ouercome in the battell by the *CHALCIDONIANS*, howbeit it was vnder the leading of *Cabides* & *Xenophanes*, who were their Captaines. An other time, the losse they had in *ÆTOLIA* vnder the charge of *Demisthenes*. Moreover at *DELPHI*, a city of *BOEOTIA*, where they loske showlander men at one conflict, *Hippocrates* then being there Generall. And as touching the plague, the greatest number layed the fault thereof to *Pericles*, who by reason of warres kept the men that came out of the contry, within the walles of the cite of *ATHENS*: and so by chaunging of ayer, and their wonted maner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was *Nicias* euer burdened: but contrariwise he being Captaine tooke the Ile of *CYTHERA*, which the *LACEDÆMONIANS* inhabited, being an excellent place for situation to molest and destroy the contrie of *LACONIA*. He wanne diuers cities againe that had rebelled in *THRACIA*, and brought them once more vnder the obedience of *ATHENS*. At his first coming, hauing shut in the *MEGARIANS* within their walles, he tooke the Ile of *MIMORA*: and at his departure thence, shortly after wanne the haven of *Nisea* also. Furthermore, hauing in the contry of the *CORINTHIANS*, he ouercame them that offered him battell, and slue a great number, and among others *Lycophron* the Captaine. At this battell he chaunfed to forget to bury two of his men that were slaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering vp of the rest: howbeit so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his fleet to stay, and sent *Aristeul* to the enemies, to pray leaue to fetch away those two bodies. Now, though by law of armes they that sent to aske leaue to take away their deade to bury them, did thereby lose the honor of their victory, & were barred to set vp any marke or token of triumphe, bicause it seemed by the sute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the petitioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed none haue made demande of them: *Nicias* notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honor of his victory, then to leaue the bodies of two of his contrymen in the field without buriall. So, after he had destroyed all the coast of *LACONIA*, and had ouercome certaine *LACEDÆMONIANS* that came against him in battell: he tooke the city of *THYREA*, which the *ÆGIETES* kept at that time, whom he brought prisoners vnto *ATHENS*. And when the *PELOPONNESIANS* had prepared great armies both by sea and by land to besiege the forte of *PYLOS*, the which *Demophilus* the Captaine had fortified: battell being geuen by sea, it chaunfed there remained foure hundred naturall citizens of *SPARTA*, within the Ile of *SPAGERTIA*. Now the *ATHENIANS* thought it a noble exploitte of them, (as in dede it was) to take those foure hundred alie: howbeit the siege was very fore, bicause they lacked water euen in the middle of sommer, and were forced to fetch a maruelous compasse to bring wittells to their campe, which when winter should be once common would be very dangerous, and almost an impossible thing to doe. Whereupon, they then became sory, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambassadors of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* which came to them to treat of peace, and that they had (through *Cleon*s procurement) suffered them to departe in that sorte without resolution taken: who was against the altogether, only to do *Nicias* a despite, being his enemy, & did earnestly sollicite the matter the *LACEDÆMONIANS* requested. This was the cause why *Cleon* perswaded the *ATHENIANS*, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people saw that this siege drewe out in length, and that their campe suffered grieuous wantes and necessities, then fell they out with *Cleon*, and he againe burdened *Nicias*, saying that through his feare he would let the besieged *SPARTANS* escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not haue holden out so long. Thereupon the *ATHENIANS* sayd a lowde to *Cleon*: and why doest thou

*Notable aduise
duly by Nicias
considered.*

*The lawe of
armes.*

*Notable aduise
duly by Nicias
considered.*

*Notable aduise
duly by Nicias
considered.*

*Notable aduise
duly by Nicias
considered.*

*Notable aduise
duly by Nicias
considered.*

goe thither yet to take them? Moreover *Nicias* selfe alio rising vp, openly gaue him his authority to take this Pyle, and bad him leauy as many souldiers as he would to goe thither, and not to bragge with such impudent wordes where was no daunger, but to doe some notable seruice to the cōmon wealth. *Cleon* at the first thronke backe, being amafed withall, litle thinking they would haue taken him so sodainly at his word. But in the ende, perceiving the people vrged him to it, and that *Nicias* also was importunate with him: ambition so enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge upon him, but in a brauery sayd, that within twenty dayes after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the sword, or bring them prisoners vnto ATHENS. The ATHENIANS hearing *Cleon* say so, had more lust to laugh a good, then to beleue that he spake: for it was their maner euer to laugh at his anger and folly. For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being solēly assembled in counsell early in the morning, to heare what *Cleon* would say, & hauing taried long for him: at the lengthe came with a garland on his head, and prayed the assemblee to dismisse the courte till the next morning: for, quod he, I shall not be at leasure to day, because I haue sacrificed, and doe cast also certaine straungers my frendes that are come to see me. So the people burst out in a laughing, and brake vp thaisfembly. This notwithstanding, fortune fauored him at that time, & he badled him selfe so well in this charge with *Demosthenes*, that he tooke all the SPARTANS that they besieged, within the time he had appointed, sauing such as were slaine: and hauing made them yeelde, brought them prisoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to *Nicias* shame and reproache. For it appeared not only a casting away of his shielde, but worse then that, a voluntary forsaking of his prouince upon a base timorous minde, geuing his enemy occasion thereby to doe some noble exploit, depriuing him selfe of his honorable charge. Wherefore *Aristophanes* mocketh him againe, in his comedy of birds, saying:

It is not time to sleepe and linger still,

As Nicias doth: without good cause or skill,

Alloin in another place of his comedy of plowmen he sayth:

I faine would follow my husbandry, VVho lets thee? Mary you.

A thorow and Dragmace I will geue to be discharged now.

Of office in the common weale. Content, so shall you haue

Two thousand Dragmace iust, with those that Nicias lately gaue.

But herein *Nicias* did great hurt to the cōmon wealth, suffering *Cleon* in that sorte to grow to credit & estimation. For after that victory, *Cleon* grew to so haucie a minde & pride of him selfe, that he was not to be delt withall: wherupon fel out the occasiō of the great miseries that happened to the city of ATHENS, which most grieved *Nicias* of all other. For *Cleon* amongst other things tooke away the modesty and reuerence vsed before in publicke Orations to the people: he of all other was the first that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, & floong vp & downe the pulpit as he spake. Of which exiple afterwards followed all licentiousnes, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Orators & counsellors fell into, that delt in matters of state & cōmon wealth, & was in the end the overthrow of all together. In that very time began *Alcibiades* to grow to credit, by practise in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply euill: but as they say of the lande of EGYPT, that for the fumes and lustines of the soyle,

It bringeth forth both holseme herbes, and also myseme vveedes.

Euen so *Alcibiades* wit excellēg either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after *Nicias* was ridde of *Cleon*, he could not yet bring the citie of ATHENS againe to peace and quietnes. For when the common wealth began to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into warres, through *Alcibiades* extreme fury of ambition. And thus it beganne. The only peacebreakers and disturbers of common quiet generally throughout GREECE, were these two persones, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*: for warre clogged the wickednes of the one, and aduanced the valiancies of the other, geuing to either occasion to doe great mischiefes, and also opportunity to worke many noble exploitēs. Now *Cleon* and *Brasidas* being both slaine together at a battell fought by *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* straight perceiving the SPARTANS had long desired peace, and that the

ATHE-

ATHENIANS were no more so hottely geuen to the warres, but that both the one & the other had their hands full, & were willing to be quiet: deuised what meanes he might vse to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GREECE also from broyle and misery of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enioy a peaceable and happy life. The riche men, the olde men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to peace: and talking priuately also with diuers others, he had so perswaded them, that he cooled them for being desirous of warres. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they fought it: the SPARTANS beleued him, not onely for that they had founde him at other times very soft and courteous, but also because he was careful to see that their prisoners of SPARTA, (who had bene taken at the force of Pyle) were gently intreated, and had made their miserable captivity more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betwene the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a yeare, during which abstinence, they frequenting one another againe, and beginning to taste the sweetenes and pleasures of peace, and the safety of free access one to see another frendes that were straungers: began then to wishe that they might still continue in peace and amity together, without effusion of blood of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them singe such songs:

And let my speare lye ouer your ven, with dusty spyders webbes.

They did also with great ioy & gladnes remember him which sayd, that in peace no found of tromper, but the crowing of the cocke doth wake them that be a sleepe: and on the other side they cursed and tooke on with them that sayd it was predestined, the warre should continue thirle nine yeares. And so, vpon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an vniuersall peace throughout all GREECE. Now most men thought that surely all their sorowes and miseries were come to an ende, and there was no talke of any man but of *Nicias*, saying: that he was a man beloued of the goddes, who for his deuotion towards them, had this speciall gift geue him, that the greatest blessing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confesse a troth, euery man was certainly perswaded that this peace was *Nicias* worke, as the warre was *Pericles* procurement, who vpon light causes perswaded the GREECIANS to runne headlong into most grieuous calamities: and *Nicias* on the other side had brought them to become frends, and to forger the great hurtēs the one had receiued of the other in former warres. And euē to this present day, that peace is called *Nicias*, as who would say, *Nicias* peace. The capitulations of the peace were thus agreed vpon: that of either side they should alike deliuer vp the cities, and landes, which eche had taken from other in time of warres, together with the prisoners also: and that they should first make restitution, whose lot it was to beginne. *Nicias* (according to *Theophrastus* reporte) for ready mōney lecrely bought the lot, that the LACEDÆMONIANS might be the first that should make restitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that disliked of this peace, fought by the complaints they made, to renew the warre againe: *Nicias* then perswaded both the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, that they should adde for strength vnto their contry, the allyance & peace offensiue and defensiuē made betwene them, for a more sure know befrendshippe, wherby they might be the better assured the one of the other, and also the more dreadfull to their enemies that should rebell against them. These thinges went cleane against *Alcibiades* minde: who besides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy also vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that they fought to *Nicias*, and made none accompt of him: but despised him. Here was thoccafion that caused *Alcibiades* to proue from the beginning what he could doe to hinder this peace, wherein he preuailed nothing. Yet shortly after, *Alcibiades* perceiving that the ATHENIANS liked not so well of the LACEDÆMONIANS, as they did before, and that they thought themselves iniured by the, because they had lately made league with the BOEOTIANS without their priuity, and had not wholly rendred vp the cities of PASACTYM & AMPHIOLIS according to the condicions articulated betwene them: began then to enlarge and aggrauate the peoples complaints, and to make them offended with euery one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambassadors from the city, of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and to handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made league offensiue & defensiuē with them.

Nicias receiued the Spartans with the Athenians.

Nicias peace.

A iest of Cleon.

Cleon's victory of the Lacedæmonians.

The immediate liberty of Cleon.

Cleon's lead and lightestures in his Orations.

Alcibiades' diuers wit.

Cleon & Brasidas the two peacebreakers generally of all Greece.

*Ambassadors
sent for Spar-
ta to Athens.*

*Alcibiades
craft and de-
ceit.*

*Alcibiades
perjured.*

*The earth-
quake helps
Nicias.*

*Nicias sent
Ambassadors
unto Sparta.*

*The ruse of
the Ostraci-
sm.*

While these matters werethus in hand, there came to ATHENS also Ambassadors from CADEMON, with full power and authority to set all things at stay, and to compound all controversies: who having first spoken with the Senate, propounded things unto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, Alcibiades being affrayed that they letting the people understand so much, should thereby bring them to yeelde to what they desired: he finely deceiued the poore Ambassadors by this deuise. He promised apou his othe to helpe them in that they went about, so farre forth as they would not confesse them selues to haue absolute power from the Ephores: making them to beleue it was the only way to bring their matters to passe. The Ambassadors geuing credit to his wordes, relied apou him, and so forsooke Nicias. Whereupon Alcibiades brought them before the people being set in counsell, and there demanded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accorde all matters yea or no. Whereunto they made him aunswere with a lowde voyce, that they hadnot. Thereupon Alcibiades, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne othe and promise made vnto them: beganne to call the counsell to wimes, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, & so aduised the people not to trust nor geue credit vnto such men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lye, & that in one selfe matter would one while say one thing, an other while an other. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambassadors were much amazed to heare Alcibiades wordes: for Nicias him selfe wist not what to say to the matter, the suddenness of the cause did so confuse and grieue him, being a thing he least looked for. Nowe the people they were so moued besides, that they became indifferent whether to haue sent for the Ambassadors of ARGOS presently to haue made league with them or not: but there fell out an earthquake apou this matter, that greatly serued Nicias turne, and brake vp the assembly. The people meeting againe in counsell the next morning, Nicias with all that he could doe, or say, could scant withhold them from making league with the ARGIVES: and to get leaue in the meane time to go to the LACEDEMONIANS, promising he would make all well againe. Thereupon, Nicias going to SPARTA, was receiued and honored there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he preuailed nothing, and being ouercomen by those that fauored the BOEOTIANS, returned againe to ATHENS as he departed thence. Where he was not only ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, but was also in daunger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his request & counsell had redeliuered such men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For in deede, the prisoners which Cleon had brought to ATHENS from the sorte of Pyle, were all of the chiefe houses of SPARTA, and their kinsmen and friends were the noblest men of the city. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, sauing that they chose Alcibiades their Captaine, and made league with the ELIANS, and MANTINIANS (which had revolted from the LACEDEMONIANS) and with the ARGIVES also: & sent pyrates to the sorte of Pyle, to spoyle the contry of LACONIA. Vpon these occasions the ATHENIANS fell againe into warres. Now when the quarrell and contouersie was greatest betwene Nicias and Alcibiades, the Ostracism (to wit, the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people banished for tenne yeares any such of their citizens as they thought either of too great authority, or that was most eniued for his wealth and substaunce. Alcibiades and Nicias were then not a litle perplexed, considering their present daunger, being sure that thone of them who should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated Alcibiades himselfe, & were affrayed of his valliantnes: as we haue more amply declared in the description of his life. And for Nicias, his wealth made him to be eniued, besides they misliked his straunge manner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conseruant with the people than he was, and counted him too stately: moreouer they hated him also, because in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the people desired, & had enforced them against their willes to agree to that which was profitable for them selues. In fine to speake more plainly, there fell out great strife betwene the young men that would haue warres, and the olde men that coueted peace, some desirous to banish Nicias, and some others Alcibiades: but

*Where discord reignes in realme or towne,
The wicked vniu the chiefe remove.*

And

A And so fell it out then. For the ATHENIANS being deuided in two factions, gave authority to certaine of the most impudent & insolent periones that were in all the city: and among them was one Hyperbolus of the towne of PERITHVS, a man of no hauior nor value, why he should be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit & power, dishonouring his contry, by the honor they gaue him. Now Hyperbolus thinking him selfe free at that time from any daunger of banishment, (having rather deferred the gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him well enough that remained behinde: shewed openly, that he was glad of their discord and variance, and blisfully stirred vp the people against them both. Nicias and Alcibiades being acquainted with his wicked practises, hauing secretly talked together, ioynted both their factions in one: whereby they brought it so to passe, that neither of them was banished, but Hyperbolus selfe for tenne yeares. Which matter for the present time made the people very mery, though afterwarde it grieved them much, seeing their ordinance of the Ostracism blenshied by the vnworthines of the person which punishment was in his norvnto him. For this banishment was thought a meete punishment for Theophrastus, Aristides, and such like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for Hyperbolus, it was thought too greaue an honor, & too manifest an occasion of glory to be geuen to him, that for his wickednes had the selfe same punishment, which was to be inflicted vpon the chiefeest estates for their greaues: And the comical Poet Plato him selfe sayth in a place,

*Although his leuord behavior did deserue as much or more,
Yet was not that the punishment he should haue had therefore.*

C The Ostracism desired was for men of noble fame,
And not for warlers, whose leuord life deserued open shame.

After this Hyperbolus, there was neuer man banished with the Ostracism. For himselfe was the last, as Hipparchus CHOLARGIAN, and nearest kinsman to the tyranne, was the first. Sure fortune is a very vncerten thing, & without cōciet of reason. For had Nicias frankly put him selfe to the hazard of this banishment against Alcibiades, one of these two things must needs haue happened him: either to haue remained in the city with victory, his aduery being banished: or being conuict by his banishment to haue scaped those extreame miseries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the fame he had wonne of a wise Captaine, though he had bene ouercomen. I know notwithstanding that Theophrastus wryteth, how Hyperbolus not Nicias, was banished through the dissention that fell betwene Phaeax and Alcibiades: albeit most wryters agree with that I haue told you before. Now the Ambassadors of the EGESTANS and LEONTINES being comen to ATHENS, to perswade the ATHENIANS to attempt the conquest of SICILIA: Nicias being against it, was overcome by Alcibiades craft & ambition. For he, before they were called to counsell, had already through false surmises filled the peoples heades with a vaine hope & perswasion of conquest. Insomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, & the olde men also in artificers shoppes, and in their compassed chayers, or halfe circles where they fate talking together, were eury one occupied about drawing the platforme of SICILE, telling the nature of the SICILIAN sea, & reckoning vp the hauens and places looking towards AFRICKE. For they made not their accompt that SICILE should be the end of their warres, but rather the storehouse and armorie for all their munition and martiall prouision to make warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, and to conquer all AFRICKE, and consequently all the AFRICKE seas, euen to Hercules pillars. Now all their mindes being bent to warres, when Nicias spake against it, he founde very fewe men of quality to stand by him. For the riche, fearing least the people would thinke they did it to auoide charge, and the cost they should be at about these warres, they held their peace, though in dede not contented withall: yet would not Nicias leaue still to counsell the to the contrary. But when they had past the decree in counsell for the enterprise of SICILE, and that the people had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with Alcibiades and Lamachus, to follow the same: at the next session of the counsell holden in the citie, Nicias rose vp againe, to see if he could turne the people from this iorney with all the protestations he could possibly make, burdening Alcibiades, that for his owne ambition and perfitate commodity, he brought the common wealth into so farre and daungerous a warre. But all his wordes preuailed not. Him selfe before all o-

Hyperbolus:

*Nicias and
Alcibiades
agreed
against
Hyperbolus
banished for
tenne yeares.*

*The taking
away of tenne
yeares banish-
ment.*

*Nicias chosen
Captaine for
the warres of
Sicile.*

thers was thought the meekest man for this charge, partly because of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater safety, when his more rous foresight (should bejoynt with *Alcibiades* valiantnes, and with *Lamachus* solmes, which in deede most confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, *Demosthenes* of the Orators that most procured the *ATHENIANS* to vndertake this enterprise stepped forth, and sayd. It were good that *Nicias* left off, and set a side all these excuses and denials, and preferred a decree, that the people shoulde thorowly authorize the Captaine, that were chosen, to set forward & execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and so periwaded the people to passe and authorize it. Yet it is sayd that the Priests objected many thinges to hinder the iorney. But *Alcibiades* also having suborned certaine soothsayers, alleged inlike case some auncient Oracles that sayd, the *ATHENIANS* should have great honor from *SICILE*: & further had intitled certaine pilgrimes, who sayd they were but newly come from the Oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, and had brought this Oracle thence, That the *Athenians* should take all the *Syracusans*. But worst of all, if any knew of contrary signes or tokens to come, they held their peace, least it should seeme they entermeddled to prognosticate euill for afflictions sake, seeing that the signes them selues, which were most plain and notorious, could not remove them from thenterprise of this iorney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the *Hermes*, and images of *Mercurye*, which in one night were all to be mangled, saving one image only called the *Hermes of Andocides*, which was geuen & consecrated in old time by the tribe of the *ÆGEIDES*, and was set vp directly ouer against a citizens house called *Andocides*. Furthermore, the chauce that happened by the aluter of the twelue goddes: where a man leaping sodainly vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut of his genitorities with a stone. And in a temple also in the city of *DELPHES*, where was a litle image of *Minerues* of gold, set upon a palme tree of copper, which the cite of *ATHENS* had geuen of the spoyle wonne of the *MEDES*. Upon that palme tree sat certaine crows many dayes together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the frute of it which was all of golde, vntill they made the same to fall from the tree. But the *ATHENIANS* sayd, that the *DELPHIANS* (whom the *SYRACUSANS* had subdued) had finely fained this deuile. There was a prophecy also that commaunded them to bring one of *Minerues* Nunnes to *ATHENS*, that was in the city of *CLAZOMENES*. So they sent for this Nunne called *Hefychia*, which is, rest: & it seemeth it was that which the goddes by this prophecy did counsell them vnto, that for that time they should be quiet. *Meton* the Astronomer hauing charge in the army leauied for the warre of *SICILE*, being a-frayed of this prophetic, or otherwise misliking the celestiall signes, and successe of the iorney: fained him selfe mad, and set his house a fire. Others say he counterfeited not madnes, but did one night in deede set his house a fire, and that the next morning looking ruefully on it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pitiefull state, to sue to the people, that in consideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would discharge his sonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gallie at his owne cost, and ready to make sayle. Moreover, the familiar spirite of wise *Socrates* that did vse to tell him before what should happen: told him then that this iorney would fall out to the destruction of *ATHENS*. *Socrates* told in certaine of his very familiar frendes: and from them the rumor became common. And this also troubled a number of them, for the vnluckie dayes on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very dayes on the which the women celebrated the feast and yereday of *Adonis* death: and there were also in diuers partes of the city, images of dead men caried to buriall, and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that such as did put any confidence in those signes, sayd they misliked it much, and that they were afrayed least the same signified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was set out with such pompe & bravery) would come to nothing. Now for *Nicias*, that he spake against this warre in open counsell, whilst they were deliberating apon it, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of so honorable a charge to make him change his minde therein surely he shewed him selfe an honest man, wise, and constant. But when he saw plainly that he could by no perswasions remove the people from the enterprise of this warre, neither yet by sute nor intreaty get him selfe discharged from being a Captaine thereof, but that they

Signeris fears the Athenians not to attempt the enterprise of Sicile.

Stanes mangled as Athin.

The madnes of Meton the Astronomer.

they would in any case make him one of the heades of the army: then was it out of time to be fearful, and still geuing backe, turning his head so oft like a child to looke upon his gallie be- hind him, and euer to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of this iorney. For in deede this was enough to discourage his companions, & to marre all as their first setting out: where, to say truly, he should sodainly haue set upon his enemies, & haue gone to it with a lully corage, to haue assayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary course. For when *Lamachus* thought good at their first coming to goe straight to *SYRACUSA*, and to geue them battell as neere the walles as might be, & that *Alcibiades* on the other side was of opinion first of all to goe about to winne the cities that were in league with the *SYRACUSANS*, & after that they had made them rebell, then to goe against the *SYRACUSANS* them selues. *Nicias* to the contrary spake in counsell, and thought it better to goe on fayer and softly, desiering the capitall of *SICILE* round about to view their gallies and preparation, & so to returne straight to *ATHENS* againe, leauing only a few of their men with the *EGESTANS*, to helpe to defende them. But this from the beginning maruelously cooled the corage of the fouldiers, and quite discouraged them. Shortly after also, the *ATHENIANS* hauing sent for *Alcibiades* to answer to certaine accusations, *Nicias* remaining Captaine with *Lamachus* (the other Captaine in fight, but *Nicias* selfe in power and authority the Lieutenant generall of all the army) still y- ted delays, running vp and downe, and spending time so long in consultation, till the fouldiers were left without both hope and corage, and the feast phemy had of them at their first coming to see so great an army, was now in maner cleane gone. Yet *Alcibiades* being in the army, before he was sent for from *ATHENS*, they went with three fower gallies to *SYRACUSA*, of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the haven, and sent the other thence into the haven to discouer: which approaching neere the city, caused an Herald to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the *LEONTINES* to their landes and possessions, and tooke a shippe of the enemies, in the which among other thinges they founde tables, wherein were written the names of all the inhabitants of *SYRACUSA*, according to their tribes and houles. These tables were kept farre from the cite, in the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, but at that time they had sent for them to know the number of men of seruice, and of age to beare weapon. The same tables being taken by the *ATHENIANS*, and caried to the generalls of the army, the soothsayers seeing this long rolle of names, at the first misliked it, fearing least the prophie had bene fulfilled, which promised them, that the *ATHENIANS* one day should take all the *SYRACUSANS*. Howbeit it is reported this prophie came to passe in an other employe, where *Callippus* *ATHENIAN* hauing slaine *Dion*, wan also the city of *SYRACUSA*. Now when *Alcibiades* was gone from the campe, *Nicias* bare all the sway and commaunded the whole army. For *Lamachus*, though otherwise he was a slowe man, an honest man; and very valliant of his handes, and one that would not spare him selfe in time of neede: neuertheless he was so poore and miserable, that euen when he was in state of a Generall, & gaue vp an account of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his bookes, so much, for a gowne, and so much for a payer of pantophles. Where *Nicias* authority & reputation contrarywise was of an other maner of cut, as well for other respects, as for his riches, and for the hope of many noble thinges which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and sitting in counsell with his companions in the countie sell house at *ATHENS*, about the dispatch of certaine causes, he spake vnto *Sophocles* the Poet, then present amongst them; and bad him speake first and say his opinion, being the oldest man of all the whole company. *Sophocles* answered him againe: in deede I am faine to be the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom euery man regardeth best. So he was queing at that time *Lamachus* vnder him, a better Captaine & man of warre then himselfe was yet by being so slow to imploy the army vnder his charge by desiering of time, till he was wearying about *SICILE* as farre from his enemies as he could: he first gaue the enemies time and leisure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to besiege *Hydruntum*, being a polie single towne, and raising the siege without taking of it: he fell into so greua a combat with euery man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckoning of him. At last he retired vnto *CATANIA* with his army, without any other employe done, saying that he

Nicias feebly seuerallness.

Nicias' counsell for invading the Syracusans.

Lamachus' valliant, but simple.

And not to be feared.

Lais the cour-
tesan carried
out of Sicile
into Pelopon-
nesus.

Nicias mar-
ble stratage-
me.

Nicias win-
neth the ha-
men of Syra-
cusa.

Nicias for-
bearth to
spyle the
temple of Ju-
piter.

Nicias be-
gins Syracu-
se.

tooke HYCCATA, a baggadge village of the barbarous people, and where it is sayd *Zanab* a courtisane was borne, and that being then a young gerle, he was sold among other prisoners, and afterwarde caried into PELOPONNESVS. And in fine, the sommer being farre spent, *Nicias* was informed that the SYRACVSANS had taken such corage to them, that they would come and enterprife the charge upon them first: and that their horsemen were approached already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the ATHENIANS in mockery, if they were come into SICILE to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to restore the LEONTINES to their landes againe. Hereupon with much ado, *Nicias* determined to goe to SYRACUSA, and because he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hafard: he sent one of CATANA before to SYRACUSA, to tell them (as if he had bene a spye) that if they would sodainly come, and set upon the campe of the ATHENIANS & take all their cariage, he wished them to come with all their power to CATANA at a day certaine which he would appoint them. For the ATHENIANS (sayd he) for the most parte are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens, which fauoring the SYRACVSANS, haue determined to soone as they heare of their coming, to keepe the gates of the city, and at the same time also to set the ATHENIANS (shippes a fire and how there were also a great number in the citie of this confederacy, that did but looke vponer hower for their coming. And this was the noblest stratageame of warre, that *Nicias* shewed all the time he was in SICILE. For by this deuise he made the SYRACVSANS come into the fildes with all their power, so that they left their citie without garde: and he him selfe departing in the meane time from CATANA with all his fleet, wanne the haue of SYRACUSA at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him: in the which he was both the stronger, and might without let or difficulty set upon them with that, wherein he most trusted. The SYRACVSANS returning straight from CATANA, and offering him battell hard by the walles of SYRACUSA, he came out into the field, and ouerthrow them. There were not many of the SYRACVSANS slaine at this battell, because their horsemen did hinder the chafe: but *Nicias* breaking vp the bridges upon the riuier, gaue *Hermocrates* occasion to mocke him. For, comforting & encouraging the SYRACVSANS, he told them *Nicias* deserued to be laughed at, because he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from ATHENS to SYRACUSA to fight. This notwithstanding, he made the SYRACVSANS quake for feare: for where they had then fiftene Capitaines, they chose out three only, to whom the people were sworne, that they would suffer them to haue full power & authority to commaund and take order for all things. The temple of *Iupiter Olympian* was hard by the ATHENIANS campe, which they would gladly haue taken, for that it was full of rich iuelles and offerings of gold and siluer; geuen vnto the temple afore time. But *Nicias* of purpose still draue of time, and delayed so long, till the SYRACVSANS at last sent a good garison thither to keepe it safe: thinking with him selfe, that if his souldiers came to take and spoyle the temple, his contry should be nothing the richer by it, and him selfe besides should beare all the blame of sacrilege. So, hauing obtained victorie without profit, (which ranne straight through SICILE) within few dayes after he returned vnto the city of NAXOS, where he lay all the winter, consuming a wonderfull masse of vittells with so great an army, for the doing of thinges of small moment, vpon certaine SICILIANS that yielded to him. The SYRACVSANS in the meane time being in hart againe, and coragious: returned to CATANA, where they spoiled and ouerran all the contrie, and burnt the campe of the ATHENIANS. Herefore euery man blamed *Nicias* much, because through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all thinges sure, he let slippe sundry occasions of notable exploit, wherein good seruice might haue bene done. Yet when he would do a thing in deede, he did it so thorowly as no man could take exception to his doings, for that he brought it to so good a passe: and once taking it in hande, he did execute it with all speede, though he was both slowe to determine and a coward to enterprife. Now when he remoued his army to returne to SYRACUSA, he brought it so orderly, & also with such speede & safety: that he was come by sea to THARSVS, had landed & taken the forte of Epipolis, before the SYRACVSANS had any intelligence of it, or could possibly helpe it. For the choyce men of the SYRACVSANS being set out against him, hoping to haue stoppe this passage: he ouerthrow them, tooke three hundred prisoners,

and

made their horsemen die, which before were thought invincible. But that which made the SYRACVSANS most aftrayed, and seemed most wonderfull all to the other GREEKIANS, was this: that in a very short space he had almost emurrouned SYRACUSA with a wall, which was as much in compass about, as the walles of ATHENS, and worke to performe, by reason of the woody contry; and for the sea also that beareth upon the walles, besides that there were diuers hundred hard by it, and yet (sicke as he was of the stone) he had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, vnto his sickelesse. For mine owne parte I wonder maruclously both of the care & diligence of the Capitaine, and of the valianties and dexterity of the souldiers, which appeareth by the notable seates they did for euery pace after their ouerthrow and vicer running, made a funeral Epitaph in verse, and *Sylbithus* thus: *Eight times four men did put the men of Syracuse to flight, so long as with indifferenose the goddess did use their might.* But we find it written, that the SYRACVSANS were not only eight times, but many times more ouerthrowen by them: a time at length there was in deede, that both the gods and for time fought against them; euen when the ATHENIANS were of greater power. Now *Nicias* his owne person was euer in the greatest and most weighty attayers, straining with his sickelesse body: Howbeit one day when his disease grew sore upon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men: but *Lamachus* in the meane time alone hauing charge of the whole army, fought with the SYRACVSANS, who then had brought a wall from the city vnto the wall with which the ATHENIANS had purposed to haue shutt them in: to keepe that they should not compass it rounde. And because the ATHENIANS commonly were the stronger in these skirmishes, they many times ouer rather followed the chafe of their enemies that fled: As it chaunced one day that *Zanab* went so farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horsemen of the city, before whom *Callistratus* marched for melt, a valliant man of his handes, who challenged *Lamachus* hand to hand: *Lamachus* abode him; and in the conflict was first hurt: but he gaue *Callistratus* also such a wound therewithall, that they both fell downe dead presently in the place. At that time the SYRACVSANS being the stronger side, tooke vp his body, and caried it away with them: but they spured euery one of them to the ATHENIANS campe, where *Nicias* lay sicke, without any garde or succor at all: neither helpe, *Nicias* rose with speede out of his bed, and perceiving the danger he was in, commaunded certaine of his frendes to set the wodde a fire which they had brought within the attiches of the campe, to make certaine deuises for battery, and the engines of timber and so that were already made. That deuise onely stayed the SYRACVSANS, saued *Nicias*, and the strength of their campe, together with all the siluer and cariage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACVSANS, perceiving a farre off, betwixt them and the strength of their campe, such a great flame as rose vp in the ayer, upon sight of it turned taile straight, and made towards their city. Things falling out thus, *Nicias* being left lone Capitaine of the army without any companion, in great hope notwithstanding to do some good: diuers cities of SICILE yielded vnto him; shippes caught with corne came out of euery quarter to his campe, and many submitted their felmes, for the good successe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS also sent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defende their city any longer against him. *Gylippus* also a Capitaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, coming to aide the SYRACVSANS, vnderstanding by the way howe the city of SYRACUSA was shutt in with a wall round about, and in great distresse: helde on his voyage notwithstanding, nor with any hope to defende SICILE (supposing the ATHENIANS had wonne the whole contry) but with intent neuertheless to helpe the cities of ITALIE, if he could possibly. For it was a common rumor abroad, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all; and that their Capitaine for his wisdom and good fortune was invincible. *Nicias* him selfe now contrary to his wonted wisdom and foresight, running altogether to the good successe which he saw to follow him, but specially beleuing the reportes that were told him of SYRACUSA, & the newes that were brought him thence by some of their felmes, which came secretly vnto him, perswading him selfe that within few dayes he should haue SYRACUSA by composition, tooke no care to with-

DDD ij

Nicias wall at
the siege of
Syracusa.

Nicias fell
the death of
Lamachus.

The death of
Lamachus.

Nicias fell
Capitaine of
the whole army.

Gylippus a
Lacedæmonian,
aideth
the Syracu-
sans.

Gongylus a Corinthian.

Gylippus arrived at Syracusa.

Gongylus the Corinthian faint.

Nicias good fortune changed.

stand *Gylippus* comminge hether, neither sent any men to kepe him from landinge in *Syracusa*. By which negligence, *Gylippus* landed in a passenger, without *Nicias* knowledge: so reckoning they made of him, and so much did they fondly despise him, *Gylippus* beinge landed farre from *Syracusa*, beganne to gather men of warre together, before the *Syracusan* them selves knew of his landing, or looked for his coming: in such as the *Syracusan* already appointed the assemblye of a counsell to determine the sturges and expulsiō of peace, which they should conclude upon with *Nicias*. Moreover, there were some that persuaded they should doe well to make hast to conclude the peace, before the inclosure of the *Syracusan* walle was altogether finished, which then lacked not much to performe, havinge all the stuffe for the purpose brought even ready to the place. But as these things were even thus doing, arrived one *Gongylus* at *Syracusa*, that came from *Corinth* with a gally. At whose landing, the people upon the peeres flocking about him, to heare what newes: he tolde them that *Gylippus* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other galleys after to their aide. The *Syracusan* would hardly beleue him, until there came another messenger also sent from *Gylippus* selfe of purpose, that willed them to come and come to him into the field. Thereupon the *Syracusan* beinge marvellously reuiued, went all straight armed them selves. And *Gylippus* was no sooner come into *Syracusa*, but he presented his men in battellray, to set upon the *Athenians*. *Nicias* for his parte had likewise alotted the *Athenians* in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both armies were nowe approached neere eche to other, *Gylippus* threw downe his weapons, and sent a Herald vnto *Nicias* to promise them life and bagage to departe safely out of *Syracusa*. But *Nicias* would make the Herald none answer to that message. Howbeit there were certaine of his soldiers that in mockerie asked the Herald, if for the cominge of a poore cape and wand of *Lacedemon*, the *Syracusan* thought the selues strengthened so much, that they should despise the *Athenians*, which not long before kept three hundred *Lacedemonians* prisoners in irons, farre stronger and more heare on their heades, then *Gylippus* had, and had also sent them home to their citizens at *Lacedemon*. And *Timaeus* wryteth also, that the *Syracusan* them selves, made no reckoning of *Gylippus*, neither then, nor at any time after. After, because they sawe his extreme couetousnesse and miserie: and then, for that he came meanely apparelled, with a threede bare cape, and a long bush of heare, which made them scorne him. Yet in another place he sayeth, that so soone as *Gylippus* arrived in *Syracusa*, he came to him out of euery quarter with very good will, like birdes wondering at an owle. This second reporte seemeth truer then the first: for they swarmed about him, because in this case & wand they sawe the tokens of the maiesty of the city & feignory of *Sparta*. *Thucydides* also sayeth, that it was *Gylippus* only that did all there. And much like doth *Phylistus* selfe a *Syracusan* confesse, who was present then in prison & sawe all things that were done. Notwithstanding, at the first battell the *Athenians* had the vpper hand, & slue a number of the *Syracusan* SANS, among the which *Gongylus* the *Corinthian* was one. But the next morning following, *Gylippus* made them know the skill and experience of a wise Captaine. For, with the same weapons, with the same men, with the same horses, and in the same place, changinge only the order of his battell, he ouerthrew the *Athenians*: and fighting with them thus beinge driuen them euen into their campe, he set the *Syracusan* SANS to worke to build vpon a walle ouerthwart, (with the very selfe same stones and stuffe which the *Athenians* had brought and layed there for the finishinge of their inclosure) to cut of the other, and to keepe it from going forward, that it ioyned not together. So, all that the *Athenians* had done before, which that present was vnto no purpose. Things standing in these termes, the *Syracusan* beinge courageous againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running vp and downe the fieldes with their horsemen and slaues, tooke many prisoners. *Gylippus* on another side, went in person to and fro through the cities of *Syracusa*, perswading and exhortinge the inhabitants in such sorte, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. *Nicias* seeinge things thus falle out, fell to his olde trade againe, and consideringe the change of his late and former good lucke, his hart beginninge to fainte, wrote straight to the *Athenians* to send another army into *Syracusa*, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any

cale

Eutylidemus and Menander chosen Captaines with Nicias.

Nicias arrived at Syracusa.

Demosthenes arrived at Syracusa.

Demosthenes refused.

Nicias cannot win Demosthenes.

A case to geue him leaue to returne, and to discharge him of his office, for cause of this sickness. The *Athenians* were indifferent before he wrote, so fere wide as they ther: howbeit then upon the hobblity bare vnto *Nicias* good fortune, did euer cause some delay, that they sent no more than, and then they determined to fend with speede. So *Demosthenes*, was named to be for away in time, meedily after winter, with a great navy. In the middle of winter, *Eutylidemus* went to *Nicias*, & carried him both money, & newes, that the people had choosendome of them for this command. Now *Nicias* in the meane time beinge sodainly affailed by these enemies, chose by sea and land: so though at the first he had fewer gallies in number than they, yet he budged diuers of theirs and suncke them. But by lande againe, he could not aide his men in time, because *Gylippus* at the first on set had taken a forte of his called *Pleimnyon*, within the which by the forte & pass at the first on set had taken a forte of his called *Pleimnyon*, within the which by the forte & rackell for many gallies, & a great masse of ready money which was wholly lost. Besides, in the same confict also were many men slaine, and many taken prisoners. Yet further, the greatest matter of weight was, that thereby he toke from *Nicias* the great commoditie he had to bringe his vittells safely by sea to his campe. For while the *Athenians* kept possession, they might at their pleasure bring vittells without danger to their campe, beinge ordered with the same: but when they had lost it, then it was hard for them so to do, because they were euer driuen to fight with the enemies, that lay at anker before the forte. Furthermore the *Syracusan* did not thinke that their armie by sea was ouerthrowen, because their enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed the *Athenians* disorderedly, and therefore were desirous once againe to venter, in better sorte and order than before. But *Nicias* by no means would be brought to fight againe, saying, that it were a madnes looking for such a great navy & a new supply as *Demosthenes* was cominge withall, rashly to fight with a fewer number of shippes than they, and but poorly furnished. But contrariely, *Menander*, and *Eutylidemus*, newly promoted to the state of Captaines with *Nicias*, beinge pricked forwards with ambition against the two other Captaines (*Nicias* and *Demosthenes*) that was then cominge desired to preuent *Demosthenes*, in performinge some notable seruice before his arrivall, & thereby also to excell *Nicias* doings: Howbeit, the cloke they had to couer their ambition withall was, the honor & reputation of the city of *Athens*, the which (sayd they) were shamed and dishonored for euer, if they now should shew the selues affraid of the *Syracusan*, who promised them to fight. Thus brought they *Nicias* against his wilke to battell, in the which the *Athenians* were slaine and ouercome, by the good counsell of a *Corinthian* Pilot called *Arifon*. For the left wing of their battell (as *Thucydides* wryteth) was clearly ouerthrowen, and they lost a great number of their men. Whereupon *Nicias* was wonderfully perplexed, consideringe on the one side that he had taken maruelous paines, whilst he was sole Captaine of the whole army: and on another side, for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had geuen him companions. But as *Nicias* was in this great dispaire, they desierd *Demosthenes* upon a pere of the haven, with his steere brauely fet out and furnished, to terrifie the enemies. For he had three score and thirteene gallies, and in them he brought fise thousande footemen well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with slinges about three thousand, and the gallies trimmed and set forth with goodly armors, numbers of engines, and with a world of trompetes, howboyes, and such marine musike, and all set out in this triumphant shew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the *Syracusan* them selves againe in a peeke of troubles, perceiuing they stroue against the streaitie, and consumed them selves to no purpose, where by that they sawe there was no likely hood to be deliuered fro their troubles. And *Nicias* also reioyced, that so great aide was come, but his ioy helde not long. For so soone as he began to talke with *Demosthenes* of the state of things, he found him bent forthwith to set upon the *Syracusan*, and to hafard all with speede, that they might quickly take *Syracusa*, and so dispatche away home againe. *Nicias* thought this more hard than good speede, and feared much this foolhardines. Whereupon he prayed him to attempt nothinge rashly, nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the warre against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soone be forsaken of their confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of vittells, that

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they would then quickly seeke to him for peace, as they had done afore time. For there were many within SYRACUSA that were Nicias frendes, who wished him to abide time: for they were weary of warre, and waxed angry also with *Gylippus*. So that if they were but straightened a litle more with want of vittells, they would yeelde straight. Nicias deliuering these persuasions sounly but darkely, and keeping somewhat from vtterance, because he would not speake them openly: made his colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardlines, and that he returned againe to his former delays to keepe all in security, by which manner of proceedinge he had from the beginning killed the hartes of his armie, for that he had not at his first comming layd upon the enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the corage of his souldiers was cold and done, and him selfe also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other Capitaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) *Euthydemus* and *Meneder*, studeo Demosthenes opinion: wherunto Nicias was also forced against his will to yeelde. So Demosthenes the selfe same night taking the footemen, went to assault the fort of Epipolus where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he flue many of them, and made the rest flee that offered resistance. But not content with this victory, he went furder, till he fell upon the BOEOTIANS. They gathering themselves together were the first that resisted the ATHENIANS, basing their pikes with such furie and lowde cries, that they caused the fortresse to retire, and made all the rest of the assailantes afraied and amased. For the foremost flyinge backe, came full upon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and their flight for a charge, resisted them with all their force, & so mistaking one another, both were wounded and slaine, and the hurt they ment vnto their enemies, did vnfortunately light vpon their owne fellows. For this multitude meetinge thus confusedly together, what through their great feare, & what for that they could not discern one another in the night, the which was neither so darke that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleere, as they might certainly iudge by sight what they were that met them: (for then the moone declined a pace, and the small light it gaue was diffused with the number of men that ran to & fro) the feare they had of the enemy, made them mistrust their frendes. All these troubles and disadvantages had the ATHENIANS; and beside, the moone on their backs, which causing the shadow to fall forward, did hide their number, and glistering of armor: and contrarily, the enemies targets, glancing in their eyes by the reflection of the moone that shone vpon them, encreased their feare, and making them seeme a greater number and better appointed than they were in deede. At last, the enemies geuing a lusty charge vpon them on euery side, after they once beganne to geue backe and turne taile: some were slaine by their enemies, others by their owne company, and others also brake their neckes falling from the rocks. The rest that were dispersed abroad in the fieldes, were the next morning euery man of them put to the sword by the horsemen. So, the account made, two thousand ATHENIANS were slaine, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore Nicias that alwayes mistrusted it would thus come to passe, was maruelously offended with Demosthenes, and condemned his rashnes. But he excusing him selfe as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in the morning betimes, and so to hoyste sayle homewards. For, sayd he, we must looke for no new aide from ATHENS, neither are we strong enough with this armie to overcome our enemies: and though we were, yet must we of necessity auoide the place we are in, because (as it is reported) it is alwayes vnholosome for an army to campe in, and then specially most contagious, by reason of the autumne and season of the yeare, as they might plainly see by experience. For many of their people were already sicke, and all of them in manner had no minde to tary. Nicias in no case liked the motion of departing thence, because he feared not the SYRACUSANS, but rather the ATHENIANS, for their accusations & condemnation. And therefore in open counsell he told them, that as yet he saw no such daunger to remaine: and though there were, yet that he had rather dye of his enemies hands, than to be put to death by his owne contrymen. Being therein of a contrary minde to *Leo Bizantine*, who after that sayd to his citizens, I had rather suffer death by you, than to be slaine with you. And furthermore, as for removing the campe to some other place, they should haue leasure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when Nicias had deliuered this opinion in counsell, Demosthenes ha-

Demosthenes
refuseth.

The slaughter
of the Athe-
nians at Sy-
racuse.

The corage of
Leo Bizen-
tine.

A thing that ill lucke at his first coming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing that Nicias shoulde not so hard against their departure, but that he relied upon the trust and confidence he had of some within the city: they all agreed to Nicias. But when newes came that there was a new supply come vnto the SYRACUSANS, and that they saw the plague encreased more and more in their campe: then Nicias selfe thought it best to departe thence, and gaue order to the souldiers to prepare them selves to slippe away. Notwithstanding, when they had put all things in readines for their departure, without any knowledge of the enemy, or suspicion thereof: the moone beganne to eclipse in the night, and sodainly to lose her light, so the great feare of Nicias and quers others, who through ignorance and superstition qualified at such sightes. For, touching the eclipse and darkening of the sunne, which is euer at any continuation of the moone, euery common person then knew the cause to be the darkenes of the body of the moone betwixt the sunne and our sight. But the eclipse of the moone it selfe, to know what doth darken it in that sorte, and howe being at the full it doth sodainly lose her light, and chaunge into so many kinde of colours: that was aboue their knowledge, and therefore they thought it very straunge, perswading them selves that it was a signe of some great mischiefes the goddesses did threaten vnto men. For *Anaxagoras*, the first that euer determined and deliuered any thing, for certaine and assured, concerning the light and darkenes of the moone: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally knowe, but only to a few, who durst not talke of it but with feare euen to the they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the people could not at that time abide them that professed the knowledge of natural Philofophy, & inquired of the causes of things: for them they called then *Meteoropostrophes*, so much to say, as curious inquirers, and ratlers of things aboue the reach of reason, done in heauen and in the ayer. Because the people thought they ascribed that which was done by the goddesses only, vnto certaine naturall and necessary causes, that worke their effectes not by prouidence nor will, but by force, and necessary consequences. For these causes was *Protagoras* banished from ATHENS, and *Anaxagoras* put in prison: from whence *Pericles* had much ado to procure his deliery. And *Socrates* also, though he did not meddle with that parte of Philofophy, was notwithstanding put to death for the suspicion thereof. In fine, the doctrine of *Plato* being receiued and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessity of naturall causes vnto the controlement & disposition of diuine power, as vnto a more excellent and supreme cause: tooke away all the opinion which the people had of such disputations, and gaue open passage and free entry vnto the Mathematicall sciences. And therefore *Dion*, one of *Platoes* scholars and frendes, an eclipse of the moone chauning euen at the very same time that he was weying vp his anckers to sayle from ZACYNTHUS, to make warre with the tyrant *Dionysius*: being nothing afraied much troubled therewithall, made sayle notwithstanding, and when he came to SYRACUSA, draue out the tyrant. But then it fell out vnfortunately for Nicias, who had no expert nor skilful soothsayer: for the party which he was wont to vie for that purpose, and which tooke away much of his superstition, called *Stilbides*, was dead not long before. For this signe of the eclipse of the moone (as *Philochorus* sayth) was not hurtfull for men that would flee, but contrarily very good: for sayd he, things that men doe in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy vnto them. But this notwithstanding, their custome was not to keepe them selves close about three dayes in such eclipses of the moone and sunne, as *Aucostides* selfe prescribeth in a booke he made of such matters: where Nicias bare them then in bande, that they should tary the whole and full reuolution of the course of the moone, as though he had not sene her straight cleere againe, after she had once passed the shadow and darkenes of the earth. But all other things layd a side and forgotten, Nicias disposed him selfe to sacrifice vnto the gods: vntill such time as the enemies came againe as well to besiege their fortres, and all their campe by lande, as also to occupy the whole hauen by sea. For they had not onely put men aborde in their gallies able to weare armor, but moreouer young boyes into fisher botes and other light barks, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and shamefully reuiled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble house, called *Heraclides* whose bote being forwarder than his companions, was in daunger of taking by a gallee of the

The eclipse of
the moone.

The eclipse of
the moone not
knowe of long
time.

Anaxagoras
the first that
wrote of the
eclipse of the
moone.

The Athe-
nians do per-
secute the
Philosophers.
Socrates pay-
ed to death for
Philosophy.

Dyon very
skilfull in na-
turall causes.

Nicias igno-
rante of natu-
rall causes.

ATHENIANS, that rowed against him. *Polichno* his vncle being afrayed of it, lanchid forward with renne galleies of SYRACUSA for his rescue, of the which him selfe was Capitaine. The other galleies douting also least *Polichno* should take hurt, came on likewise a mayne. In this there fell out a great battell by sea, which the SYRACVSANS wanne, and slue *Eurymedon* the Capitaine, and many other. This made the fouldiers of the ATHENIANS so afrayed, that they beganne to crie out, it was no longer tarying there, and that there was none other way but to departe thence by land. For after the SYRACVSANS had wonne that battell, they had straight shut vp the haven mouth. *Nicias* could not consent to such a retyre. For, sayd he, it would be too great a shame for them to leaue their galleies and other shippes to the enemy, considering the number not to be much lesse then two hundred: but he thought good rather to armed hundred and threene galleies with the best & vallantest of their footemen, and darters, that were in the army, because the other galleies had spent their owers. And for the rest of the army, *Nicias* forsaking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of *Hercules*) did set the in battell ray upon the peere of the haven. In so much, that the SYRACVSANS which vntill that day could not performe their wonted sacrifices vnto *Hercules*: did then sende their Priestes and Capitaines thither to do them. The fouldiers being imbarked into the galleies, the Priestes and Soothsayers came and told the SYRACVSANS, that vndoutedly the signes of the sacrifices did promise the a noble victory, so that they gaue no charge, but only stood vpon their defence: for so did *Hercules* euer overcome, defending, when he was assailed. With this good hope the SYRACVSANS rowed forward, and there was such a hot and cruell battell by sea, as had not bene in all this warre before: the which was as dreadfull to them that stood on the shore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, seeing the whole comite, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as whole hunt them selues by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranckes of their shippes, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great shippes together, fighting with the heauy, against thenemies that were light and swift, which came on on euery side of them, whirling stones at them which were made sharpe to wound how euer they lighted: whereas the ATHENIANS onely casting their dartes, and vsing their bowes and slinges, by means of their rowing vp and downe could not lightly come to hit with the head. That maner of fight, *Aristo* a CORINTHIAN (an excellent shippe maister) had taught the SYRACVSANS, who was him selfe slaine valliantly fighting, when they were conquerors. The ATHENIANS thereupon being driuen to fight, hauing sustained a maruelous slaughter & ouerthrow, (their way to life by sea being also cleerely taken from them) and perceiving moreover that they could hardly saue them selues by land: were then so discouraged, as they made no longer resistance, when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their shippes, before their faces. Neither did they aske leaue to take vp their dead mens bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forsake their diseased and fore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already slaine. When they considered all these things, they thought their owne state more miserable than theirs, which were to end their liues with much more cruelty, than was their misery present. So they being determined to departe thence in the night, *Gylippus* perceiving the SYRACVSANS through all the cite disposed them selues to sacrifice to the goddes, and to be merry, as well for the ioy of their victorie, as also for *Hercules* feast: thought it bootelesse to perswade them, and much lesse to compell them, to take armes vpon a sodaine, to set upon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit *Hermocrates* deuising with him selfe how to deceiue *Nicias*, sent some of his frendes vnto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all things during this warre: and willed him to take heede not to departe that night, least he fell into the ambushes which the SYRACVSANS had layed for him, hauing sent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should passe. *Nicias* being ouerreachd by *Hermocrates* craft and subtilty, layed there that night, as though he had bene affrayed to fall within the daunger of his enemies ambush. Thereupon, the SYRACVSANS the next morning by peepe of day, hoyled sayle, got the straights of *Nicias* passage, stopped the riuers mouthes, & brake vp the bridges: and then cast their horsemen in a squadron in the next plaine fields adioyning, so that the ATHENIANS had no way left

The SYRACVSANS ouercome the ATHENIANS by sea.

The soothsayers doe promise victory to the SYRACVSANS.

The ATHENIANS againe overcome the sea by the SYRACVSANS.

Nicias deceiued by *Hermocrates*.

A left to escape, and passe by them, without fighting. At last notwithstanding, hauing stayed all that day and the next night following, they put them selues in iorney, and departed with great cries & lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall contry, and not out of their enemies laude: as well for the great distresse and necessity wherein they were, (lacking all things needfull to susteine life,) as also for the extreme sorrow they felt to leaue their foret wounded companions and diseased kinsmen and friends behinde them, that could not for their weakness followe the assaiege, but specially for that they looked for some woofle matter to fall, of them selues, than that which they sawe present before their eyes to be happened to their fellowes. But of all the most pinesfull sightes to behold in that campe, there was none more lamentable nor miserable, than the person of *Nicias* selfe: who being tormented with his disease, and waxen verry leane and pale, was also vnworthly brought to extreame want of food, vntill lutenance, euen when he had most neede of comfort, being very sickely. Yet notwithstanding his weakenes and infirmity, he tolke great paines, and suffered in many things, which the soundest bodys don labor much to overcome and suffer: making it appeare evidently no quey in that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of himselfe, or desire that he had vnto his owne life, so much as for their sakes in that he yielded not vnto present displeasure, where the fouldiers for very feare & sorrow burst out in teares & bitter wayling. *Nicias* selfe shewed, that if by chaunce he were forced at any tyme to doe the like, it was rather vpon remembrance of the shame and dishonour that came into his minde, to see the vnfortunate successe of this voyage, in steade of the honor and victory they hoped to haue brought home, than for any other respect. But if to see *Nicias* in this misery, did moue the lookers on to pitty, so did this much more encrease their compassion, when they remembered *Nicias* words at his orations continually to the people, to breake this iorney, & to dissuade them from the enterprise of this warre. For then they plainly iudged him not to haue deferred these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the fouldiers verry to dispayre of helpe from the goddes, when they considered with them selues, that so deuout and godly a man as *Nicias* (who left nothing vndone that might red to the honor and seruice of the goddes) had no better successe, than the most vile and wicked persones in all the whole army. All this notwithstanding, *Nicias* strained him selfe in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his cheerefull wordes, & his kinde vsing of euery man, to let them know that he faint not vnder his burden, nor yet did yeeld to this his misfortune and extreame calamity. And thus travelling eight dayes iorney outright together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually let upon, wearied, and hurt: yet he euer maintained his bandes, and led them whole in company vntill that *Demosthenes*, with all his bandes of fouldiers was taken prisoner, in a certaine village called *RODELIOS*: where remaining behinde, he was enuironned by his enemies in fight; and seeing him selfe so compassed in, drew out his sword, and with his owne handes thrust him selfe thorow, but dyed not of it, because his enemies came straight about him, and tooke hold of him. The SYRACVSANS thereupon went with speede to *Nicias*, and told him of *Demosthenes* case. He geuing no credit to them, sent presently certaine of his horsemen thither to vnderstand the troth: who brought him wordes that *Demosthenes* and all his men were taken prisoner. Then he besought *Gylippus* to treat of peace, to suffer the poore remaine of the ATHENIANS to departe out of SICILY with safety, and to take such hostages for the sure payment of all such summes of money the SYRACVSANS had disbursed by meanes of this warre, as should like him selfe: which he promised he would cause the ATHENIANS to performe satisfie vnto them. Howbeit the SYRACVSANS would in no wise hearken to peace, but cruelly threatening & reuiling them that made motion hereof, in rage gaue a new onser vpon him, then fiercely then euer before they had done. *Nicias* being then verry without any kinde of victells, did now withstanding hold out that night, & marched all the next day following (though the enemies darters still flew about their eares) vntill he came to the riuier of *Afinarus*, into the which the SYRACVSANS did forcibly driue them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, entered the riuier of them selues, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the most cruell slaughter of the poore wretches, euen as they were drinking: vntill such time as *Nicias* falling downe flat at *Gylippus* feete, sayd thus vnto him. Since the goddes haue giuen thee (*Gylippus*)

The miserable state of the ATHENIANS departing from SYRACUSA.

Nicias extreme misery.

Demosthenes taken of the SYRACVSANS.

Nicias much weary of peace.

Nicias army overcome at the riuier of *Afinarus*. *Nicias* words, vntill him selfe was *Gylippus*.

*Gylippus
shows mercy to
Nicias.*

*The Syracu-
sians enter into
Syracusa with
triumphe.*

*Asinarus
feast.*

*The Captaine
of the Athe-
nians condem-
ned to dye.*

*Gylippus, a
cousin to Ma-
cleandrides
condemned
for extortion.*

*Nicias and
Demosthenes
fine them
siluer.*

victery, shewe mercy, not to me that by these miseries haue won immortall honor and glory, but vnto these poore vanquished ATHENIANS: calling to theyr remembrance, that the tunes of warre are common, and howe that the ATHENIANS haue vied you LACEDÆMONIANS curiously, as often as fortune fauored them against you. Gylippus beholding Nicias perswaded by his wordes, tooke compassion of him, (for he knew he was a friend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS at the last peace concluded betwixt them, and furthermore thought it an honor to him, if he could cary away the two Captaines or generalls of his enemies prisoners) shewed him mercy, gaue him wordes of comforte, and moreover commanded besides that they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commandement was not knowne in time to all: insomuch as there were many more slaine than taken, although some priuate foulding faued diuers notwithstanding by stealth. Now the SYRACVSANS hauing brought all the prisoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, first vnarmed them, then taking their weapons from them hong them vp upon the goodliest younge trees that stood upon their side in token of triumphe. And so putting on triumphing garlandes upon their heads, & hauing trimmed their owne horses in triumphant maner, & also shorne all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing sorte they made their entry into the citie of SYRACUSA, hauing gloriously ended the most notable warre that euer was amongst the GREEKES one against another, and attained also the noblest victery that could be achieved, and that only by loss of armes and valliancy. So at their returne, a counsell and assembly was holden at SYRACUSA by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, Eurycles one of the orators, (a practitioner of publicke causes) first made petition, that the day on the which they had taken Nicias, might for euer thenceforth be kept holy day, without any manner of worke or labor, but only to doe sacrifice to the goddesses: and that the feast should be called, Asinarus feast, after the name of the riuer where the ouerthrow was geuen. This victery was had the six and twenty day of the moneth of Iuly. And as touching the prisoners, that the confederates of the ATHENIANS and their slaues should be openly solde by the dromme: and that the naturall ATHENIANS which were free men, and their confederates of the contry of SICILE, should be clapped in iron, & layed in prison, the Captaine only excepted, whom they should put to death. The SYRACVSANS confirmed this decree. And when the Captaine Hermocrates went about to perswade them that to be merciful in victery, would be more honor vnto them, than the victery it selfe: they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when Gylippus made sure that for the Captaine of the ATHENIANS, he might cary them aliue with him to SPARTA: he was not onely shamefully denied, but most vilely abused, so lusty were they growen upon this victery, beside also that in the time of the warre they were offended with him, & could not endure his straight seuerer LACONIAN government. Timeus sayth moreover, that they accused him of couetousnes and theft, which vice he inherited from his father. For Cleandrides his father was conuict for extortion, and banished ATHENS. And Gylippus selfe hauing stolen thirty talentes out of a howse which Lyfander sent to SPARTA by him, and hauing hid them vnder the eufinges of his howse, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to flie his contry, as we haue more amply declared in the life of Lyfander. So Timeus wryteth, that Nicias & Demosthenes were not stoned to death by the SYRACVSANS, as Thucydides and Philistus reported, but that they killed them selues, upon word sent them by Hermocrates (before the assembly of the people was broken vp) by one of his men whom the keepers of the prison let in vnto them: howbeit their bodies were cast out at the iale dore, for euery man to beholde. I haue heard there is a target at this present to be seene in a temple at SYRACUSA, which is sayd to be Nicias target, couered all ouer with golde and purple silke, passinge finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, the most of them dyed of sicknesses, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to liue withall but two dishfulls of barley for their breade, and one of water for eche man a day. In deepe many of them were conueyed away, and sold for slaues: and many also that scaped vnknown as slaues, were also solde for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the printe of a horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this paine. But such, their humble patience, and modesty did greatly profit them. For eicher shortly after they were made free men,

or

A or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloued of their masters. Some of them were saued also for Euripides sake. For the SICILIANS liked the verses of this Poet better, than they did any other GREEKIANS verses of the middelt of GREECE. For it they heard any times or songes like vnto his, they would haue them by hart, & one would present the to an other with great ioy. And therefore it is reported, that diuers escaping this bondage, and returning againe to ATHENS, went very louingly to salute Euripides, & to thanke him for their liues: and told him how they were deliuered from slavery; only by teaching them those verses which they remembered of his workes. Others tolde him also, how that after the battell, they escaping by flight, & wandering vp and downe the fieldes, met with some that gaue them meate & drinke to sing his verses. And this is not to be marvelled at, weying the reporte made by a shippe of the city of CAVNUS, that on a time being chased in therby by pyrates, thinking to saue the selues within their portes, could not at the first be receiued, but had repulse: howbeit being demaunded whether they could sing any of Euripides songes, and aunswering that they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable ouerthrow, was not beleued at the first, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a stranger that landed in the haven of PIRÆA, went and sat him downe (as the manner is) in a barbers shoppe, & thinking it had bene commonly knowen there, beganne to talke of it. The barber hearing the stranger tell of such matter, before any other had heard of it: ranne into the city as fast as he could, and going to the gouernors tolde the newes openly before them all. The magistrats thereupon did presently call an assembly, and brought the barber before them: who being demaunded of whom he heard these newes, could make no certaine reporte. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the city in feare and trouble: he was presently bound, and layed on a wheele, wheron they vse to put offenders to death, and so was there, tormented a great time, vntill at last there arriued certaine men in the city, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told euery thing how the ouerthrow came. So as in fine they found Nicias wordes true, which now they beleued, when they sawe all those miseries light fully upon them, which he long before had prognosticated vnto them.

The end of Nicias life.

*Euripides
verses saued
many of the
Athenians
liues.*

*The Athenians
dooe scorn
the bringer of
the newes of
their ouer-
throw.
Nicias fore-
sawed the
miseries of
the Athenians.*

THE LIFE OF Marcus Crassus.



Marcus Crassus
his kind, &
young.

MARCUS Crassus was the sonne of a Censor, who had also received the honor of triumphe: but him selfe was brought vp in a litle house with two other of his brethern, which were both married in their fathers & mothers life time, and kept house together. Whereupon it came to passe, that he was a man of such sober and temperate dyet, that one of his brethre being deceased, he married his wife by whom he had children. For women, he liued as continent a life, as any ROMANE of his time: notwithstanding, afterwarde being of riper yeares, he was accused by Plotinus to haue deflowred one of the Vestall Nunnes called Licinia. But in troth the cause of that suspicion grew thus. Licinia had a goodly pleasaunt garden hard by the suburbes of the city, wherewith Crassus was maruelously in loue, and would faine haue had it good cheape: and vpon this only occasion was often scene in speeche with her, which made the people suspect him. But forasmuch as it seemed to the iudges that his couetousnes was the cause that made him follow her, he was clered of thincest suspected, but he neuer left followinge of the Nunne, till he had got the garden of her. The ROMANES lay there was but that only vice of couetousnes in Crassus, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinks he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, since it grew so great, as the note of that only did hide and couer all his other vices. Nowe to set out his extreme couetous desire of getting, naturally bred in him, they proue it by two manifest reasons. The first, his maner and meanes he vsed to get: and the seconde, the greatnes of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worthe, then three hundred talentes. And during the time that he delt in the affayres of the common wealth, he offered the tenthes of all his goodes wholly vnto Hercules, kept open house for all the people of ROMANE, and gaue also to euery citizen of the same as much come as would kepe him three monethes: & yet when he went from ROMANE to make warre with the PARTHIANS, him selfe being desirous to know what all he had was worth, founde that it amounted to the summe of seuen thousande one hundred talentes. But if I may with license vse euill speeche, wryting a troth: I say he got the most parte of his wealth by fire and blood, raising his greate reuenue of publicke calamities. For when Sylla had take the citie of ROMANE, he made portefale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to those that gaue most, tearming them his booty,

Crassus com-
munes.

Crassus riches.

How Crassus
came by his
goodes.

A booty, onely for that he would the nobility, and greatest men of power in the citie should be partakers with him of this iniquity: and in this open sale Crassus neuer left taking of giftes, nor bying of thinges of Sylla for profit. Furthermore, Crassus perceiuinge that the greate decay commonly of the buildings in ROMANE came by fire, and falling downe of houses, through the ouermuch weight by numbers of stories built one upon another: bought bonedme that were mafons, carpinters, and these deuilsours and builders, & of those he had to the number of fife hundred. Afterwarde, when the fire tooke any house, he would buy the house while it was a burning, and the next houses adioyning to it, which the owners sold for litle, being then in daunger as they were, and a burning: so that by proces of time, the most parte of the houses in ROMANE came to be his. But notwithstanding that he had so many flaues to his workemen, he neuer built any house from the ground, sauing his owne house wherein he dwelt: saying, that such as delighted to build, vndid them selues without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mynes of siluer, many ploughes, and a number of hyndes and plowmen to followe the same: yet all that commoditie was nothing, in respect of the profit his flaues and bonedmen brought him dayly in. As readers, scriueners, goldmythes, bankers, receiuers, stewards of householde, caruers, and other such officers at the table, taking paines him selfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to instruct them what they should doe: and to be shorthe, he thought the greatest care a good householder ought to haue, was to see his flaues by seruantes well taught, being the most liuely cattell and best instruments of a mans house. And surely therein his opinion was not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake: that all thinges must be done by seruantes, and his seruantes must be ruled by him. For we see that the arent fence, is but a bafe thing, only tending to gaine: but when it dependeth vpon good order and government of men, me thinks then it is to knowe how to gouerne well a common wealth. But as his iudgement was good in the other, so was it very bad in this: that he thought no man riche, and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole army with his owne proper goods. For the warre (as king Archidamus was wont to say) is not made with any certainty of expence: and therefore there must no sufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the same. But herein Marius and he differed farre in opinion: who hauinge allowed euery ROMANE foureteene akers lande (called with them, Iugera) vnderstanding that some were not pleased, but would haue more, made them this aunswer. The gods forbid any ROMANE should thinke that land litle, which in deede is enough to suffice for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, Crassus was courteous to straungers, for his house was open to them all, and he lent his frendes money without interest: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he resolutely demaunde his money of them. So, his curtesie to lende many times without interest, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great vsury. In deede when he had any man to come to his table, his fare was but euen ordinary, without all excess: but his fine and cleanly seruice, & the good entertainment he gaue euery man that came to him, pleased them better, than if he had bene more plentifull of dyet and dishes. As for his learning and study, he chiefly studied eloquence, and that sorte specially that best would serue his turne to speake in open prefence: so that he became the best spoken man in ROMANE of all his time, and by his great indutry and diligent indeuor excelled all them that euen by nature were most apt vnto it. For some say, he had neuer so small nor litle a cause in hande, but he alwayes came prepared, hauing studied his case before for pleading: and oftentimes also when Pompey, Caesar, and Cicero refused to rise, and speake to matters, Crassus would defend euery cause if he were requested. And therefore was he generally beloued & well thought of, because he shewed him selfe painfull, & willing to helpe euery man. Likewise was his gentlenes maruelously esteemed, because he saluted euery body curteously and made much of all men: for, whom so euer he met in the streetes that spake to him as he passed and saluted him, were he neuer so meane, he would speake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is sayd also he was very well studied in stories, and indifferently scene in Philofophy, specially in Aristotels workes, which one Alexander did read vnto him, a man that became very gentle and pacient of nature, by vsing of Crassus company: for it were hard to say, whether Alexander was poorer when he came to Crassus

Crassus saying
of his flaues.

Crassus care
about ser-
uantes.

Thus be-
longeth to
good husban-
dry, and in
whom is con-
sisteth.

Crassus indige-
ment was not
at his house.
Archidamus
saying of
warre.

Crassus fare is
at his house.

Crassus elo-
quence.

or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his frendes he would euer haue *Alexander* a broade with him, and while they were abroade, would lend him a hat to couer his head by the way: but so soone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull patience of a man: to see that he making profession of Philosophie as he did, the poore man being in great poutery, did not place poutery in thinges indifferent. But hereof we will speake more hereafter. *Cinna* and *Marius* being now of greater power, and coming on directly towards *Rome*; euery man suspected straight their coming was for no good to the common wealth, but as appeared plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of *Rome*. For this fell out in deede, that they slue all the chiefe men they found in the city, among whom *Crassus* father & his brother were of the number, and him selfe being at that time but young, escaped the present danger only by flight. Furthermore, *Crassus* hearing that they layed waite to take him, & that the tyrannes sought him in euery place, tooke three of his frends in his company, and rennessevauntes only, and fled into *SPAYNE* with all possible speede, where he had bene with his father before, and had got some frendes when he was Prator, and ruled that countie. Neuerthelesse, seeing euery body afayed, and mistrusting *Marius* cruelty as if he had bene at their dores, he durst not bewray him selfe to any man, but went into the fieldes, and hid him in a great caue being within the lande of one *Vibius Piciacus* by the sea side, from whence he sent a man of his to this *Piciacus*, to seele what good will he bare him, but specially for that his vittells beganne to faile him. *Vibius* hearing that *Crassus* was safe, and had escaped, became very glad of it: and vnderstanding how many persones he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not him selfe to see him, but called one of his slaues (who was his receiuer) and occupied that ground for him) & bringing him neere the place where *Crassus* was, commaunded him euery night to prouide meate for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this rocke whereunder was the caue, & make no wordes of it, neither be inquisitiue for whom it was, for if he did, he should dye for it: & otherwise, for keeping the thing secret as he commaunded, he promised to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the sea side, & is closed in round about with two rockes that mete together, which receiue a soft couerwinde into them. When ye are entred into the caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownes thereof are many other caues of great receite one within an other, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of passing good water running hard by the rocke, and the naturall riftes of the rockes also receiuing the light without, where they mete together, do sende inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruelous light, and hath no dampy ayre, but very pure and drye, by reason of the thicknes of the rocke, which sendeth all the moisture and vapour into that springinge well. *Crassus* keeping close in this caue, *Vibius* receiued brought vittells thither dayly to relieue him, and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could vnderstand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, obseruing the hour & time of his coming when he brought the same. He prouided them no more then would euen necessarily serue their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheare withall: for *Vibius* was bent to entertaine *Crassus* as honorably as he could possible, inasmuch as he considered he was a young man, and therefore reason would he should offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieue his necessity only, he thought that rather a parte of feare, than any shew of loue towards him. One day he tooke two fayer young damselfes, and brought them with him to the sea side: and when he came to the caue, shewed them where they should get vp, and bad them not be afayed. *Crassus* at the first, when he saw the young wenches, was afayed he had bene betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whome they sought. They being instructed by *Vibius* what they should say, answered, that they sought their master that was hidden there. Then *Crassus* knew this was *Vibius* mirth to shew him curtesie: so he receiued them into his caue, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting *Vibius* vnderstand by them what he lacked. *Fenestella* wryteth, that he saw one of them when she was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale many a time with great delight. In fine, *Crassus* (after he had lyeen hidden in this caue eight monethes) vnderstanding that *Cinna* was dead, came out: and so soone as he made him selfe to be knowne, there repayed a great number of souldiers vnto him, of whom he only chose

two

A two thousand fise hundred, and with them passed by many cities, and sacked one called *MALACA*, as diuers doe wryte, but he flatly denied it, and stowly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwarde hauing gotten shippes together, went into *AFRICKES*, to *Metellus Pius*; a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit he taried not long with *Metellus*, but iarring with him, went vnto *Sylla*, who welcomed and honored him as much, as any that he had about him. *Sylla* afterwarde arriuing in *ITALIE*, intending to imploy all the young nobility he had in his copany, gaue euery one of them charge vnder him, and sent *Crassus* into the countie of the *MARSIANS*, to leaue men of warre there. *Crassus* desiring certaine bandes of *Sylla* to aide him, being driuen to passe by his enemies: *Sylla* answered him angrily againe. I geue thee thy father, thy brother, thy frendes and kinsmen to aide thee, whom they most wickedly haue slaine and murdered, and whose deathea I pursue with hot reuenge of maine army, upon those bloody murderers that haue slaine them. *Crassus* being nettled with these wordes, departed thence presently, and stowly passing through his enemies, leauied a good number of souldiers: & was euer after ready at *Syllas* commaundement in all his warres. Here began first (as they say) the strife and contention between him and *Pompey*. For *Pompey* being younger than *Crassus*, and borne of a wicked father in *Rome*, whom the people more hated than euer they did man: came yet to great honor by his valliancy, & by the notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that *Sylla* did *Pompey* that honor many times, which he seldom did vnto them that were his elders, nor yet vnto those that were his equals: as to rise vp when he came towards him, to put of his eappe, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieutenant generall. And this galled *Crassus* to the hart, although he had no wrong in that *Pompey* was taken before him, because he had no experience in matters of warre at that time, and also because these two vices that were bred in him, misery and couerousnes, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the sacke of the city of *TVDAR*, which he tooke, he priueyly got the most parte of the spoyle to him selfe, whereof he was accused before *Sylla*. Yet in the last battell of all this ciuill warre (which was the greatest and most dangerous of all other) euen before *Rome* it selfe, the wing that *Sylla* led, was repulsed and ouerthrowen: but *Crassus* that led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sent *Sylla* word of his victory, and demanded vittells for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the consecrate goodes of the outlawes appointed to be slaine, for lide or nothing. And it is sayd also, that he made one an outlaw in the countie of the *BRYTANS*, without *Syllas* priuie or commaundement, only to haue his goodes. But *Sylla* being told of it, would neuer after vse him in any open seruice. Surely this is a straunge thing, that *Crassus* selfe being a great flatterer of other, & could creepe into any mans fauor: was yet him selfe easie to be won through flattery, of any man that would seeke him that way. Furthermore, it is sayd of him that he had this property: that though him selfe was as extremely couerous as might be, yet he bitterly reprinted and vterly misliked them that had his owne humor of auarice. *Pompey* honors him that he attained vnto dayly, by bearing great charge and ritle in the warres, did greatly trouble *Crassus*: both because he obtained the honor of triumphe before he came to be Senatour, and also for that the *ROMANS* commonly called him, *Pompey the great*, to say, *Pompey the great*: *Crassus* being in place on a time when one sayd that lawe *Pompey* coming, see, *Pompey* the great is come. And how great I pray ye, sayd he: come fully: howbeit dispayring that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gaue him selfe vnto the affairs of the city: and by his paines and industry of pleading, and defending mens causes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that sued for any office, or demanded any thing els of the people, he attained in the end to the like estimation and authoritie that *Pompey* was come vnto, by his many noble victories: And there was one notable thing in either of them. For *Pompey*es fame & power was greater in *Rome*, when him selfe was absent: and contrary wise when he was there present. *Crassus* oftentimes was better esteemed than he. *Pompey* caried a great maiesty and grauity in his manner of life, would not be fennecosen of the people, but kept from repaying to open places, and would speake but in fewe mens causes, and that vnwillingly: all to keepe his fauor and credit whole for him selfe; when he stood in neede to employ the same. Where *Crassus* diligence was profitable to ma-

EEE ij

Crassus fliteth
Marius and
Cinna.

Vibius recei-
ueth *Crassus*
in the
caue.

Crassus came.

Crassus recei-
ueth *Sylla* into
the countie of
the *Marsians*.

The emulation
between
Crassus and
Pompey.
Sylla called
Pompey his
generall.

Crassus took
the city of
Tudar.

The valian-
cies of
Crassus.

Crassus enui-
eth *Pompey*.

The *Romans*
called *Pompey*
the great.

Crassus indu-
stry and cause
of rising in
the common
wealth.

Three factions
at Rome.

Crassus in-
con-
fucie.

Sicinius pro-
mote.

The wars of
the bondmen,
called Spartacus
warre.

The wit and
behaviour of
Spartacus, the
chiefe Cap-
taine of the
bondmen
warre.

ny, because he kept continually in the market place, and was easie to be repayed vnto by any A man that required his helpe, dayly following those exercises, inendoring him selfe to please every man: so that by this easie access and familiaritie, for fauor and good will, he grew to exceede the grauity and maiesty of Pompey. But as for the worthines of their persons, their eloquence of speeche, & their good grace & countenance: in all those (it is sayd) Pompey and Crassus were both alike. And this enuy and emulation neuer caried Crassus away with any open malice and ill will. For though he was fory to see Pompey and Caesar honored above him: yet the worrne of ambition neuer bred malice in him. No, though Caesar when he was taken by pyrates in Asia (as he was once) and being kept prisoner cryed out alowde: O Crassus, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou shalt heare I am in prison. This notwithstanding, they were afterwards good frendes, as it appeareth. For Caesar being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prætor into SPAYNE, and not being able to satisfie his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to stay & arrest his cariage: Crassus in that time of neede forsooke him not, but became his surety for the summe of eight hundred and thirty talentes. In fine, all Rome being deuided into three factions, to wit, of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus (for as for Cato, the estimation they had of his fidelity was greater, than his authority: and his vertue more wondered at then praised) in so much as the grauest and wisest men tooke parte with Pompey. The liueliest youtthes, and lieliest to runne into desperate attemptes, they followed Caesars hope. Crassus keeping the middelt of the streame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes changed his minde and purpose. For in matters of government in the common weale, he neither shewed him selfe a constant friend, nor a dangerous enemy: but for gaine, C was easily made friend or foe. So that in a moment they saw him praise and reprove, defende and condemne, the same lawes, and the same men. His estimation grewe more, through the peoples feare of him: than for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the aunswere that one Sicinius (a very buisie headed man, and one that troubled euery gouernor of the common weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not busie with Crassus amongest the rest: and howe it happened that he so scaped his handes? O, sayd he, he carries hays on his horne. The manner was then at Rome, if any man had a curst bullocke that would strike with his horne, to winde hays about his heade, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commocion of fensers, which some call Spartacus warre, their wasting and destroying of ITALIE came upon this occasion. In the cite of CAPUA, there was D one Lentulus Batiatus, that kept a great number of fensers at vnrebated soyles, whom the ROMANES call Gladiatores, whereof the most part were GAVLES and THRACIANS. These men were kept locked vp, not for any fault they had committed, but only for the wickednes of their master that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with an other at the sharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to steale away: but their conspiracy being betrayed, three score and eightene of them entred into a cookes house, and with the spittes and kitching kniues, which there they got, went quite out of the city. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes laden with fensers weapons, that were brought from CAPUA going to some other city: those they also tooke by force, and arming them selues therewith, got them then to a strong place of situation. Vhere amongst them selues they chose three E Captaines, and one Spartacus a THRACIAN borne (and of those contrymen that go wandering vp and downe with their heards of beastes neuer staying long in a place) they made their Generall. This Spartacus was not onely valliant, but strong made withall, and endued with more wisdom and honesty, than is commonly found in men of his state and condition: and for gility and good vnderstanding, a man more like to the GRECIANS, than any of his contrie men comonly be. It is reported, that when Spartacus came first to Rome to be sold for adalake, there was founde as he slept, a snake wound about his face. His wife seeing it, being his owne contry woman, & a wife woman besides, posselt with Bacchus spirite of diuination: laid plainly that it did signifie, that one day he should be of great power, much dread, and haue very good successe. This same woman prophettess was then with him, and followed him likewise when he fled. Now first they ouerthrew certain souldiers that came out of CAPUA against them, thinking to take them: and stripping them of their armor & weapons, made them glad

to

A to take the fensers weapons, which they threw away as vile & vnseemly. After that, the ROMANES sent Clodius Prætor against them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in their forte, situate upon a hill that had a verie steepe and narrow ascent vnto it, and kept the passage vp to them: all the rest of the grounde rounde about it, was nothing but high rockes hanging ouer, & upon the great store of wilde vines. Of them the bondmen cut the stiffest stirrpes, and made thereof ladders, like to these hippe ladders of ropes, of such a length and so strong, that they reached from the toppes of the hill euen to the very bottome: upon those they all came safely downe, sauing one that taried about to throwe downe their armor after them, who afterwards by the same ladder saued him selfe last of all. The ROMANES mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, assailed them behinde, & put them B in such a feare with the sodaine onset, as they fled upon it euery man, and so was their campe taken. Thereupon diuers heardmen and shepherds that kept cattell hard by the hill, ioyned with the ROMANES that fled, being strong and hardy men: of which some they armed, and others they vsed as scowtes and spials to discouer. Upon this ouerthrowe was sent an other Capitaine from Rome, called Publius Varinus, against these bondmen: who first ouercame Furinus, the Lieutenant of Varinus in battell, & two thousand of his men: & after that againe they slue one Cosinius, and ouerthrew a great army of his, being ioyned with P. Varinus, as his fellow & counsellor. Spartacus hauing intelligence that Cosinius was bathing him selfe at a place called the salt pittes, had almost taken him tardy, shewing much a do by flight to save him selfe: notwithstanding, Spartacus wanne all his cariage at that time, and hauing him hard in chase, C tooke his whole cape with great slaughter of his men, amongst whom Cosinius selfe was slaine. Spartacus hauing thus now in sundry battells and encounters ouercome the Prætor him selfe, P. Varinus, and at the length taken his fergeauntes from him that carried the axes before him, and his owne horse wherewith he rode him selfe: was growen then to such a power, as he was dreaded of euery man. Yet all this notwithstanding, Spartacus wisely considering his owne force, thinking it not good to tary till he might ouercome the power of the ROMANES: marched with his armie towards the Alpes, taking it their best way after they had passed them ouer, euery man to repayre home to his owne contrie, some into GAVLE, the rest into THRACIA. But his souldiers trusting to their multitude, and perswading them selues to doe great thinges: would not obey him therein, but went againe to spoile and ouerrunne all ITALIA. The Senate of Rome being in a great perplexity, not only for the shame and dishonor that their men should be ouercome in that sorte by slaues and rebells, but also for the feare & daunger all ITALIA stood in besides: sent both the Consulls together, Gellius and Lentulus, as vnto as difficult and dangerous a warre, as any that could haue happened vnto them. This Gellius one of the Consuls, setting sodainly upon a band of the GERMANES, which in abraueure and contempt as it were, disperfed them selues from their campe, put them to the sworde euery man. Lentulus, his colleague and fellow Consul on thother side, compassed in Spartacus round with a great army: but Spartacus charged his Lieutenants that led tharmy, gaue them battell, ouerthrew them, and tooke all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on fill with his army towards the Alpes, Cassius the Prætor, and Gouernor of GAVLE about the Po, came against him with an army of tenne thousand men. Spartacus ioyned battell with him, and ouercame him, Cassius hauing lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty saued him selfe by flying. The Senate hearing of Cassius ouerthrow, were maruelously offended with the Consulls, and sent commaundement vnto them, to leaue of the warre: and thereupon gaue the whole charge thereof vnto Marcus Crassus, who was accompanied in this iorney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houses, both for that he was maruelously esteemed, & also for the good will they bare him. Now went Crassus from Rome, and camped in ROMANIA, taryng Spartacus comming, who was marching thitherward. He sent Mummius one of his Lieutenants with two legions, to fetch a compass about to intrappe the enemy behinde, straighly commaunding him to follow Spartacus vereward, but in no ease to offer him F skirmish nor battell. But Mummius notwithstanding this straight commaundement, seeing some hope geuen him to doe good, set upon Spartacus, who gaue him the ouerthrowe, slue numbers of his men, and moe had slaine, sauing that certaine of them saued them selues by

Clodius a Roman Prætor, sent against Spartacus with 3000 men.

Clodius the Prætor ouercome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinus, sent against Spartacus.

Spartacus the slayer of P. Varinus.

Gellius and Lentulus, both Consulls, sent against Spartacus.

Cassius ouercome by Spartacus.

Crassus sent against Spartacus.

Mummius, Cassius Lieutenant.

Mummius ouerthrowen by Spartacus.

The Romanes
manner of
winning
warrely
souldiers.

Crassus
wonderfull
treach
and wall.

A wonderfull
name of the
water of the
lake of Luca-
nia.

Ambrus laid
by Crassus.

The valiant
of Spartacus
souldiers,
Spartacus
referred to
the mountaines
of Petelie.

flight, having only lost their armor and weapons. Hereupon *Crassus* was grievously offended with *Mummus*, and receiving his souldiers that fled, gave them other armor and weapons but yet upon surerities, that they should keepe them better thenceforth, than they had before done. Now *Crassus* of the five hundred that were in the first rankes, and that first fled, them he deuided into fifty times ten, and out of euery one of those he put one of them to death as the lot fell out: reuening againe the auncient discipline of the ROMANES to punish cowardly souldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in vfe. For it is a kinde of death that bringeth open shame withall, and because it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the residue afrayed to see the terror of this punishment. *Crassus* having done execution in this sorte upon his men, led his armie against *Spartacus*: who still drue backe, vntill he came to the sea side through the contry of the LVCANIANES, where he found in the straight of the Far of MESSINA, certain pyrates shippes of CILICIA, and there determined to goe into SICILIA. And hauing put two thousande men into SICILIE, he then reuiued the warre there of the slaves, which was but in manner newly ended, and lacked small prouocation to beginne it againe. But these pyrates hauing promised *Spartacus* to passe him ouer thither, & also taken giftes of him, deceived him, & brake their promise. Whereupon *Spartacus* returning backe againe from the sea side, went & camped within a litle Ile of the RHEGIANS. *Crassus* comming thither to seeke him, and perceiving that the nature of the place taught him what he should doe: determined with a wall to choke vp the barre or channell entring into this litle Ilande, both to keepe his men occupied from idleness, & his enemies also from vittell. This was a maruelous hard and long peece of worke, notwithstanding. *Crassus* finished it beyonde all mens expectation in a very shorte time, and brought a trenche from one side of the sea to the other ouerthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlonges in length, fifteene foote broad, and so many in height: and upon the toppe of this treache built a high wall, of a maruelous strength, whereof *Spartacus* at the first made light accompt, and laughed at it. But when pillage beganne to faile him, & traueling all about the Ile for vittells, perceiving him selfe to be shut in with this wall, and that there was no kinde of vittells to be had within all the compasse of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boysterous night, the winde being very great, when it snowed exceedingly, set his men a worke, and filled vp a peece of the trenche (being of a small bredth) with earth, stones, and boughes of trees, whereupon he passed ouer the third parte of his army. *Crassus* at the first then became afrayed, least *Spartacus* would haue taken his way directly toward ROME: but he was soone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling against *Spartacus*, went & camped by them selues by the lake of LVCANIA, which water by reporte hath this variable property, that at certaine times it chaungeth and becometh very sweete, and at some other times againe so salte and brackish, as no man can drinke it. *Crassus* going to set upon them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great nuber of them, nor follow them very farre: because *Spartacus* came presently to the rescue with his army, who stayed the chase. *Crassus* had writen letters before to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* home out of THRACIA, & *Pompey* out of SPAYNE, whereof he then repented him, & made all the possible speede he could to end this warre, before either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them so euer came to his helpe, to him E would the people geue the honor of ending this warre, and not to him selfe. Wherefore he first determined to assaile them that had revolted from *Spartacus*, and camped by them selues who were led by *Caius Caninius*, and an other called *Cassius*. So *Crassus* sent six thousand foote-men before to take a hill, commanding them to lye as close as they could, that their enemies might not discouer them: and so they did, and couered their morians & headpees as well as might be, from being seene. Neuerthelesse they were discouered by two women doing sacrifice for the safety of their army: and therupon were all in great hafard of casting away, had not *Crassus* bene, who came in time to their aide, and gaue the enemies the cruelllest battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were slaine of the slaues at that battell, twelue thousand and three hundred, of which, two only were found hurt in the backes, and all the rest slaine in the place of their rankes, valiantly fighting where they were set in battell ray. *Spartacus* after this ouerthrowe, drew towards the mountaines of Petelie, whither *Quintus*,

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A one of *Crassus* Lieutenantes, and *Serofa* his treasurer followed him, still skirmishing with his reward all the way: yet in fine, *Spartacus* turned sodainly upon them, made the ROMANES die that still harried his men in that sorte, and hurt *Serofa* *Crassus* treasurer, so fore that he hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the ROMANES by this ouerthrowe, fell out in the ende to the vtter destruction of *Spartacus*. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitiue bondmen, grew to such a stowtenes and pride of them selues, that they would no more die from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their leaders and Captaines: but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their weapons, and tolde them, that they should go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through LVCANIA against the ROMANES. All this made for *Crassus* as he wished, for he had received newes that *Pompey* was comming, and that diuers were futers for him at ROME to be sent in this iorney, saying, that the last victory of this warre was due to him, and that he would dispatch it at a battell, as soone as he came thither. *Crassus* therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as neere the enemy as he could, and made his men one day cast a trenche, which the bondmen seeking to preuent, came with great fury, and set upon them that wrought. Whereupon fell out a hotte skirmishe, and still supplies came on of either side: so that *Spartacus* in the ende perceiving he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had set them in order, & that they brought him his horse he was wont to fight on: he drew out his sword, and before them all flue the horse dead in the place, saying: if it be my fortune to winne the field, I know I shall haue horse enow to serue my turne: and if I chaunce to be overcome, then shall I nede no more horses. After that, he flew in among the ROMANES, thinking to attaine to fight with *Crassus*, but he could not come neere him: yet he flue with his owne handes two ROMANE Centurions that resisted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forsooke him and fled, so as *Spartacus* was left alone among his enemies: who valiantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though *Crassus* fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had shewed him selfe a noble and valliant Captaine, venturing his persone in any danger, yet he could not keepe *Pompey* from the honor of ending this warre: for the slaues that escaped from this last battell where *Spartacus* was slaine, fell into *Pompeys* handes, who made an end of all those rebellious rascalls. *Pompey* hereupon wrote to the Senate, that *Crassus* had ouercomen the slaues in battell, but that he him selfe had pulled vp that warre euen by the very rootes. After this *Pompey* made his entrie into ROME, and triumphed for his victorie of *Sertorius*, and the conquest of SPAYNE. *Crassus* also sued not for the great triumphe, neither thought he the small Ouation triumphe a foote, which they graunted him, any honor vnto him, for ouercomming a few fugitiue bondmen. But for this small triumphe, whereby it was called Quatio, how much it differeth from the great triumphe: see *Marcellus* life, where we haue at large discouered thereof. Now *Pompey* being called to be Consull: *Crassus*, though he stood in good hope to be chosen Consull with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his friendship and furtherance. *Pompey* was very willing to helpe him, and was euer desirous to make *Crassus* beholding to him: whereupon he delt friendly for him, and spake openly in thassembly of the city, that he would no lesse thanke the people to appoint *Crassus* his companion & fellow Consull with him, then for making him selfe Consull. But notwithstanding they were both Consulls together in office, their friendship held not, but were euer at iarre, & the one against the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulshippe, without any memorable act done: sauing that *Crassus* made a great sacrifice to *Heracles*, and kept an open feast for the people of ROME of a thousande tables, and gaue to euery citizen coine to finde him three monethes. But in the ende of their Consulship, at a common counsell holden, there was a knight of ROME called *Onatius Aurelius*: (a man not greatly knownen, for that he had no dealings in the state, and kept most in the contry) who gettinge vp to the pulpit for orations, tolde the people what a vision he had seene in his dreame. *Iupiter*, said he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put *Crassus* & *Pompey* out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken the wordes, but the people commanded them to be frendes. *Pompey* sate still, and sayd neuer a word to it. But *Crassus* rose, and tooke *Pompey* by the hand, & turning him to the people, told

The noble courage of Spartacus.

Spartacus slaine.

Pompeys triumphe for Spayne.

Quatio see Marcellus life.

Crassus made Consull with Pompey.

Crassus greatesse of the people of Rome.

The dreame of Onatius Aurelius.

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Crassus and Pompey made friends.

Crassus Consul with Catiline.

Crassus suspected for Catiline's conspiracy.

Crassus and Caesar conspired with Catiline. Crassus Cicero's enemy.

Caesar reconciled Crassus and Pompey together.

Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar all three joined in friendship.

Pompey and Crassus did meet with Caesar at Luca.

them alowde my Lordes of ROME, I do nothing vnworthy of my selfe, to seeke Pompey's friendship and fauor first, since you your selues haue called him the great, before he had any heere vpon his face, & that ye gaue him the honor of triumphe, before he was Senatour. And this is all that Crassus did of any accompt in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it ouer without any acte done. For he reformed not the Senate, quistered not the men of warre, norooke any view or estimate of the peoples goodes: although Lucius Catulus was his colleague and fellowe Censor, as gentle a persone as any of that time that liued in ROME. Now Crassus at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent act, to bring Egypt to pay tribute to the ROMANES, Catulus did stowly withstand him: wherby disension falling out betwene them, they both did willingly resigne their office. In that great conspiracie of Catiline, which in manner ouerthrew the whole state and common wealth of ROME, Crassus was had in some ialousie and mistrust: because there was one of the confederats that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credit vnto him. Yet Cicero in an oration of his, doth plainly accuse Crassus & Caesar, as confederats with Catiline: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authority of Consul ceased, he sayd: that Crassus came one night to him, & shewed him a letter touching Catiline, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause Crassus euer after hated him: and that he did not openly reuenge it, the let was by meane of his sonne. For Publius Crassus much fauoring eloquence, and beinge geuen to his booke, bare great good will vnto Cicero: in such sorte, that upon his banishment he put on changed garments as Cicero did, and procured many other youtnes to do the like also, and in fine, perswaded his father to become his friend. Caesar now returning to ROME from the province he had in government, intended to sue for the Consulship: and perceiving that Pompey & Crassus were againe at a iarre, thought thus with him selfe, that to make the one of them his friend to further his sute, he should but procure thother his enemy: and minding therefore to attaine his desire with the fauor of them both, sought first the meanes to make the frendes, & perswaded with them, that by their controuersie thone seeking thothers vndoing, they did thereby but make Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, of the greater authority, who of them selues were of no power, if they two ioynd in friendship together: for making both their frendes and factions one, they might rule the state and common wealth euen as they would. Caesar hauing by his perswasion reconciled Crassus and Pompey, ioyning their three powers in one, made them selues vnuincible, which afterwards turned to the destruction of the people and Senate of ROME. For he made them not only greater than they were before, the one by thothers meanes: but him selfe also of great power through them. For when they beganne to fauor Caesar, he was straight chosen Consul without any deniall: and so behaued him selfe in the Consulship, that at the length they gaue him charge of great armies, and then sent him to gouerne the GAVLES: which was, as a man may say, euen them selues to put him into the castle that should kepe all the citie in subiection: imagining that they two should make spoyle and good boory of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a government. Now for Pompey, the cause that made him commit this error was nothing els, but his extreme ambition. But as for Crassus, besides his old vice of couetousnes rooted in him, he added to that a newe avarice and desire of triumphes and victories, which Caesars fame for prowes and noble actes in warres did throughly kindell in him, that he being otherwise his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferior: which furie tooke such holde as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the common wealth to great misery. Thus Caesar being come out of his province of GAVLE vnto LVCA, diuers ROMANES went thither to see him, and among other, Pompey and Crassus. They hauing talked with him in secret, agreed among them to deuise to haue the whole power of ROME in their handes: so that Caesar should kepe his armie together, and Crassus and Pompey should take other provinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that Pompey and Crassus should againe sue the second time to be Consuls, and that Caesars frendes at ROME should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of choosing the Consuls. Thereupon Pompey and Crassus returned to ROME at that ende, but not without suspicion of their

A their practise: for there ranne a rumor in the citie, that their meeting of Caesar in LVCA, was for no good intent. Whereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey in open Senate, if he meant to make sute to be Consul. Pompey answered them: peraduenture he did, peraduenture he did not. They asking him againe the same question: he answered, he would sue for the good men, not for the euill. Pompeys answers were thought very prowde & hawty. Howbeit Crassus answered more modestly, that if he saw it necessary for the common wealth, he would sue to be Consul: if not, that he would not stand for it. Vpon these words, some were so bold to make sute for the Consulship, as Domitius among other. But afterwards Pompey and Crassus standing openly for it, all the rest left of their sute for feare of them, Domitius only excepted: whom Cato so prayed and intreated, as his kinsman and friend, that he made him to seeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defence of their libertie, and how that it was not the Consulshippe Crassus and Pompey looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyranny: & that they sued not for the office, but to get such provinces and armies into their handes as they desired, vnder colour and countenance of the Consulship. Cato ringing these words into their eares, & beleuing it certainly to be true as he sayd, brought Domitius as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men ioynd with this, because they wondred what the matter ment that these two noble men should sue the second time to be Consuls, and why they made sute to be ioynd together, and not to haue any other with them, considering there were so many other worthy men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. Pompey fearing he should be preuented of his purpose, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongst other, when the day came to chooe the Consuls, Domitius going early in the morning before day, accompanied with his frendes to the place where the electi should be: his man that caried the torch before him was slaine, by some whom Pompey had layed in waite, & many of his companie hurt, and among others, Cato. And hauing thus dispersed them, he beset a house rounde about whether they fled for succour, and inclosed them there, vntill they were both chosen Consuls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and draue Cato out of the market place, & slue some of them that resisted & would not flye. They also then prolonged Caesars government of the GAVLES for five yeeres more, and procured for them selues by decrees of the people, the contries of SYRIA and SPAYNE. Again, when they drew loutes together, SYRIA fell to Crassus, and SPAYNE to Pompey. Euery man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one side were loth Pompey should goe farre from ROME: & him selfe also louing his wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so neere her, that he might remaine the most of his time at ROME. But Crassus of all other reioyced most at his happe, that he should goe into SYRIA: and it appeared plainly that he thought it was the happiest turne that euer came to him, for he would euer be talking of the iorney, were he in neuer so great or strange company. Furthermore, being among his frendes and familiars; he would geue out such fonde boastes of it, as no young man could haue made greater vauntes: which was cleane contrary to his yeres and nature, hauing liued all his life time as modestly, and with as small ostentacion as any man liuing. But then forgetting him selfe too much had such fond conceites in his head, as he not E only hoped after the conquest of SYRIA, and of the PARTHIANS, but flattered him selfe that the world should see all that Lucullus had done against king Tigranes, and Pompey against king Artabazanes, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the BACTRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Ocean sea toward the East, though in the decree passed by the people there was no mention made of any warres against the PARTHIANS. Nowe euery man sawe Crassus ambition and greedy desire of honor: in much as Caesar selfe wrote vnto Crassus out of GAVLE, commending his noble intent and forwardnes, and wished him to goe thorow therewith. But Attius one of the Tribunes being bent against Crassus to withstand his departure: (hauing diuers other confederats with him to further his purpose, who much misliked that any man of a brauery and lustines should make warre with any nation or people that had no way offended the ROMANES: but were their frendes and confederates) Crassus fearing this conspiracy, prayed Pompey to assist and accompany him out of the citie, because he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then.

Pompey is slowe to answer.

Crassus should not be suspected.

Pompey made him selfe and Crassus Consuls by force.

Pompey and Crassus consuls the second time.

Crassus had the government of Syria.

Attius the Tribune, against Crassus departure.

For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let *Crassus* of his due
 parture, and to crie out upon him: yet when they saw *Pompey* goe before him, with a pleasant
 smiling countenance, they quieted their selues, and made a lane for them, suffering them to
 passe on, and sayd nothing. This notwithstanding, *Atticus* the Tribune stepped before them,
 and commaunded *Crassus* he should not departe the city, with great protestations if he did the
 contrary. But perceiuing *Crassus* still held on his way notwithstanding, he commaunded then
 one of the officers to lay hold of him, & to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not
 suffer the officer to doe it. So the fergeaunt dismissed *Crassus*. Then *Atticus* running towards
 the gate of the city, got a chafingdish with coles, & set it in the midst of the streete. When
Crassus came against it, he cast in certaine perfumes, and made sprincklinges over it, pro-
 nouncing horrible curses, and calling upon terrible and straunge names of goddes. The Ro-
 manes say that those manner of curses are very auncient, but yet very secret, and of so great
 force: as he that is once cursed with that curse can neuer escape it, nor he that vseth it dothe
 neuer prosper after it. And therefore fewemen doe vfe it, and neuer but upon vrgent occasion.
 But then they much reprobued *Atticus*, for vsing of these dreadfull ceremonies and extreme
 curses, which were much hurtfull to the common weale, although he for his contries sake
 had thus cursed *Crassus*. *Crassus* settinge forward notwithstandinge, sayled on, and arriued at
 BRVNDISIUM, when winter stormes had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his shippes
 howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the contry of GALATIA. There he found
 king *Deiotarus*, a very old man and yet building a new city: and to taunte him pretily, sayd va-
 to him. What, O king, beginne you to builde now in the afternone? To whom the king of
 the GALATIANS againe smiling made aunswere. And truly Syr Capitaine, you goe not very
 earely (me thinkes) to make warre with the PARTHIANS. For in deede *Crassus* was three score
 and vppward, and yet his face made him seeme elder then he was. But to our story againe. *Cras-
 sus* beinge comen into the contry, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he easily built a bridge
 upon the riuier of Euphrates, and passed his armie ouer it without any let or trouble. So en-
 tering into MESOPOTAMIA, receiued many cities, that of good will yellected them selues vnto
 him. Howbeit there was one city called ZENODOTIA, whereof *Apollonius* was tyrant, where
Crassus lost a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooke by
 force, sacked their goodes, and sold the prisoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this
 citie ZENODOTIA, and for winning of the same *Crassus* suffered his men to call him Impera-
 tor, to say, soueraigne Capitaine: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to
 be thought of a bafe minde, as one that had small hope to attaine to great thinges, making
 such reckoning of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seuen thousand of his foot-
 men in garrison, in those cities that had yellected vnto him, and about a thousand horsemen
 returned backe to winter in SYRIA. Thither came his sonne *Publius Crassus* to him out of
 GAYLE from *Iulius Caesar*, who had geuen him such honors, as Generall of Rome did vie
 to goe to valliant souldiers for reward of their good seruice: and brought vnto his father a
 thousand men of armes, all choise men. This me thinkes was the greatest fault *Crassus* com-
 mitted in all his enterprise of that warre. For when he should presently haue gone on still, and
 entred into BABYLON and SELEVCIA, (cities that were euer enemies vnto the PARTHIANS) he
 he tracted time, & gaue them leasure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come
 against them. Againe they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in
 SYRIA, seeming rather to leade a marchauntes life, than a chieftaines. For he neuer saw his
 army, nor trained them out to any marshall exercise, but fell to counting the reuenue of the
 cities, and was many dayes busily occupied weying of the gold and siluer in the temple of the
 goddesse *Hierapolis*. And worse then that he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him,
 to furnishe him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would discharge them
 for a summe of money. All these thinges made him to be both ill spoken of, & despised of euery
 body. The first token of this ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddesse *Hierapolis*,
 whom some suppose to be *Venus*, other say *Iuno*, and others, that she is the mother and chiefe
 cause that giueth beginning of moisture to euery thing that commeth forth and hath a being,
 and taught men the original cause also of euery good thing. For as *Crassus* the father, & sonne
 both,

Observations
 of castiges a-
 mong the Ro-
 manes.

Crassus journey
 into Syria.

Deiotarus,
 king of Gala-
 tia.

Crassus pos-
 sited over the
 riuier of Eu-
 phrates.

Zenodotia se-
 ken by *Cras-
 sus*.

*Publius Cras-
 sus* came to
 his father in
 Syria.

Great faultes
 committed by
Crassus.

A both, were comming out of the temple: *Crassus* the younger fell first on his face, and the fa-
 ther afterwards upon his sonne. Likewise as he was gathering his garnisons together, & cal-
 ling them out of the cities into the fieldes, there came Ambassadors vnto him from *Asa-
 ces*, kinge of the PARTHIANS: who deliuered him their message in fewe wordes, and tolde
 him, that if this army he brought came from the ROMANES to make warre with their master,
 then that he would haue no peace nor friendship with them, but would make mortall warres
 against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard say) that *Crassus* against the peoples mindes
 of ROMES, for his owne couetous desire, and peculiar profit was come in a iolity to make warre
 with the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their contry: then in that respect *Asaces* would deale
 more fauorably, in consideration of *Crassus* yeares, and was contented also to suffer his men to
 depart with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in prison, than in garrison within his
 cities. Thereto *Crassus* coragiously aunswere, that he would make them aunswere in the city
 of SELEVCIA. Therewith *Vagises*, one of the eldest Ambassadors fell a laughing, and shewing
Crassus the palme of his hand, told him thus: heare will sooner grow in the palme of my hand,
Crassus, than you will come to SELEVCIA. In this sorte the Ambassadors tooke their leaue of
Crassus, and returned to their kinge *Hyrodes*, telling him he was to prepare for warre. In the
 meane space, certaine of *Crassus* souldiers whom he had left in garrison in the cities of ME-
 SOPOTAMIA, hauing escaped maruelous daungerously and with great difficulty: brought him
 newes of importance, hauing them selues seene the wonderfull great campe of the enemy &
 their manner of fight in the assaultes they made to the cities where they lay in garrison. And as
 it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any danger making thinges more feare-
 full and dangerous than they be in deede: they reported that it was vnpossible by syinge
 to saue them selues, if they did followe in chafe: neither to ouertake them also, if they fled.
 And further, that they had such kinde of arrowes as would flie swifter, than a mans eye could
 discerne them, and would perce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who shot
 them. Besides, for the horsemen weapons they vsed, that they were such, as no armor could
 possibly hold out: and their armors on thother side made of such a temper and metall, as no
 force of any thing could pearce them thorow. The ROMANES hearing these newes, fell from
 their former stoutnes and corage, being borne in hande before, that the PARTHIANS differ-
 ed nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, whom *Lucillus* had overcome
 and spoyled so oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made accompt, that their
 greatest paynes in this warre, was but the tediousnes of the iorney they had to make, and the
 trouble they should haue to follow those men that would not abide them. But then contrarie
 to expectation, they looked to come to strokes, and to be lustely fought withall. Hereupon,
 diuers Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom *Crassus* the tre-
 sorer was one) aduised *Crassus* to stay, and to deliberate in counsell to knowe whether he were
 best to goe on, or to remaine where he was. The soothsayers them selues did partly let *Cras-
 sus* vnderstand, that the goddes shewed no good tokens in all their sacrifices, and were hardly
 to be pacified. But *Crassus* gaue no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him
 as much, but only listned to them that counselled him to make hast. Yet *Crassus* chieft com-
 E forte and incouragement, was of *Artabazes*, king of ARMENIA, who came to his campe with
 sixe thousand horse, which were but only the kinges cornet and garde. Againe he promised
 him other tenne thousand horsemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thousand footmen
 which he kept continually in pay, and counselled *Crassus* to enter the PARTHIANS contrie v-
 pon ARMENIANS side: because his campe shoulde not onely haue plenty of vittells, which
 he would send him out of his contry, but for that he should also march in more safety, hauing
 a contrie full of mountaines and woddes before him very ill for horsemen, which was the on-
 ly strength and force of the PARTHIANS. *Crassus* coldly thanked *Artabazes* for his good will,
 & all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his iorney through MESOPOTAMIA,
 where he had left many good souldiers of the ROMANES. And thus departed the king of AR-
 MENIA from him. But now as *Crassus* was passing his army upon the bridge he had made ouer
 the riuier of Euphrates, there fel out sodaine strange & terrible crackes of thuder, with feare-
 full flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: moreover, out of a great blacke clowde

The first
 signes of *Cras-
 sus* ill lucke.

This name of
Asaces, or
Asacides,
 was common
 to all the kinges
 of the Parthi-
 ans. Ambassadors
 of the Parthi-
 ans sent to
Crassus.

Vagises words,
 shewing *Cras-
 sus* the palme
 of his hande.
Hyrodes, king
 of the Parthi-
 ans.

Crassus trea-
 sorer vnder
Crassus.
Crassus fore-
 warned by the
 soothsayers of
 his ill success.

Artabazes,
 king of Ar-
 menia, came
 to *Crassus*
 campe.

Wonders full
 signes and to-
 rments to *Cras-
 sus*.

came a wonderfull storme and tempest of winde upon the bridge, that the maruelous force thereof ouerthrew a great parte of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Besides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twise stricken with two great thunder clappes. One of his great horse in like case, being brauely furnished and set out, tooke the bit in his teeth, and leapt into the riuer with his ryder on his backe, who were both drowned; and neuer seene after. They say also, that the first Eagle & ensigne that was to be taken vp when they marched, turned backe of it selfe, without any handes layed vpon it. Further it fortuned that as they were distributing the vittells vnto the souldiers, after they had all passed ouer the bridge, the first thing that was geuen them, was salte, and water lintels, which the ROMANES take for a token of death and mourning, because they vse it at the funeralles of the deade. After all this, when *Crassus* was exhorting his souldiers, a worde escaped his mouth that troubled the armie maruelously. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, of purpose, because there should not a man of them returne backe againe. Where in deede when he had seene that they tooke this word in ill parte, he should haue called it in againe, or haue declared his meaning, seeing his men so amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was so willfull. In the ende he made ordinarie sacrifice for the purging of his army: and when the Soothsayer gaue him the intrells of the beast that was sacrificed, they fell out of his handes. *Crassus* perceiving that the standers by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them, you see what age is: yett shall you not see my sword fall out of my hande. So hauing ended his sacrifice, he beganne to marche forward into the contrie by the riuers side, with seuen legions of footemen, and litle lacke of foure thousand horse, and in maner many shot and slinges lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his skoutes that had viewed the contrie, and told him there was not an enemy to be seene in the field: howbeit that they had founde the tracke of a maruelous number of horse, which seemed as they were returned backe. Then *Crassus* first of all beganne to hope well: and his souldiers also, they fell to despise the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet *Crassus* his treasurer euer perswaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to refresh his army a litle in one of the cities where he had his garrison, vntill such time as he heard more certaine newes of the enemies: or else that he would march directly towards *Seleucia* by the riuers side, which lay fit for him to vitell him selfe easily by boates that would alwayes follow his campe, & should be sure besides that the enemies could not enuiron him behinde, so that hauing no way to set upon the but before, they should haue none aduantage of them. *Crassus* going about then to consult of the matter, there came one *Ariamnes* vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine subtil fellow, which was the greatest mischief and euill, that fortune could send to *Crassus* at that present time, to bring him to vtter ruine and destruction. For there were some of *Crassus* souldiers that had serued *Pompey* before in that contrie, who knew him very well, and remembered that *Pompey* had done him great pleasures: whereupon they thought that he bare great good will to the ROMANES. But *Ariamnes* had bene labored at that time by the king of PARTHIAS Captaines, & was wonne by them to deceiue *Crassus*, and to intice him all he could, to drawe him from the riuer and the woddy contrie, & to bring him into the plaine felde, where they might compass him in with their horsemen: for they ment nothing lesse than to fight with the ROMANES at the swordes point. This barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* comming to *Crassus*, did highly praise and commend *Pompey*, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent spoken man) and extolled *Crassus* army, reproving him that he came so slowly forward, tracting time in that sorte as he did, preparing him selfe as though he had neede of armor and weapon, and not of feete and handes swift & ready against the enemies: who (for the chiefe of them) had of long time occupied them selues to stie with their best moueables, towards the desertes of SCYTHIA & HYRCANIA. Therefore if you determine (sayd he) to fight, it were good you made hast to meete them, before the king haue gathered all his power together. For nowe you haue but *Surenas* and *Sillaces*, two of his Lieutenantes against you, whom he hath sent before to stay you that you followe him not. For the king him selfe, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lyed in all. For king *Hyrodes* had deuised his army in two partes at the first, whereof him selfe tooke the one, and

Crassus armie
was fifty thousand men.

Ariamnes, a
Captaine of
the Arabians.

Ariamnes de-
scribeth *Cras-
sus*.

Surenas and
Sillaces, Ar-
abian Lieuten-
antes.

went

A went to spoyle the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king *Artabazes*: and with the other he sent *Surenas* against the ROMANES, not for any contempt he had of *Crassus* (for it was not likely he would disdain to come to battell with him, being one of the chiefe noble men of ROMES, and to thinke it more honorable to make warre with king *Artabazes* in ARMENIA) but I thinke rather he did it of purpose to auoide the greater danger, and to keepe farre off, that he might with safetie see what would happen, and therefore sent *Surenas* before to halard battell, and to turtie the ROMANES backe againe. For *Surenas* was no meane man, but the second person of PARTHIA next vnto the king: in riches, reputation, valure, and experience in warres, the chiefe of this time among all the PARTHIANS; and for execution, no man like him. *Surenas*, when he did but remoue into the contrie only with his household, had a thousand camels to carry his sumpters, and two hundred coches of Curisians, a thousand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many more besides lightly armed: so that his whole traine & court made about ten thousand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancestors, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the roial crowne or diadem upon the kings head. Moreouer, he had restored king *Hyrodes* that then reigned, to his crowne, who had bene before driuen out of his realme: and had wonne him also the great city of *Seleucia*, him selfe being the first man that scaled the walls, and ouerthrew them with his owne handes that resisted him. And though he was vnder thirtie yeares of age, yet they counted him a wise man, as well for his counsell, as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he ouercame *Crassus*. Who through his rashnes and folly at the first, and afterwards for very feare and timorousnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* hauing then brought *Crassus* to beleue all that he sayd, and drawn him by perswasion from the riuer of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plaine contrie, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, because they entred into sandes where their feete soncke deepe, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could deeme by eye, so that not only extreame thirst, and miserable way maruelously amazed the ROMANES, but the discomfort of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight vpon: that, above all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For, neither farre nor nere any sight of tree, riuer, brooke, mountaine, grasse, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an endlesse sea of desert sandes on euerie side, rounde about their campe. Then beganne they to suspect that they were betrayed. Againe, when newes came that *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, was kept in his contrie with a great warre king *Hyrodes* made upon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towards ARMENIA, that both their armies being ioyned together they might the better fight with king *Hyrodes*, if not, that he would alwayes keepe the woddy contrie, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountaines: *Crassus* was so willfull, as he would wryte no aunswere to it, but angrily told the messenger, that he had no leasure then to harken to the ARMENIANS, but that afterwards he would be reuenged well enough of *Artabazes* treason. *Crassus* his treasurer was much offended with *Crassus* for this answer: howbeit perceiving he could doe no good with him, and that he tooke euery thing in euill parte, he sayd vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking *Ariamnes* this Captaine of the ARABIANS a side, he rebuked him roundly, and sayd: O thou wretche, what cursed deuil hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched & charmed *Crassus*: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captaine of theeuers, than for a Generall and Consul of the ROMANES? *Ariamnes* being crafty & subtil, speaking gently vnto *Crassus*, did comforte him, and prayed him to haue patience, and going and comming by the bandes, seeming to helpe the souldiers, he tolde them merily: O my fellowes, I beleue you thinke to marche through the contrie of Naples, and looke to meete with your pleasure springs, goodly groues of wodde, F your naturall bathes, and the good innes round about to refresh the you, and doe not remember that you passe through the desertes of ARABIA & ASSYRIA. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMANES a while: but afterwards he dislodged betimes, before he

Surenas sent
against *Cras-
sus*.

Surenas what
he was.

Surenas
courte and
traine.

Surenas a
young man;
but very
wise.

Artabazes
sent an En-
bassage vnto
Crassus.

Crassus with
his traine.

FFF

*Crassus army
against the
Parthians.*

*Surenas first
counsels, for
the hiding of
his great ar-
my.
Crassus bar-
red with the
Parthians.
The Parthians
kettle drunke.*

*The person of
Surenas, Ge-
nerall of the
Parthians
described.*

was openly known for a traitor, and yet not without *Crassus* priuiey, whom he bare in hand, that he would goe for some broyle and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that *Crassus* the very same day came out of his tent not in his coate armor, of scarlet, (as the manner was of the ROMANES Generalls) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembering him selfe, he straight chaunged it againe. It is sayd moreouer, that the ensigne bearers when they should marche way, had much a doe to plucke their ensignes out of the ground, they stucke so fast. But *Crassus* scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to marche forward, compelling the footemen to goe as fast as the horsemen, till a fewe of their skowtes came in, whom they had sent to discouer: who brought newes howe the enemies had slaine their fellows, and what a doe they had them selues to scape with life, and that they were a maruelous great army, & well appointed to geue them battell. This newes made all the campe aftrayed, but *Crassus* selfe more than the rest, so as he beganne to set his men in battell ray, being for haile in manner besides him selfe. At the first following *Crassus* minde, he set his rankes wide, casting his souldiers into a square battell, a good way a fonder one from an other, bicause he would take in as much of the plaine as he coulde, to keepe the enemies from compassing them in, and so deuoided the horsemen into the winges. Yet afterwards he chaunged his minde againe, and straitned the battell of his footemen, facioning it like a bricke, more long than broad, making a front, and shewing their faces euery way. For there were twelve cohorts or ensignes imbatelled on either side, & by euery cohorte a company of horse, bicause there should be no place left without aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be a like defended. Then he gaue *Crassus* the leading of one wing, his sonne *Publius Crassus* the other, and him selfe led the battell in the middest. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called *Ballidus*, where there was no great store of water, but yet happily lighted on for the souldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painfull way, where they had met with no water before. There the most parte of *Crassus* Captaines thought best to campe all night, that they might in the meane time finde meanes to knowe their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But *Crassus* yielding to his sonnes and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to marche on with his army, and to set upon the enemy presently: commaunded, that such as would eate, should eate standing, keeping their rankes. Yet on the sodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole army, he commaunded them againe to marche, not fayer and softly as when they go to geue battell, but with speede, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the ROMANES at the first to be so great a number, neither so brauelie armed as they thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, *Surenas* had of purpose hid them, with certaine troups he sent before: and to hyde their bright armors, he had cast clothes and beastes skinned upon them. But when both the armies approached neere thone to thother, & that the signe to geue charge was lift vp in the ayer: first they filled the felde with a dreadfull noyse to heare. For the PARTHIANS doe not encourage their men to fight with the sounde of a horne, neither with trumpets nor howboyes, but with great kettle drommes hollow within, & about them they hang litle bells & copper rings, and with them they all make a noyse euery where together, and it is like a dead sounde, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wild beast, & a fearefull noyse as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that soonest moueth the harte & spirite of any man, & maketh him soonest besides him selfe. The ROMANES being put in feare with this dead sounde, the PARTHIANS straight threw the clothes & couerings from them that hid their armor, & then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered Steele, that glared like fire, & their horses barbed with Steele and copper. And *Surenas* also, General of the PARTHIANS, who was as goodly a personage, and as valliant, as any other in all his host, though his beawtie somewhat effeminate, in iudgement shewed small likelyhoode of any such corage: for he painted his face, and ware his heare after the facion of the MEDES, contrary to the manner of the PARTHIANS, who let their heare grow after the facion of the TARTARES, without combing or tricking of them, to appeare more terrible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the first thought to haue set upon the ROMANES with their pykes, to see if they could breake their first rankes. But when they drew neere, and

saue

A sweete deper of the ROMANES battell standing close together, firmly keeping their rankes: then they gaue backe, making as though they fled, & dispersed them selues. But the ROMANES were not when they found it contrary, & that it was but a deuise to enturonne them on euery side. Whereupon *Crassus* commaunded his thor and light armed men to assaile them, which they did: but they went not farre, they were so beaten in with arrowes, and driven so neere to their fore, of his armed men. And this was the first beginning that both feared and moubled the ROMANES: when they saw the vehemency and great force of the enemies shottes, which brake their armors, and ranne thorpe any thing they hit, were it neuer so hard or soft. The PARTHIANS thus still drawing backe, thore all together on euery side, as a fore battell: but at last enturonne for the battell of the ROMANES, too neere together, as if they would they could not misse the killing of some. These bowmen drew a great strength, & had bigge strong bowes, which sent the arrowes from them with a wonderful force. The ROMANES by means of these bowes were in hard state. For if they kept their rankes, they were grievously wounded: if they left them, and sought to run upon the PARTHIANS to fight at hand, with them, they saw they would do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme them selues. For yea fast as the ROMANES came upon them, so fast did the PARTHIANS still draw from them, and yet in flying continued still their shooting: which no nation but the SCYTHIANS could better doe than they, being a matter in deede most greatly to their aduantage. For by their flight they best doe saue them selues, and fighting still, they thereby shunne the shame of that their flying. The ROMANES still defended them selues, and held it out, so long as they had any hope that the PARTHIANS would leaue fighting, when they had spent their arrowes, or would ioyne battell with them. But after they vnderstood that there were a great number of camels laden with quiers full of arrowes: where the first that had bestowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quiers: then *Crassus* seeing no end of their shotte, began to faint, and sent to *Publius* his sonne, willing him in any cale to charge upon the enemies, and to geue an onser, before they were compassed in on euery side. For it was on *Publius* side, that one of the winges of the enemies battell was neereft vnto them, and where they rode vp and downe to compass them behinde. Whereupon *Crassus* sonne taking thirtene hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thowfand were of the men of armes whom *Julius Caesar* sent) & five hundred shot, with eight ensignes of footemen hauing targets, most neere to the place, where D him selfe then was: he put them out in bredth, that whelming about they might geue a charge vpon them that rode vp & downe. But they seeing him comming, turned straight their horse and fled, either bicause they met in a marriage, or else of purpose to beguile this young *Crassus*, intising him thereby as farre from his father as they could. *Publius Crassus* seeing them flye, tried out, these men will not abide vs, and so spurred on for life after them: so did *Celsus* and *Megabates* with him (the one a Senator of Rome a very eloquent man, the other a stout coragious valliant man of warre) both of them *Crassus* well appoynted frendes, and in manner of his owne yeares. Now the horsemen of the ROMANES being trained out thus to the chafe, their horsemen also would not abide behinde, nor shew them selues to haue lesse hope, ioy, and corage, then their horsemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chafe: till they were gone farre from the army, and then they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, sodainly turned againe, and a number of others besides came and set vpon them. Whereupon they stayed, thinking that the enemies perceiuing they were so few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. Howbeit they set out against them their men at armes with their barbed horse, & made their light horsemen whele rounde about them, keeping no order at all: who galloping vp and downe the plaine, whurled vp the sand hilles from the bottoome with their horse feet, which raised such a wonderfull dust, that the ROMANES could scarce see or speake one to another. For they being shut vp into a litle roome, and standing close one to another, were sore wounded with the PARTHIANS arrowes, and died of a cruell lingering death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting them selues upon the sande, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Againe, struing by force to plucke out the forked arrowe heades, that had peared farre into their bodies through their vaines & sinewes: thereby they opened

*The Parthians
fought reyr-
ring.*

*The manner of
the Parthians
fight.*

*The praise of
Celsus and
Megabates.*

*Therrible
fight of the
Romans a-
gainst the
Parthians.*

their woundes wider, and so cast them selues away. Many of them dyed thus miserably: cryed: and such as dyed not, were not able to defend them selues. Then when *Publius Crassus* prayed and besought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horse, they showed him their handes fast nailed to their targets with arrowes, & their feete likewise shot through and nailed to the ground: so as they could neither flee, nor yet defende themselves. Therupon him selfe incouraging his horsemen, went and gaue a charge, and did valiantly set upon the enemies, but it was with too great disadvantage, both for offence, and also for defence. For him selfe and his men with weake & light stances, brake upon them that were armed with all manner of steels, or stiffe leather iackets. And the *PARTHIAN*s in contrary manner with mightie strong pykes gaue charge upon these *GAVLES*, which were either varnished, or else but lightly armed. Yet those were they in whom *Crassus* most trusted, having done wonderfull featues of warre with them. For they receiued the *PARTHIAN*s pykes in their handes, &ooke them about the middells, and threw them of their horse, where they lay on the ground, and could not stirre for the weight of their harness: and there were diuers of them also that lightning from their horse, lay vnder their enemies horse bellies, & thrust their swordes into them. Their horse flinging & bounding in the ayer for very paine threw their maisters vnder feete, & their enemies ore upon an other, & in the end fell dead among them. Moreover, extreme heat and thirst did maruelously comber the *GAVLES*, who were fied to abide neither of both: and the most parte of their horse were laine, charging with al their power upon the men at armes of the *PARTHIAN*s, and so ranne them selues in upon the pointes of their pykes. At the length, they were driuen to retire towards their footemen, & *Publius Crassus* among them, who was very ill by reason of the woundes he had receiued. And seeing a sand hill by chance not farre from them, they went thither, & setting their horse in the middelt of it, compassed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defende them selues the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they founde it contrary. For the contry being plaine, they in the foremost rankes did somewhat couer them behinde, but they that were behinde, standing hieer than they that stood foremost (by reason of the nature of the hill that was hieest in the middelt) could by no meanes saue them selues, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miserie and misfortune, that must needs dye without reuenge, or declaration of their valiancy. At that present time there were two *GRECIAN*s about *Publius Crassus*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nicomachus*, who dwelt in those quarters, in the city of *CARRA*: they both counselled *P. Crassus* to steale away with them, and to flee to a city called *ISCHEUS*, that was not farre from thence; andooke the *ROMAN*s parte. But *P.* answered them, that there was no death so cruell as could make him forsake them, that dyed for his sake. When he had so sayd, wishing them to saue them selues, he embraced them, &ooke his leaue of them and being very sore hurt with the shot of an arrow through one of his handes, commanded one of his gentlemen to thrust him through with a sword, & so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported *Cenforinus* did the like. But *Megabacchus* slue him selfe with his owne handes, and so did the most parte of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left alieue, the *PARTHIAN*s got vpon the sand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their speares and pykes, andooke but slue hundred prisoners. After that, they strake of *Publius Crassus* head, & therupon returned straight to set upon his father *Crassus*, who was then in this state. *Crassus* the father, after he had willed his sonne to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, & pursued the chase: & perceiving also that they that remained in their great battell, did not prease upon him so neere as they did before, because that a great number of them were gone after the other for rescue: he began to be liuely againe, and keeping his men close, rettyred with them the best he could by a hills side, looking euer that his sonne would not be long before that he returned from the chase. But *Publius* seeing him selfe in daunger, had sent diuers messengers to his father, to aduertise him of his distresse, whom the *PARTHIAN*s intercepted and slue by the way: and the last messengers he sent, escaping very hardly, brought *Crassus* newes, that his sonne was but cast away, if he did not presently aide him, and that with a great power. These newes were grievous to *Crassus* in two respects: first for the feare he had, seeing him selfe in daunger to lose all: and

Carræ a city of Mesopotamia. Ischeus, a citie.

The death of Publius Crassus.

A secondly for the vehement desire he had to goe to his sonnes helpe: Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to goe with all his power, to the rescue of his sonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his sonnes overthrow: with a more drestfull noyse and crie of victorie, than euer before: and thereupon their deadly sounding drommes filled the ayer with their wonderfull noise. The *ROMAN*s then looked straight for a hot alarme. But the *PARTHIAN*s that brought *Publius Crassus* head upon the point of a lance, comming neere to the *ROMAN*s, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision, if they knew what house he was of; and who were his parentes: for it is not likely (sayd they) that so noble and valliant a young man, should be the sonne of so cowardly a father, as *Crassus*. The sight of *Publius Crassus* head killed the *ROMAN*s hartes more, than any other daunger they had bene in at any time in all the battell. For it did not set their hartes a fire as it should haue done, with anger, and desire of reuenge: but farre otherwise, made them quake for feare, & strooke them starcke dead to behold it. Yet *Crassus* selfe shewed greater corage in this misfortune, than he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by euery band he cried out aloude. The griefe and sorrow of this losse (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine only: but the noble successe and honor of *ROME* remaineth still vnuincible, so long as you are yet liuing. Nowe, if you pitie my losse of so noble and valliant a sonne, my good souldiers, let me intreate you to turne your sorrow into fury: make them deere buy the ioy, they haue gotten: be reuenged of their cruelty, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why, aspiring mindes sometime must needs susteine losse. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio*, *Antiochus*, but their blood did pay for it. Our ancestors in olde time lost a thousande shippes, yea in *ITALIE* diuers armies and chieftaines for the conquest of *SICILIE*, yet for all the losse of them, at the length they were victorious ouer them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of *ROME* came not to that greatnes it now is at; by good fortune onely, but by patience and constant suffering of trouble and aduersitie, neuer yeeldinge or geuing place to any daunger. *Crassus* vsing these perswasions to encourage his souldiers for resolution, founde that all his wordes wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commanded them to geue the showte of battell, he plainly sawe their hartes were done, for that then sheweth role, but faint, and not all alike. The *PARTHIAN*s on the other side, their shewte was great, and lustie, they range it out. Now when they came to ioyne, the *PARTHIAN*s archers & horsebacke compassing in the *ROMAN*s upon the winges, shot an infinite nuber of arrowes at their sides. But their men at armes geuing charge upon the front of the *ROMAN*s battel with their great lances, compelled them to draw into a narrow roome, a few excepted, that valiantly, and in desperate maner ranne in among them, as men rather desiring to dye, than to be slaine with their arrowes, where they could do the *PARTHIAN*s almost no hurt at all. So were they sone dispatcht, with the great lances that ranne them through, head, wodde and all, with such a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, saying they would geue *Crassus* that nightes respite, to lament and bewaile his sonnes death: onlesse that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his safety to come and offer him selfe to king *Artaxerxes* mercy, then to tary to be brought vnto him by force. So the *PARTHIAN*s camping hard by the *ROMAN*s, were in very good hope to ouerthrow him the next morning. The *ROMAN*s on the other side had a maruelous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dresse their wounded men, that dyed in miserable paine: but euery man bewayled his hard fortune, when they saw not one of them could escape; if they taryed till the morning. On the other side, to departe in the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieue them much. Bicause, to carie them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leaue them to behinde, their pitiefull cries would geue the enemies knowledge of their departure. Nowe, though they all thought *Crassus* the only author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But *Crassus* went a side without light, and layed him downe with his head covered, bicause he would see no man, shewing thereby the common forte an example of vntable fortune: and the wife men, a good learning to know the frutes of ill counsell, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaunde so many

Crassus was slain to his soldiers who his heart was full of sorrow.

Crassus an example of fortune misfortune.

thowlandes of men, but thought (as a man would say) him selfe the meaneft of all others, and one that posselt nothing, because he was accompted inferior vnto two persones only, *Caesar*, and *Cassius*. Notwithstanding, *Octavianus*, one of his chieftaines, and *Cassius* the treasurer, made him rise, and sought to comfort him the best they could. But in the end, losing him to come come with sorrow, and out of hart, that he had no life nor spirit in him: they them selues called the Capitaines and Centurions together, and fate in counsell for their departure, and agreed that there was no longer tarrying for the. Thus of their owne authoritie at the first they made the army marche away, without any sound of trumpet or other noyse. But immediately after, they that were left hurt and sicke, and could not follow, seeing the campe remoued, fell a crying out and tormenting them selues in such sorte, that they filled the whole campe with sorrow, and put them out of all order, with the great moone and lowde lamentation: so as the foremost ranke that first dislodged, fell into a maruelous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and set upon them. Then turning oft, and setting them selues in battell raze, one while loding their beastes with the wounded men, an other while vnloading them againe, they were left behinde, sauing three hundred horsemen that escaped, who came about midnight to the city of *CARRIS*. *Senatus* their Captaine called to the watche on the walles, and spake in the Latine tongue. Who answering, he willed them to tell *Coponius*, Gouverneur of the towne, that *Crassus* had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and sayd no more, neither told what he was: but rode on still, till he came to the bridge which *Crassus* had made ouer *Euphrates*. Yet this word *Senatus* gaue to the watch to tell *Coponius*, serued *Crassus* vnto very well. For *Coponius* thought by this great hast of his, and the short confused speeche made, passing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he straight armed his souldiers, and vnderstanding that *Crassus* was returning backe, went to meete him, and brought him & his army into the city of *CARRIS*. The PARTHIANS knew well enough of the remouing of the ROMANES campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entering into their campe where they lay, slue all that were left behinde, which was about foure thousande men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many straggles in the plaine. Among them there was *Barguninus*, one of *Crassus* Lieutenantes, who strayed in the night out of the army with foure whole ensignes, and hauing lost his way, gotte to a hill, where the PARTHIANS besieged him, slue him & all his company, though he valiantly defended him selfe: yet twenty of them only escaped, who with their swordes drawn in their hands, running forward with their heeles, thrust in among the thickest of the PARTHIANS: They wondering at their desperation, opened of them selues, & suffered the to march on towards the city of *CARRIS*. In the meane time false newes was brought to *Surenus*, how *Crassus* with all the chieftest men of his host was fled, & that the great number that were receiued into the city of *CARRIS* were men of all sortes gathered together, and not a man of any qualitie estimation. *Surenus* thereupon thinking he had lost the honor of his victorie, yet standing in some doubt of it, because he would knowe the troth, that he might either besiege the citie of *CARRIS*, or pursue after *Crassus*: sent one of his interpreters to the walles of the city, charging him to call for *Crassus*, or *Cassius*, & to tell them that *Surenus* would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commaunded. Word was brought to *Crassus*, and he accepted of the proffer. Shortly after also, thither came certaine souldiers of the ARABIANS from the camp of the PARTHIANS, who knew *Crassus* and *Cassius* very well by sight, hauing diuers times seen them in their campe before the battell. These ARABIANS seeing *Cassius* on the walles, told him, that *Surenus* was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe safely, as his masters good frendes, so that they would surrender *MESOPOTAMIA* into the king of PARTHIAS handes, and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather than to be enforced vnto it by extremitie. *Cassius* thought this a good offer, and told them, that they must appoint the day & place, where *Crassus* and *Surenus* should meete to talke together of this matter. The ARABIANS made answer they would doe it: and so departed. *Surenus* hearing this, was glad he had them at such advantage, where he might besiege them. The next day he brought all his armie before the city of *CARRIS*. There the PARTHIANS marckedly reuiled the ROMANES, and told them, they must deliuer them *Crassus* and *Cassius* bound hand and

feet,

A foot if they would haue any grace or peace with them. The ROMANES were maruiledly offended that they were thus deceived, and told *Crassus*, that it was no boot to any longer to looke for aide of the ARABIANS, but presently to flie: howbeit to keepe it secret in any wise from any of the CARRIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet *Crassus* selfe had told it to *Andromachus*, the veriest traitor and villen in all the city, whom he had chosen to be his guide. This traitor *Andromachus* aduertised the enemies in every point, of their purpose and departure. But because the PARTHIANS do neuer vse to fight in the night, & that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and againe that *Crassus* departed in the night time: *Andromachus* was stayed least the ROMANES would winne lush ground before the PARTHIANS, as they could not possibly undertake him the next day. Therefore of purpose he sometime brought them one way, other while an other way, and at the last, brought them into a great bogge or marish, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they must needs make many turnes and retournes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the armie began to mistrust, that *Andromachus* meant no good to come and coste them vp and downe in that sorte, and therefore would follow him no more: inso much as *Cassius* among others, returned towards the citie of *CARRIS* againe, from whence they came. And when his guides who were ARABIANS counseled him to tary there, till the moone were out of the signe of *Scorpio*, he answered them: I feare the signe of *Sagittarie* more. So as loone as he could, heooke his way towards *ASSYRIA* with five hundred horsemen. And other of the armie also hauing faithfull guides, recovered a cuntry of the mountains, called *Sinnac*, and retired into a safe place before the breake of day: and they were about five hundred men, whom *Octavian* a noble man had in charge. But the day stode upon *Crassus* hunting vp & downe yet in the staruie, in those ill fauored places, into the which *Andromachus* that traitor had of purpose brought him, hauing with him foure ensignes of footemen all with targets, & very few horsemen, and few sergeantes that caried the axes and roddes before him: with whom, with such a due & great labor, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almost upon him, and that he was within twelue furlong of ioyning with *Octavian*. There in hast he had gotten a hill, which was not so steep for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hills were, called *Sinnac*: yet vnder them, and ioyning to them by along hill that runneth alonge the plaine, so as *Octavian* plainly saw the danger *Crassus* was in. Thereupon he first ran downe the hill, with a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the rest, saying they were close at hand if they should tary behinde. At their coming they gave such a hot onset upon the PARTHIANS, that they made them geue backe from that hill: and compassing *Crassus* in the thickest of them, compassing him rounde with their targets, they spake nobly, that neuer arrow of the PARTHIANS should touche the bodie of their Generall, before they were slaine one after another, and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hereupon *Surenus* perceiving the PARTHIANS were not so coragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came upon them, and that the ROMANES did once recover the hie mountains; they could neuer possibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile *Crassus* once more by this device. He let certaine prisoners goe of purpose, before whom he made his men geue out this speech. That the king of PARTHIA would haue no martiall wage with him: & promises: but first to order wife, to mother desired their friend happy, by shewing them that he would not as to see *Crassus* very carelessly. And so geue colour to this treachery. As called his men to the fight, and going him selfe in person towards *Crassus*, with the chieftest of his millicie of his hand, in good manner, his bow ready: he held out his right hand, and called *Crassus* to him with him of peace, and sayd vnto him. Though the ROMANES had for the kinde & goodnes of this king, was against his will, for he could do no less but defend him selfe: he thought he would be very willing and desirous to make them taste of his mercie & clemencie, and by no means would make peace with them, and to let them goe safely where they would. All these words he said, *Crassus* were glad of *Surenus* wordes. But *Crassus* that had bene deceiued by this device, considering also no case apparant made upon them, and that they would not haue to it, but first consulted with his friends. His friends considered they would not on him to goe, and fell at wordes with him, saying: that the same sort thought they

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Crassus flying.

Crassus Governor of Carris in Mesopotamia.

The valiantnes of Surenus.

Astrageus of Surenus.

Andromachus traitor to Crassus. The Parthians do neuer fight by night.

Cassius gentle answer in the fraighest.

The words of the Romanes souldiers to their chieftaine.

An other speech of Surenus.

Surenus crasy speech to Crassus.

*Crassus' words
to this Ro-
mans going
to his death.*

*Surena
crafts to Cras-
sus.*

*Ottianus
slaine.*

Crassus slaine.

*The number
of the Ro-
mans that
were slaine
and taken.*

were all slaine, and that him selfe had none hart onely to come downe and talke with them. A
 enemies that were vnarmed. *Crassus* proued first to pacifie them by fayer meanes, perswading
 them to beare a litle patience but till night, which was at hande, and then they might safely
 departe at their pleasure, and recouer the mountaines and straight passages, where their ene-
 mies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not
 to be faint harted, nor to dispaire of their safety, seeing they were so neere it. But in the end
Crassus perceiving they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnes did threaten him if he were
 not, fearing then they would doe him some villany: went towardes the enemy, and comming
 backe a litle, sayd onely these wordes: O *Ottianus*, and you *Petronius*, with all you *ROMANS*
 gentlemen that haue charge in this armie: you all see now how against my will I am enforced
 to go to the place I would not, & can witnes with me, how I am driuen with shame and force.
 Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to escape this daunger, that ye will report whereofeuer you
 come, that *Crassus* was slaine, not deliuered vp by his one souldiers into the handes of the ene-
 mious people, as I am: but deceived by the frowde & fustilie of his enemies. *Ottianus* would
 not tary behind on the hill, but went downe with *Crassus*: but *Crassus* sent away his officers that
 followed him. The first that came from the *PARTHIANS* vnto *Crassus* were two mongrel *GAR-
 CIANS* who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to sende some of his
 men before, and *Surena* would shewe them, that both him selfe and his trayne came vnarmed
 towardes him. *Crassus* thereto made them aunswer, that if he had made any accompt of his
 life, he would not haue put him selfe into their handes. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren
 before, called the *ROSCIANS*, to knowe what number of men, and to what ende they mette
 many together. These two brethren came no sooner to *Surena*, but they were stayed: &
 him selfe in the meane tyme kept on his way a horse backe, with the noblest men of his army.
 Now when *Surena* came neere to *Crassus*: why, how now (quod he) what meaneth this? A Con-
 fall and Lieutenante generall of *ROME* a foote, and we a horse backe? Therewithall he
 fraight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horse. *Crassus* aunswered *Surena* againe
 In that, they neither of both offended, following the vse and maner of their contry, when any
 meeting is made for treatie of peace. *Surena* replied: As for the treatie of peace, that was al-
 ready agreede upon betwene the king *Hyrodes*, and the *ROMANS*: howbeit that they were to
 goe to the nuer, and there to set downe the articles in wryting. For you *ROMANS*, sayd he,
 doe not greatly remember the capitulations you haue agreede upon. With those wordes he
 gaue him his right hand. As *Crassus* was sending for a horse: you shall not neede, sayd *Surena*,
 for looke, the kinge doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steele
 saddle richly gilt, upon the which his gentlemen mounted *Crassus* immediately, and following
 him behinde, lashed his horse to make him runne the swifter. *Ottianus* seeing that, first layed
 hand on the bridle, then *Petronius* Colonell of a thousand footemen: and after them, all the
 rest of the *ROMANS* also gathered about *Crassus* to stay the horse, and to take him from them
 by force, that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at another at the first very an-
 grily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then *Ottianus* drew out his sword, and slue one of the bar-
 barous noble mens horsekeepers: and an other came behinde him, and slue *Ottianus*. *Petronius*
 had no target, and receiuing a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no harte
 on the other side came *Pomaxathres*, one of the *PARTHIANS*, and slue *Crassus*. Somelyle
 notwithstanding, that *Pomaxathres* slue him not, but an other, yet that he cut of his heade
 & his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reportes are rather coniectures, then
 any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slaine in the field fighting
 for *Crassus*, and other saved them selues by flying to the hill. The *PARTHIANS* followed them,
 and tolde them that *Crassus* had payed the paine he had deferred: and for the rest, that *Surena*
 had them come downe with safetie. Then some of them yielded to their enemies: and other
 dispersed them selues when night came, and of them very few scaped with life. Other being
 followed and pursued by the *ARABIANS*, were all put to the sword. So as it is thought they
 were slaine in this overthrow, about twentie thousand men, and tenne thousande taken pri-
 soners. *Surena* had now sent *Crassus* head and his hand vnto *Hyrodes*, the king his master, vnto
ARMENIA: and gaue out a brute as farre as the cite of *SERAPVIA*, that he brought *Crassus* head,
 slue,

A line, & that he had prepared a fight to laugh at, while he called his triumph. Among the *RO-*
 mans prisoners there was one called *Cassius Papias*, who was very like to *Crassus*, but they clo-
 thed in womans apparell of the *PARTHIANS*, and had taught him to answer in a happy collo-
 quie him *Crassus*, or Lord capitaine. Him they put a horse backe, and had many women before
 him, and great caues upon castells backes, that carried axes before them, and bundles of
 rapiers, and many purles eyed to the bundles of rapiers, and *ROMANS* had a head newly cut of
 eyed to the axes: and after him followed all the trumpets & women in gowns of *SERAPVIA*
 who went singing of songes of mockery and derision of *Crassus* womanish cowardliness. Now
 for these open shoves, every one might see them; but besides that sight, *Surena* hauing called
 the Senate of *SERAPVIA* together, layed before them *Aristides* bookes of Riddrie, intituled
 B the Milesians, which was no fable, for they were found in a *ROMANS* fardell or trusse, called
Ruffius. This gaue *Surena* great cause to scorne and despise the behauiour of the *ROMANS*,
 which was so faire out of order, that euen in the warres they could not be free from doing
 euill, and from the reading of such vile bookes. Then the Senators of *SERAPVIA* found that
Elipse was a wife man, who sayd that euery man caried a sacke on his necke, and that they put
 other mens faultes at the sackes mouth, and their owne towards the bottome of the sacke.
 When they considered that *Surena* had put the booke of the lasciuiousnes of the *MILES*
 at the sackes mouth, and a long tale of the *PARTHIANS* vaine pleasures and delights in the
 bottome of the sacke, carying such a number of cartes laden with naughtie packes in his ar-
 my as he did, which seemed an army of ermites and felds myse. For in the vpward and fore-
 C melt ranckes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely launces, pikes, bowes, and horse:
 but all they ended afterwards in the reuerward with a traine of bagets, instruments of musike,
 dauncing, singing, banqueting, and ryoting all night with Curtians. With that deny but *Ru-*
 ffus deferred blame: but yet withall, I say, that the *PARTHIANS* were blamelesse to reprove
 these bookes of the vanities of the *MILES*, considering that many of their kinges, and of
 the royal blood of the *Asiades*, were borne of the *IONIAN* and *MESIAN* Curtians. Things
 D passing thus in this sorte, king *Hyrodes* had made peace & league with *Artabazus* king of *AR-*
 MENIA, who gaue his siter in marriage vnto *Pasorum*, king *Hyrodes* sonne, & made great feastes
 one to another: in the which were many Greeke verses long, *Hyrodes* selfe vnderstanding
 well the Greek tongue, and *Artabazus* was so perite in it, that he him selfe made certaine tra-
 gedies, orations, and stories, whereof some are yet extant at this day. The same night *Crassus*
 head was brought, the tables being all taken vp, *Isafon* a common player of enterludes (borne
 in the city of *TRALLS*) came before the kinges, & recited a place of the tragedy of the *BAC-*
 CHANTES of *Euripides*, telling of the misfortune of *Agave*, who strake of his sonnes heade.
 And as euery man tooke great pleasure to heare him, *Sillaces* comming into the hall, after his
 humble duty first done to the king, deliuered him *Crassus* head before them all. The *PARTHI-*
 ANS seeing that, tell a clapping of their handes, and made an outcrie of ioy. The gentlemen
 hushers by the kinges commaundement, did set *Sillaces* at the table, *Isafon* carying of his ap-
 parrell representing *Pentheus* person, gaue it to another player to put on him, & counterfeiting
 the *BACCHANTES* posselt with furie, beganne to rehearse these verses, with a leassure tune,
 E and voyce, of a man madde, and beside him selfe.

Behold, vnto from the forest bring a stag now newly slaine,
 A vvorsh booty and reward befitting well our paine.

This maruelously pleased the companie: and specially finging these verses afterwarde,
 where the Chorus both asked, and aunswered him selfe.

What strake this stag?

None else but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the table with others, rose
 straight, and went and rooke the head him selfe, to whome of right it belonged to say those
 wordes, and not vnto the player that spake them. King *Hyrodes* liked this sporte maruelously,
 F and rewarded *Pomaxathres* according to the maner of the contrie in such a cafe: and so *Isafon*
 he also gaue a talent. Such was the successe of *Crassus* enterprife and voyage: muchlike vnto
 to the end of a tragedy. But afterwarde, *Hyrodes* cruellty, and *Surena*s fowle perjury and craft,

*Surena
crafts to Cras-
sus.*

*Aristides
bookes intitu-
led the Miles-
ians.*

*Elipse wife
saying.*

*The descrip-
tion of Sure-
nas army.*

*Crassus head
brought to
Hyrodes.*

See the reward of craft and perfidy. The miserable end of King Hyrcanus and Surena.

Hyrcanus strangled by his sonne.

were in the end lustily reuenged upon them both, according to their desertes. For King *Hyrcanus* enuying *Surena's* glorie, but *Surena* to death. And *Hyrcanus* fell into a disease that became dropsie, after he had lost his sonne *Pacorus*, who was slaine in a battell by the *ROMANES*. *Phraates* his second sonne, thinking to set his father forwardes, gaue him drinke of the iuice of *Ambrosium*. The dropsie receiued the poison, and one draue the other out of *Hyrcanus's* bodie, and left him a foote againe. *Phraates* perceiving his father to amende upon it, to make shorte working with his owne handes strangled him.

THE COMPARISON OF Crassus with Nicias.



Nicias and Crassus vnclothed.

BVnto to proceede to the comparison: first, *Nicias* goodes were more lustily gotten, and with lesse reproach, than *Crassus* wealth: for otherwise a man can not geue any great praise to minnerall workes, which are wrought by lewde and ill disposed barbarous fellows kept in irons, and toyled to death in vnhollsome and pestilent places. In being compared vnto *Crassus* buying of confiscate goodes at *Syllus* handes, and vngentle manly bargaines of houses a fire, or in daunge thereof: surely *Nicias* trade will appeare the better way of gettinge. For as openly did *Crassus* auow vcery, as tillage. And againe for other fautes, wherewith *Crassus* many times was burdened, and which he slowly denied: as, that he tooke money of men hauing matters before the Senate at *ROME*, to winne fauor for their side: and that he preferred matters to the preiudice of the confederates of the *ROMANES*, only for his priuate profit: and therefore curried fauor with Ladies, & generally fought to cloke all fowle offenders: of all these fautes, was *Nicias* neuer so much as once suspected. For herto the contrary, was mocked of euery bodie, because for feare he maintained wicked doers by gifts: which perhappes would not haue becommend *Pericles*, nor *Aristides*, and yet was meete for *Nicias*, who was borne a timorous natured man, and neuer had corage in him. Whereof *Lycurgus* the Orator did vaunte afterwarde to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractions with money: I am glad, sayd he, that hauing delt thus long in affayres of the state, it is found I haue rather geuen than taken. And now touching expences: *Nicias* was thought the better and more ciuill citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly image to the goddess, or in making of publicke playes or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small parte of that *Crassus* bestowed in an open feast he made at *ROME*: feasting so many thousandes at one time, and did finde and maintaine them also for a certaine time after. Now I can not but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequality and disagreement of maners, repugnant in it selfe, seeing men may honestly spend that which is naughtily gotten.

Lycurgus feign.

Nicias and Crassus alters in the common wealth.

Aten. Thus much for their goodes. For *Nicias* doings in the common weale, he did nothing maliciously, cruelly, nor vniuently, neither any thing of selfe will or stomake, but rather delt plainly and simply. For he was deceiued by trusting of *Alcibiades*, and neuer came to speake before the people, but with great feare. *Crassus*, on thother side was reprobous for his vncostancie and lightnes, for that he would easily change frendes or enemies: and he him selfe denied not, that he came to be Consult the seconde time by plaine force and cruelty, hauing hired two murderers to kill *Cato* and *Domitius*. And in the assembly the people held for deuiding of the prouinces, many men were hurte, and foure were slaine in the market place: and more then that, *Crassus* him selfe (which we haue forgotten to wyte in his life) gaue one *Lucius Annaeus* so force a blow on the face with his fist, for speaking against him, that he sent him going with blood about his eares. But as *Crassus* in those thinges was very fierce and cruell: so *Nicias* womanish behavior on thother side, and faint hart in matters of the common wealth, humbling him selfe to the meanest and most vile persones, deserueth great reproache. Where *Crassus* in this respect shewed himselfe assuredly of a noble minde, not contending with men of small accompt, as with *Cleon*, or *Hyperbolus*, but would geue no place to *Casars*: same and glory, nor yet to *Pompeys* three triumphes, but fought to goe euen with them in power and authority: and had immediatly before exceeded *Pompeys* power, in the dignity of Ceafor. For Magistrates, and Governours of the common weale, should make them selues to be honored, but not enuied, killing enuy by the greatnes of their power. But if it were so that *Nicias* preferred quietnes, and the safety of his persone aboue all things else, and that he feared *Alcibiades* in the pulpit for orations, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the sorte of *Pyle*, and *Pericles* in *THRACIA*: he had liberty & scope enough to repose him selfe in the city of *ATHENS*, & might haue forborne the dealing in matters, & (as *Rhetoricians* say) haue put a hood of quietnes upon his heade very well. For doubtlesse, concerning his desire to make peace, it was a godly minde in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to passe he did, appealing all warre: wherein *Crassus* certainly was not to be compared to him, though he had ioyned all the prouinces to the Empire of *ROME*, that reach vnto the *Caspian* sea, and to the great Ocean of the *INDIANS*. But on the other side also, when one hath to deale with people that can discerne when a man ruleth according to equity and iustice, and that he seeth he is in the prime of his credit and authoritie: he must not then for lacke of corage suffer wicked men to stepp in his roome, nor geue occasion to preferre such to authoritie in the common weale, as are vnworthie for that place and countenance: neither should allowe such any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor trust, as *Nicias* did: who was the only occasion that *Cleon*, being before but a prating Orator, was chosen Generall. Neither doe I also commend *Crassus*, for that in the warre against *Spartacus*, he made hast to geue him battell, more rashly then safely or considerately. For his ambition spurred him forward, because he was afrayed least *Pompeys* comming should take from him the glorie of all that he had done in that warre: as *Mummius* tooke from *Metellus* the honor of the winning of *CORINTH*. But besides all this, *Nicias* fact therein was without the compasse of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did not reigne his honor & office of Generall to *Cleon* his enemy, when there was hope of good success, or little perill: but fearing the daunger of the iorney, he was contented to saue one, and tooke no care besides for the common wealth. Which *Themistocles* shewed not, in the time of the warre against the *PERSIANS*. For he, to keepe *Epicides* an Orator (a man of no reckoning beside his eloquence, and extremely couteous) from being chosen Generall of *ATHENS*, least he should haue ouerthrowen the common weale: secretly bribed him with money to leaue of his sute. And *Cato* also, when he saw the state of *ROME* in greatest daunger, sued to be Tribune of the people for the common wealthes sake. And *Nicias* in contrary manner, referring him selfe to make warre with the city of *MINO*, or with the Ile of *CYTHRA*, or with the poore vnfortunate *MELIAN*: if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, then away went his Capitaines cloke, and he left the shippes, the armie, and munition to the charge and government of *Cleons* rashnes and small experience of warre, when the necessitie of the seruice required the wisest and most expert Capitaine: The which he did not, despising the meanes to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing

The daunt of Governours & Magistrates.

Nicias feared success.

Themistocles and Catoes vicing.

backe, at time of neede, to defend his contrie. Wherefore, afterwards he was compelled to
gainst his will to be Generall, to make warres in SICILIA with the SYRACVSANS: because the
people thought he was not so earnest to disswade the iorney, for that he thought it not
for the common wealth, but because through his sloth and cowardinesse he would make his
contrie lose so good an opportunity to conquer SICILE. Yet was this a great testimony of his
honesty and trust they had in him: who though he euer hated warre, & did flie from the office
of honor and charge in the common wealth, his contrienmen notwithstanding did alwayes
chooſe him, as the most experienced persone, and meekest man of the citie. Now Crassus in
contrarie maner desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could neuer attaine to it, but in the
warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of another: (for Pompey, Metellus, and both
the Lucullus were then abroad in the warres) although he was otherwise of great estimation
and authoritie. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his frendes that loued him best, thought him
(as the comical Poet sayth)

A good man any way else, but in warres.

His ambition notwithstanding & covetous desire of rule, did nothing benefit the ROMANES.
For the ATHENIANS sent Nicias to the warre against his will: but Crassus led the ROMANES
thither against their willes. So that the common wealth fell into miserie by the one, and the
other through the common wealth was brought into miserie: and yet therein there is rather
cause to praise Nicias, than to blame Crassus. For Nicias like a wife man, & a Captaine of great
experience, could neuer so much as be brought to thinke they should conquer SICILE: and
therefore disswaded his contymen from the iorney, & would geue no place to the vaine hope
of the people of ATHENS. But Crassus taking upon him to make warres with the PARTHIANS,
as though it had bene an easie matter to overcome them, found him selfe deceived, yet did he
aspire to great things. For as Iulius Caesar had conquered & subdued the Imperiall crowne
of ROME; all the countries of the West partes, to say, the GAVLES, the GERMANES, and
ENGLANDS: euen so did Crassus desire to goe towards the East partes, to conquer all to the
great west sea of the INDIANS, and to subdue all the regions of ASIA, whereunto Pompey and
Lucullus aspired, being both very noble personages, and such as euer curiously behaued them
selues to all men: notwithstanding, prouoked thereunto with the like desire that Crassus had.
For whē the charge of the warres in the East partes was assigned to Pompey, by decree & order
of the people: the Senate vtterly misliked it, and were against it all they could. When newes
were brought to ROME that Iulius Caesar in battell had ouerthrowen and slaine three hundred
thousand GERMANES: Cato perswading with the Senate, was yet still of this minde, that Cæsar
should be deliuered into the handes of his enemies whom he had ouercomen, for to be puni-
shed: thereby to turne the sharpe reuenge and wrathe of the goddesses from ROME, upon him
only, that was the vnjust breaker of the peace. This notwithstanding, the people making none
account of Catoes perswasions, made common feastes & processions fiftene dayes together,
and open sacrifices to the goddesses with great ioy through the citie, to thanke them for this fa-
mous victory. How glad may we thinke would they haue bene, and howe many dayes would
they haue feasted and sacrificed, if Crassus had written from BABYLON of his victory, and that
he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIANS, of the
SVSES, and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new governments and provinces to the
Empire of ROME?

If a man will needes doe wrong and iniustice,

As Euripides sayth to them, that can not liue in peace, and be contented with their owne
he must not then stick at trifles, (as raising of a castell of Scandia, or of a citie of MENDA, or
chasing of the AGINETES being out of their owne naturall contrie, and hiding them selves
like birdes without nestes, in an other birdes hole) but must dearely sell the wrong he doth,
and not lightly contemne iustice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the
intent of Alexander the great in his voyage, for the conquestes he made in the East, and doe
dispraise Crassus voyage: doe not well to iudge of the beginning, by the euentes and successe
of the end. For executing of their offices, Nicias did many noble employes. For he ouerthrow
his enemies in diuers battells, and had almost taken the citie of SYRACUSA: and sure they can

*The diuersitie
betweene Nicias
and Crassus.*

*Nicias alwaies
commended.*

A more iustly blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the warre of SICILIA, but
pitiely the plague was a cause of it, and partly also the enuie of those towards him that re-
mained at ATHENS. Where as Crassus ranne into so many errors, and committed such foule
partes in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no leasure to do him good: so that I wonder not
so much that his folly was overcome by the power of the PARTHIANS, as that it could ouer-
come the good fortune of the ROMANES. Sithens it so falleth out the; that they both came to
like vnfortunate end, Nicias prognosticating before what things should happen by arte and
rule of diuination; and Crassus contrarily disdaining to obserue any thing: sure it falleth out
hard in iudgement, which of them two proceeded with most safety. Yet according to the best
approved opinions, a fault committed of feare is more excusable, then of rashnes and folly to
breake any auncient law or custome. For their deatnes, Crassus end deferred sentre proache:
For he against his will did yeelde him selfe, and was neither bound nor mocked, but only per-
suaded by his frendes; and through his enemies frawde and treason most traitorously decei-
ued: where Nicias cowardly, and dishonorably hoping to saue his life, trauelling to the mercy
of his enemies, made his deatne more infamous.

*Crassus by his
folly, blam-
ed the hap-
pines of the
Romane.*

*Crassus death
more commen-
dable then
Nicias end.*

THE LIFE OF Sectorius.



PEradventure it is not to be marvelled at, if in long proces of time (for-
tune altering her effectes daily) these worldly euentes fall often out
one like an other. For whether it be that the variety of things are in-
finite, fortune hath store of matter apt enough to worke to likenes: or
be it that worldly matters be comprehended within determinate num-
ber: of necessitie one thing must fall out like an other, since they pro-
ceede from one cause, ryed to the same meanes it before did vse. But
because men doe delight to compare such chaunces together, as they
haue seene or heard to haue happened so like, as if they had bene
done of purpose, thone by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named
Atrix, both of them comen of noble houes, thone in SYRIA, and the other in ALEXANDRIA,
both the one and the other were slaine with a wild bore. That of two called Althea, the one

*Why cha-
nces of necessi-
tie happen one
like an other.*

The town
where Homer
was borne and
died.
Four famous
Captains,
that had but
one eye a
piece.
The praise of
Sertorius.

The passage
of Sertorius.

Rhea the mo-
ther of Serto-
rius.
Sertorius elo-
quent.

Sertorius first
souldierfare.

Sertorius
souldierfare
vnder Ma-
rius.

Sertorius, Ca-
lenell, of a
showlande
footemen.
Castulo, a city
of the Celib-
rians.

was torne a peeces by his dogges, the other by his louers. That of the two famous *Scipios* the *CARTHAGINIANS* were first ouercomen by the one, and afterwards vterly destroyed by the other. That the citie of *TROYE* was first taken by *Hercules*, for the horses that *Laomedon* had promised him: the seconde time by *Agamemnon*, by meanes of the great wooden horse; and the third time by *Cheridemus*, by meanes of a horse that fell within the gate, & kept the *TROIANS* that they could not shutte it in time. And that of two sweete smelling plantes, *IOE*, and *SMYRNA*, two cities were named, the one signifying the Violet, and the other *Myrre* it is sup- posed that the Poet *Homer* was borne in the one, and that he dyed in the other. We may also adde to this example, that amongst the auncient Captaines, the greatest warriors, and that haue done the noblest exploit by wit and warlike stratagemes, had but one eye: as *Philip*, *Antigonus*, *Hanniball*, and *Sertorius* also, whom we wryte of at this present. Whom we may truly reporte to haue bene more chaste, than *Philip*: more faithfull to his friend than *Antigonus*: more courteous to his enemies than *Hanniball*: and for wisdom and iudgement to geue place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though she shewed her spight more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men: yet in experience he was equall with *Metellus*, in prowes and valliance with *Pompey*, and in fortune with *Sylla*. So that being banished his contrie, a stranger in an other realme, & hauing to gouerne a barbarous nation, he notwithstanding maintained warres for a time, against the power of the *ROMANES*. Me thinks therefore, that of all the *GRECIAN* Captaines I can liken none so well vnto him, as *Eumenes* the *CARDIAN*. For both of them knew how to commaund, both were very valiant & politike in warres, both were banished men out of their contry, both were Captaines of other strangers, and both of them were traiterously and villanously layne by them, through whom they had before ouercomen their enemies. Now for *Sertorius*, he came of worthipfull parentes, and was borne in the citie of *NYRSTAIN* the contrie of the *SABINES*. His father left him a very childe with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he singularly loued and reuerenced. Her name as they say was *Rhea*. His first rising and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: inso much as being a young man he came to *ROME*, and wanne some name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honor and estimation he achieved afterwarde by his valliant actes, made him imploy all his studie and ambitious care, to armes and warres. The first time of his souldierfare was, when the *CIMBRES* & *TEVTONS* invaded *GAULE* with a mighty army: where, when the *ROMANES* had bene ouer- come under the leading of *Cepio*, his horse being slaine vnder him, and him selfe hurt, he notwithstanding swame ouer the riuer of *Rone*, with his corselet, & target upon him, breaking the fury and rage of the riuer with meere strength, so able and lustie a bodie he had to brooke all paines and hardnes. The seconde time that these barbarous *CIMBRES*, returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with prowde and dreadfull threats, the *ROMANES* were the first afrayed, that they thought him a slowe man that had but the courage to keepe his ranke, and obey his Captaine. At that time was *Marius* General of the *ROMAN* armie, and then did *Sertorius* undertake to goe and discouer the enemies campe. And for the purpose, apparelled him selfe like a *GAULE*, and learned the common wordes and phrases of their language, to salute one an other when they met, and in this sorte went among them: and hauing partly by fight and reporte learned that he fought for, he returned to *Marius*, who then gaue him such honorable reward, as was due to his deserte. All the time of the warres after, he did such valliant actes and deedes of armes, that his Captaine had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefe matters to his charge. Whereupon, the warres being ended with the *TEVTONS* and *CIMBRES*, *Sertorius* was sent into *SPAYNE*, vnder *Didius* the Prator, with charge of a thousand footemen, with whom he wintered in the citie of *CASTULO*, in the marches of the *CELTIBERIANS*: where the souldiers finding plentie of vittells, fell to gluttonie and dronkenness, and committed great insolencie, being ouercome with wine. Inso much as the barbarous people of the citie grew to such a milking and disdaine of them, that they sente night to their nexte neighbours the *GYRISANIANS* for aide, and as they came by the *ROMANES* lodgings, slue a great number of them. *Sertorius* hearing the noyse, went immediately out of the citie with a few of his men, & gathering them together also that fled one after an- other

ther to saue them selues, went round about the walles of the citie, and finding the gate open: where the *GYRISANIANS* came in, there entred he also: who being more careful than they, had shewed them selues, left the gates, & all the partes of the citie well guarded, & then pulled to the sword within: that were of age to carie weapon. Nowe when he had executed this charge, he commaunded all his souldiers to leaue of their owne apparell and weapons, and to take these of the barbarous people whom they had slaine, and to follow him to the city of the *GYRISANIANS*, from whence they came that had on such a sodaine assailed the in the night. The *GYRISANIANS* seeing the garments and weapons of their supposed massacre of their king certainly they had bene they: opened their gates, and a number of people went out to meete their frendes and citizens, whom they thought had happily sped of their purpose. Thus were a maruelous number of them slaine by the *ROMANES*: euen hard at the gates, & in their citie: and the rest putting them selues to *Sertorius* mercy, he sold for slaves. After this exploit, *Sertorius* wanne great fame through all *SPAYNE*, and returning to *ROME* was made Questor or Treasurer general of *GAULE*, on this side of the mountaines, by the riuer of *Po*. A happy chaunce for *ROME*: for euen at that very present time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of *ITALIE*, called the *MARIANS* warre, in the which he had commaunded to prest souldiers, and to make armor. And therein he shewed such diligence and expedition for quick dispatche of that seruice, in respect of the longe delay and enuie of regard that young men had of the fame before: that he wanne the name to be a carefull and diligent change, and one that afterwarde would achieve great enterprises. Further more, when he came to be a Captaine him selfe, he would not let to venter his persone as valiantly, as any other private souldier whatsoeuer, but did maruelous actes with his owne handes, & thus he great perills and conflicts: inso much as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, sayd he, doe not alwayes carry the markes about them of their valliant seruice, but leaue them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carconets, iauelings, and crownes, geuen them by their Captaines for testimony of their valliance: howbeit that he alwayes caried the markes about him (wherefoeuer he went) of his seruice, so that such as saw the blemish of his eye, did therewithall witness his valliance and courage. The people also did honor him as became them: For when he came into the Theatre, they welcomed him with clapping of their handes, and great praises, which the *ROMANES* did scanty vnto their oldest Captaines: and which were most honored for their great and noble seruice. Neuerthelesse, when he sued to be Tribune, he was reiected by *GESIUS* praefect who hindered him: whereupon grew as it seemeth, that grudge & malice which he ever after bare vnto *Sylla*. For after that *Marius* was fled being ouercomen by *Sylla*, & that *Sylla* was gone out of *ITALIE* to make warre with *Mithridates*, and that of the two Consuls, *Ostilius* tooke parte with *Sylla*, and *Cinna* thother Consul (which fought change and alteration) was gathering men together to set vp *Marius* faction, that was in manner vnderfoot: *Sertorius* tooke his parte: because he saw that *Ostilius* was but a slow and lister man, and did not besides trust any of *Marius* frendes. So was there a cruell conflict betwene them: euen in the market place within the city selfe, where *Ostilius* had the vpper hand: And *Cinna* & *Sertorius* escaped by flying, hauing lost few lesse then ten thousand men in this only overthrow. Neuerthelesse, afterwarde through practise and policy, they got those souldiers together againe that were disperfed here and there through *ITALIE*, & as in short tyme they made their power equall with *Ostilius* force. *Marius* also being aduertised of the same, tooke the sea in company, and returned into *ITALIE* out of *AFRICK*, and came to *Cinna* to seeke seruice: appoynted souldier, vnder his Captaine and Consul. Now they all liked well that *Marius* should be receiued sauing *Sertorius*, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credence and estimation should diminish, *Cinna* hauing a worthier Captaine then him selfe to serue him, or else that *Marius* cruely and feuerly (who pardoned none offence) would marre all together hauing no stay in his anger, but bent vterly to all kinde of cruelty to his enemies, if *Cinna* would tyme to haue the victorie. And thereunto he added this further: that now he had this victory in manner in their hands, if they once receiued *Marius* vnto them, he would robbe them of all the honor of ending this warre, and being also in authority, he was neither to be trusted,

Sertorius first
tagament.

Sertorius
treasure
General of
Gaule, about
the Po.
Pauis.

Sertorius lost
one of his
eyes by fight.

The occasion
of Sertorius
malice vnto
Sylla.

Sertorius
tooke parte
with Cinna.

Sertorius dis-
satisfied Cinna
to receiue
Marius.

nor commaunded. Whereunto *Cinna* answered thus: that he thought the words he had alleaged to be true, howbeit that he was ashamed, and besides, could not see with honesty how he might refuse *Marium*, or send him backe, sithens he had purposely sent for him, to commaunde the charge of these warres vnto him. *Sertorius* againe replied. Sure I thought *Marium* had come of his owne good will vnto me, & therefore (as for the best in mine owne opinion) I gaue aduise not to receiue him: but sithence it is so that you sent for him before, and that he is now come vpon your commaundement, you were much to blame to aske counsell whether you should now receiue him or not. And therefore you must needs accept his seruice, that is come upon your worde: for, the bonde of your promises past you, doth now cut off all counsell or other resolution. Thereupon *Marium* was called for: and when he came, they deuilled their whole army into three parties, and then beganne to charge apon their enemies of all handes, so as they obtained victorie. Howbeit *Cinna* and *Marium* committed as horrible cruelty in this victory, as could possibly be shewed: in so much as the *ROMANS* thought all the miseries they had endured in time of this warre nothing, and but a play as it were, in respect of the great calamities they fell into afterwards. Nowe *Sertorius* on thother side neuer caused man to be slaine for any priuate malice or quarrell he had with any person, neither did he hurte any man when he had ouercome, but was much offended with *Marium* infolency & cruell murders: and when he had good opportunity to speake with *Cinna* a parte, he did qualifie him the best he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perswasion. In fine, *Sertorius* seeing *Marium* garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other souldiers in this warre, whom he used as executioners of his slaughter and butchery, alwayes attending about his person as a garde, and suffering them also to make them selues riche, partly with that he gaue them, or commaunded them to spoyle, and partly also with that they violently tooke without his commaundement of their owne masters, killing them when they had done, rauishing their mistresses, & desiling their children: he could no longer abide such wickednes and villany, but made them all to be slaine in their campe where they lay together, being no lesse then foure thousand persons. Afterwards, when he saw that the elder *Marium* was deade, and that soone after *Cinna* was slaine, the younger *Marium* his sonne (against his counsell, and contrary to the lawes of *ROME*) had by force made him selfe Consul: and that *Carbo*, *Scipio*, and *Norbanus* (which had bene ouercome by *Sylla*) were come out of *GALLIE* to *ROME* wards, partly through the cowardlines of their Captaines, and partly also because they were betrayed and folde of their owne men: and further, considering therewithall, that his person could doe no good in those affayers, which waxed worse and worse, by means of thauthoritie of such as had least wit and vnderstanding, and specially also seeing *Sylla* campe hard by *Seipio*, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whilst vnderhand he wanne his souldiers from him, notwithstanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: *Sertorius* then vtterly despairing of *ROME*s prosperity and wellfare, departed from *ROME*, to go towards *SPAYNE*, thinking that if he could get the first possession and gouernment of that realme, it would at the least be a refuge and receit for all those of their tribe, that should chauce to be banished out of their contrie. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foule and rough weather: and passing through a contrie of mountaines, the barbarous people inhabiting the same, demanded tribute of him, for licence to passe through their territories. Thereat the souldiers of his company were maruelously offended, saying that it were too much shame and dishonor for a Proconsull of *ROME*, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithstanding, *Sertorius* passed not for the shame they sayd it would be him, but answered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he should most reckon of, than spiritch to haughtie enterprises, and so pleased the barbarous people with money. And thus he made such speede, as he quickly recovered *SPAYNE*, which he found greatly replenished with people, and specially of young men able to weare armor. But now *Sertorius* perceiving that they had bene hardly delt withall before, through the infolency, pride, and couetousnes of the *ROMAN* Gouernours, whom they ordinarily sent from *ROME*, and that therefore they hated all manner of gouernment: first of all sought to winne the good willes of all the whole contrymen one and other. Of the noble men, by being familiar and conuersant with them

and

A and of the common people, by easing them of their taxe and subsidies. But that which bred him most loue of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of souldiers, and receiuing of any garrison within their cities, compelling his souldiers to set vp their tentes, and to make their cabines without the suburbs of great cities to winter there, & causing also his owne pauillion to be first set vp, and lay in it him selfe in person. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their fauor: for he armed all the *ROMAN* citizens of age to cary weapon, that dwelt in *SPAYNE*, and made them make all forces of engines for battery, and a number of gallies besides, so that he had all the cities at commaundement, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very deadfull to his enemies. After *Sertorius* vnderstoode that *Sylla* kept *ROME*, and that the B most parte of the tribe of *Marium* & *Carbo* was vtterly ouerthrowen, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some Captaine with a great armie against him: he sent *Julius Salinator* betimes to keepe the mountaine Pirenei, with fixe thousande men well armed. Immediately after *Caius Annius* also came thither, sent by *Sylla*: who seeing no possibilitie to distresse *Salinator* in a place of such aduantage, was driue to stay at the foote of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one *Calpurnius* surnamed *Lanarius*, traitorously slue *Salinator*: whereupon his souldiers forthwith forsooke the toppe of the mountaine, and by this meanes *Annius* had easie passage with his army which was very great, and ouerthrowe them that resisted his further coming on into the contry. *Sertorius* finding him selfe not strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thousand men vnto the C cite of new *CARTHAGE*, and there tooke sea: from thence he coasted out into *AFRICKE*, and fell with the coast of the *MARYSIANS*, where his souldiers landed immediately for freshe water, dispersing them selues without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gaue a charge apon them, & slue numbers of them: in so much as *Sertorius* was driuen to imbarke againe, and to take his course towards *SPAYNE*, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driuen to take certaine pirates botes of the *CILICIAN*s, and to saile towards the Ile of *PITVVSA*, where he landed in despite of *Annius* garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came *Annius* thither him selfe with a good number of shippes, and fixe thousand fighting men in them. Him *Sertorius* determined to abide, and to fight withall by sea, though he had but small barkes, purposely made for swift sayling, & of no strength for fight. But now D the West winde rising very bigge, did swell the sea in such sorte, that it cast the most parte of *Sertorius* shippes (being weake and very light) apon rocks in the sea, and him selfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the sea by storme was driuen to ride ten dayes together at anker, working still for life against the daunger of the surging waues & boisterous windes, which continued rough all that time: yet in the ende when it calmed againe he waied anker, and ranne into certaine desolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoisting saile from thence, he passed the straight of *Gibraltar*, and turning on his right hande, landed apon the coast of *SPAYNE*, lying towards the great Westerne sea, a litle above the mouth of the riuer of *Batis*, the which falling into the sea *ATLANTIC*um, gaue name in olde time to that parte of *SPAYNE*, which was called *HISPANIA BÆTICA*. There certaine saylers met with him E that were newly arriued, from the Iles of the Ocean *Atlantium*, which the auncients called the fortunate Ilands. These two Ilandes are not farre one from another, being but a litle arme of the sea betwene them, and are from the coast of *AFRICKE* only tenne showland furlongs. They haue raine there very seldom, howbeit a gentle winde commonly that bloweth in a lile siluer dew, which moisteth the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustie, not onely to bring forth all that is set or sowne apon it, but of it selfe without mans hand it beareth so good fruite, as sufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling apon it, liuing idely, and taking no paines. The weather is sayre and pleasaunt continually, & neuer hurteh the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the ayer neuer extreame: bigaule the windes that blow apon that land frō the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the North & Easter, F by winde coming from the maine, what with their long commings, and then by dispersing them selues into a wonderfull large ayer & great sea, their strength is in manner spent and gone before their coming thither. And for the windes that blow from the sea (as the South and

GGG iij

Sertorius temperance.

Sertorius slue Marium garde of bondmen.

Sertorius went into Spayne.

Sertorius ciue refte to the Spaniards.

Sertorius flieth out of Spayne into Africke.

The Ile of Pitvusa.

The fortunate Ilandes.

The Elysian
fields.

Sertorius was
the cite of
Tingis.

Anteum
and greater.

Inba, of a
kinges backe.

Sertorius was
sent for by
the Lusitanians
to be their
Captaine.
Sertorius very
true and que-
liver.

Sertorius
bountie and
clemencie.

Westerly) they sometime bring litle showers with them which commonly doe but moist the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all things very trimmely: infomuch as the very barbarous people them selues doe faithfully beleue, that there are the Elysian fields, the bode of blessed creatures, which *Homer* hath so much spoken of. *Sertorius* hearing reports of these Ilandes (vpon a certaine desire now to liue quietly out of tyranny & warres) had straight a marvelous minde to go dwel there. But when the pyrates of *Cilicia* (who were no men of peace, but geuen altogether to spoyle & pillage) heard that: they by & by forooke *Sertorius*, & went into *Africke*, to restore *Ascalum* the sonne of *Sphtha* to his realme of *Mavritania* againe. *Sertorius* quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made warre against *Ascalum*, and all to thend that his souldiers seeing matter of new hope and meanes to be employed, should not so leaue him, being faced afterwarde to be discharged of very necessity. The *Mavrytians* being very glad of his arriuall, he presently went on with his enterprise, ouercame *Ascalum* in battell, and besieged the cite whereinto upon the ouerthrowe of his armie he was fled for refuge. *Sylla* being aduertised thereof, sent *Paccius* thither with an army to aide *Ascalum*. *Sertorius* gaue him battell, slue him in the field, and won the rest of his army, which yielded vnto him: then tooke he the city of *Tingis*, whereinto *Ascalum* was fled with his brethren. The *Libyans* wyte that *Anteus* is buried there. But *Sertorius* geuing no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that contrie, by reason of the greatnes of the tombe they shewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding there the body of a man (as they say) of three score cubits long, he marueled at it, and so finishing his sacrifice to honor the memory thereof, caused the tombe to be well closed vp againe. By this act hee did greatly increase the honor of *Anteus* memory, which the city did vnto him, and thereby confirmed the contry mens reports of *Anteus*. For the *Tingians* doe reporte, that after *Anteus* death, his wife *Tinga* lay with *Hercules*; and had a goodly sonne by him called *Sophax*, who was king of that contrie, and there built this city, geuing it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is sayd also that this *Sophax* had a sonne called *Diodorus*, who conquered the most parte of *Africke* with an army of the *Greecian* *Olbians* and *Myccians*, which *Hercules* brought thether, to inhabite those partes. We were willing to imbrace the occasion offered vs to speake of this matter as we went, for the honor of *Iuba*, the noblest historiographer that euer came of royall blood: for it is thought his auncesters were lineally descended from *Sophax* and this *Diodorus*. *Sertorius* as conquerour now, hauing the whole contry in subiection, did in no wise hurt them that yielded vnto him, & put trust in him, but restored them their goodes, cities, and gouernment againe, contenting him selfe with that they offered him of their good willes. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine: the *Lvsitanians* sent Ambassadors vnto him, to intreate him to be their chieftaine. For they stood in great neede of a worthy personage, and a man expert in warres to defende them against the furies of the *Romanes*: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honorable behauiour by that that were conuerfant with him. Whose qualities as we finde writtyn, were these. He was neuer greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a resolute man without feare in most danger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperitie. In valliantnes inferior to no Captaine of his time, and very quick of execution in euery imminent danger. For where any present exploit was to be done, any strong place of aduantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to passe ouer any riuier, or scape any instant danger, where it stood upon speedy execution, and to shew some stratagem or policie in time and place to floud the enemy: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good seruice, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the fowle murder he did in his latter dayes upon certaine younge children that were pledges with him (which doubtlesse was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgoeue) doth manifestly proue, that he was neither mercifull nor courteous of nature: but that he manie times did finely counterfeite it, when both the time and the warres did so require it. But of mine opinion, sure I am perfwaded that no misfortune can haue power to make perfect vertue, grounded vpon good reason, to worke in any sorte contrarie to it selfe: neither doth thinke it impossible also, but that mens good willes and gentle natures being injured without

caule,

A cause, may peraduenture change their naturall dispositions. Which then proued true in *Sertorius*, who finding fortune contrary vnto him, & his good happe changed into ill, grew so crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell reuenge of them which had villanously betrayed him. But now to our matter where we left. *Sertorius* departed out of *Africke* upon the *Lvsitanians* offer, who chose him for their General, geuing him absolute power and authoritie: and so soone as he arriued, he straight leaued men of warre, and with them subdued the people of *Spainne* fronting upon their marches, of which the more parte did willingly submit them selues, upon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and courteous, and a valliant man besides in pefect daunger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuises & subtelties to winne their good willes: as amonge others, the policie and deuise he had of the hynde, which was this. There was a poore man of the contrie called *Spanus*, who meeting by chance one day with a hynde in his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters helet the damme goe not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young hynde, and of a straunge heare, for she was all milke white. It chaunced so, that *Sertorius* was at that time in those partes, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him such manner of presentes: as frutes, fowle, or venison, & would make very much of them that brought them to him, and also reward them well for the same. So, this poore man presented *Sertorius* with his younge hynde, which he gladly receiued, and which with time he made fo tame, that she would come to him when he called her, and followe him where euer he went, being nothing the wilder, for the dayly sight of such a number of armed souldiers together as they were, nor yet afrayed of the noyle and tumult of the campe. Infomuch as *Sertorius* by litle & litle made it a miracle, making the simple barbarous people beleue that it was a gift that *Diana* had sent him, by the which the made him vnderstande of many and sundrie things to come: knowing wel enough of him selfe, that the barbarous people were men easily deceived, and quickly caught by any subtil superstition, besides that by arte also he brought them to beleue it as a thinge very true. For when he had any secret intelligence geuen him, that the enemies would invade some parte of the countries and prouinces subiect vnto him, or that they had taken any of his fortes from him by any intelligence or sodaine attempt: he straight told them that his hynde spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put him selfe in strength. In like manner if he had heard any newes that one of his Lieutenantes had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, he would hide the messenger, and bring his hynde abroade with a garland and collar of roses: and then say it was a token of some good newes coming towards him, perswading them with all to be of good cheare, and so did sacrifice to the goddess, to geue them thanks for the good tidings he should heare before it were long. Thus by putting this superstition into their heades, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, infomuch as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a straunger wiser than them selues, but were stedfastly perswaded that they were rather led by some certaine god: and so much the more, because that his deedes confirmed their opinions, seeing his power so dayly to increase beyonde the hope and expectation of man. For with two thousand fow hundred souldiers, which he called *Romanes* (although the most of them in deede were *Africans*, which came ouer with him out of *Africke* into *Spainne*) & foure thousand *Lvsitanians*, with seven hundred horsemen also, he made warre against foure great Capitaines of *Rome*, which had the leading of fixe score thousand footemen, two thousand archers and slingers, with a world of cities and contries besides. Where *Sertorius* at the first had not about twenty at the most: and yet with this small power to maintaine this warre withall, he did not only conquer great countries and many goodly cities, but tooke some of the Capitaines prisoners also, whome the *Romanes* sent against him. Of which company *Cotta* was one, whome he overthrew in battell by sea, not farte from the cite of *Mellaria*. He also ouercame *Fidius* in battell, being gouernor of *Spainne Betica*, by the riuier of *Betis*, where he slue two thousand *Romanes*. By his treasurer likewise he ouercame *Lucius Domitius*, Proconsull of the other prouince of *Spainne*. And an other time he discomfited *Toranus* an other Captaine, one of the chiefest Lieutenants, whome he slue in fight with all his army. And *Sertorius* selfe, being taken in the same

Sertorius fa-
melye of his
hynde.

Sertorius ar-
my.

The army of
the Romanes,
led by three
Captaines to
conquer the
Barbaries.

This place
may well be
taken two
ways, and ei-
ther of both
allowable: &
according to
the other it
might be said,
to leave Ro-
mane citi-
zens to the
warre, & fight-
ing like val-
liant men.
Sertorius
warlike & ver-
tuous.

Metellus pre-
sisteth in be-
siege the Lan-
guedocque, and
to take their
city, for lacke
of water.
Sertorius
finely decei-
ved Metellus,
at the siege of
the Languedoc-
que.

for one of the most expert men of warre, and chiefe Captaines among the ROMANES: him he put also fo oft to distresse, that *Lucius Lollius* was faine to come out of *GAULE NARBONNE* 515 (now *Languedocke*) to aide. And they were furthermore driuen to fende *Pompey* the great with all speede from *ROME*, with a new army. Bicause *Metellus* knew not what course to take, hauing to fight with a most valliant man, & one whom he could neuer either bring to any set battell, nor yet entrappe in the plaine fieldes, (so easily could he cast him selfe into all kinde of formes) by reason of the dexterity and swiftnes of his spanie souldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without remouing a foote, and to lead an army heavy armed, which could keepe their rankes, and fighting stedeadly could ouerthrow their enemies with handstrokes, and marche apon their bellies. But to clime vp the mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with these men armed as light as the winde, and to pursue them in chafe that fled still, and neuer kept place: it was vnpossible for them to doe it, and much lesse to abide hunger and thirst, to liue without a kitchen and fire, and likewise to lye on the bare ground without tentes or pauillions, as *Sertorius* souldiers did. Furthermore *Metellus* being grown an old man, (hauing spent all his youth in seruice of the warres, and taken & suffred great paynes and troubles, geuing him selfe now to quiet and pleasure) was matched with *Sertorius*, being then euen at his best age, and lustiest of body, besides that nature had made him both strong, active, and temperate withall. For he was neuer geuen to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and out of warres, he was likewise acquainted with paines and hardnes from his youth, could away with long iornes, watch many dayes and nightes without sleepe, ate litle, and content him selfe with any meate that came to hand. And had he neuer so litle leasure, he would continually be on horsebacke, riding a hunting vp and downe the fieldes, which made him very ready and expert to know how to winde him selfe out of daunger when he was distressed, and contrariwise also to compasse in his enemy apon any advantage: and besides, to see where he might enter, and where not. For this cause was *Metellus* driuen (who was still desirous to fight) to abide the losses and discommodities which they suffer that be vanquished: and *Sertorius* on thother side refusing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they haue, which chafe their enemies whome they haue ouercome. For he cutte of his vittells on euery side, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to marche further forwarde, *Sertorius* stayed him. And when he lay still in his campe, *Sertorius* came and gaue him alaroms, & draue him to dislodge. Yf *Metellus* layed siege to any place, *Sertorius* straight besieged him for want of vittells. So that his souldiers were euen weary of altogether. Whereupon, when *Sertorius* challenged the combat of *Metellus*: oh, well sayd, cryed all the souldiers, let Captaine fight against Captaine, and ROMANE against a ROMANE. Howbeit *Metellus* refused him, and the souldiers laughed him to scorne. Neuerthelesse he did but smile at them, and therein shewed him selfe a wise man: for as *Theophrastus* sayth, a Captaine must dye as a Captaine, not like a priuate souldier. Furthermore, *Metellus* considering that the LANGOBERTS (who gaue great aide vnto *Sertorius* in all seruices) were easie to be taken for lacke of water (hauing but one onely well in all their city) and that whosoever did besiege the same, should straight be master of all the spring heades of the suburbs about it, hoping thereby to make the citie yeelde vnto him within two dayes at thutmost: he commaunded his souldiers to vitrell them selues for fivue dayes only. But *Sertorius* hauing intelligence thereof, gaue good direction and speedy order to prevent him. For he caused two thousand goates skinned to be filled with water, and promised round summes of money for euery skinned goate brought thither. Many SPANYARDS and MAVRYSIANS straight tooke apon them this enterprise. Thereupon *Sertorius* choosinge the lustiest men amonge them, sent them away through the mountaine, commaunding them withall, that when they deliuered their goates skinned with water vnto the citizens, they should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might last them the longer which defended the city. *Metellus* receiuing aduertisement hereof, was much agrieved withall, bicause his souldiers vittells were wel nere spent, which they had brought according to his commaundement: and therefore he sent *Aquinius* one of his Lieutenants, with six thousand men to get vittells. *Sertorius* hauing intelligence of his purpose, presently

A presently layed an ambush for his returne in a valley full of wodde, and bestowed there these thousand men to set vpon the rereward, whilst he him selfe gaue charge on the vaward. Thus made he *Aquinius* flee, & lue the most parte of his men, and tooke the rest prisoners. Howbeit *Aquinius* selfe the Captaine hauing lost his weapons and horie, by flying recovered *Metellus* campe: who thereupon was driuen with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the SPANYARDS. For these valliant deedes, was *Sertorius* wonderfully beloued and honored of all the barbarous people, and specially bicause he had made them good souldiers, brought them from their former rude & beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the ROMANE fashion, to keepe their rankes when they fought, to follow their ensigne, and to take the signall and word of the battell: in so much as he made them then appeare a goodly army, well taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of theues and robbers. Furthermore, he deuised great store of gold and silver among them, shewing them how they should gild their headpeeces, sette out their shieldes and targettes with fine workemanhippe, and also brauely apparell them selues with riche clokes and sleuelesse callockes apon their armor, teaching them to be fine, and furnishing them with money, whereby he maruelously wanne the hartes of the barbarous people. Yet did he further binde them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children. For he sent generally for all the noble mens young sonnes, through all the countries and prouinces subiect vnto him: and brought them to the goodly citie of *OLIVIA*, where he prouided them of schoolemasters to teache them the Greeke and Latine tongue, bearing their parentes in hande, that it was to no other ende, but to make them (when they came to be men) meete to be employed in the seruice of the common weale, albeit in deede it was but a fine deuise of him, to haue them as Ostages for their faith and loyalty towards him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sonnes apparelled like ROMANS, in fayer long gownes garded with purple, to goe ciuilly to the schooles: that *Sertorius* payed for their learninge: and that oftentimes he went thither to appose them, to see how they profited: and how he gaue rewardes vnto them that were the best schollers, hanging iuelles about their neckes, which the ROMANES call *Bulla*. In so much, that they hauing a custome at that time in SPAYNE, that such as were about the Prince or their chieftaine should dye with him when he dyed, that custome of voluntarie vowe to dye with their Lorde, being called by the barbarous people, deuotion: there were very fewe of their followers and familiars that would vowe to dye with other Captaines, but on thother side, thousandes commonly followed *Sertorius*, hauing vowed to loose their liues with him. And for prooffe hereof it is reported, that when his army on a time was ouerthrowen by a certaine citie of SPAYNE, the enemies egerly pursuing him: the SPANYARDS not regarding their owne liues to saue his, tooke him vp on their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man apon them, till they put him into the city, who being safe & out of daunger, they then looked by running to saue them selues the best they could. Thus was *Sertorius* not only beloued of the SPANYARDS, but of the souldiers also that came out of ITALIE. For when *Perpenna Vento*, being of the same faction, arrived in SPAYNE full of money, & with a good number of souldiers intending to make waite in his behalfe against *Metellus*: his souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his campe but of *Sertorius*. The which spited *Perpenna* to the hart, being proude & stately by meanes of his wealth and estate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that *Pompey* was past ouer the mountaine Pyrenei, the souldiers armed them selues, and plucked vp their ensignes that were fast in the ground, and cried out apon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, threatening him that if he would not, they would leaue him alone, and seeke them a Captaine, that could both saue him selfe and them. So was *Perpenna* forced against his will to followe their mindes, and to leade the three and fiftie ensignes he had with him, to ioine with *Sertorius* force. Thus became *Sertorius* army very great, and specially after all the cities on this side the riuier of *Ebrus* had yeelded vnto him. For then came souldiers to him out of all partes, howbeit they were a rashe confused multitude of Omnigatherum together, hauing no reason for patience to abide time, but cried out in furie, to set apon their enemies. This troubled *Sertorius* much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he sawe they fell to mutinie, and would needes haue their wills, and both without reason and all good

Sertorius a-
dresses A-
quinius.

Sertorius
taught the
Spaniards the
manners of the
Romans.

The citie of
Olivia.

Sertorius shew-
eth his pollicie.

The Span-
ards deuotion.

The Span-
ards love to
Sertorius.

Perpenna
iointed with
Sertorius.

Ebrus R.

order would so goe set upon their enemies: he gaue them the head, and let them goe as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly. But yet tooke such order and direction, as they should not vterly be cast away, hoping after that to haue them the more obedient vnto him. And in dede they had their payment as he coniectured: notwithstanding he went to rescue them, & so brought the safe into his campe. Now to take away the families perplexitie from them, which this ouerthrow perhappes had striken into them: immediately after he caused his whole armie to assemble, as purposing to vie some speeche vnto them: in which time he caused two horses to be brought and set in the middes among them, the one olde and feeble iacke, and thother a goodly lustie horse, which besides other things, had a marvelous lyster thicke taile. Behind the olde leane iacke, he set a lusty tall fellow: and behind the goodly horse also, he placed a little wearish man, & seeming to fight to haue but small strength. Now upon a signe geuen them which he had made them priuy to, the strong man tooke the leane horse by the taile with all his might, as if he would haue plucked it off by the stumpe: and the other wearish man fell to plucking of heare by heare from the great horse taile. So when the strong man had tugged and swet a great while in vaine at the leane horse taile, thinking he haue pulled it off, and in thende did nothing else but make the lookers on laugh: and that the wearish wretch on thother side in a short space, (& at ease) had left the great horse taile with neuer a heare on it: *Sectorius* then rising vp, spake in this sorte to his souldiers. Doe ye nor (my frendes and companions) sayd he, how time and perfeuerance exceedeth force? and that things vnlke at the first to be overcome by force, are yet in time, by lile and lile obtained. For continuance ouercometh all things, and there is no force nor power, but proceesse of time consumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certaine helpe to them, that can take oportunitie, and abide time: as in contrariwise haft and rafines is as dangerous an enemy as may be, to them that doe things of a head without regard. By these common deuises wherewith *Sectorius* daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportunitie of time. But of all the stratagemes he vsed in warre, that only exceeded all other, which he shewed vnto a people called the *CHARACITANIANS*. The people doe dwell on the other side of the riuer of *Tagus*, and haue neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only a great high hill, full of hollow caues and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towards the North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great litle ground and so rotten, that it is not able to beate a man, but being troden on, crummeth like white lyme, & turneth vnder his fete. And therefore, by means of the same, when those people were afrayed of any enemies, or that they had conueyed the goodes they had robbed & stollen from their neighbors into those caues, they thought them selues safe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was vnpossible to compell them to come out. Nowe it chaunced that *Sectorius* flying from *Metellus*, came and encamped hard by this hill which these barbarous people inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining *Metellus* had ouerthrown him. But *Sectorius* being in a rage with them, and because he would faine that he fled not: tooke his horse backe the next morning, and rode as neere to the hill as he coulede, to viewe the nature and situation of the place: and when he saw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked vp and downe, vainely threatening them to no purpose. Yet going and comming to and fro, he perceived the winde raised a great dust, of that bridle earth we haue spoken of, and carried it full into the *CHARACITANIANS* holes, the mouthes wherof as we sayd before, lay full upon the North. This Northen winde, which some call *Cæcias*, is the only winde of all other that most keepeth in that quarter, and isfeth from the moores and mountaines thereabouts, which be continually couered with snow, and then in the hart of sommer is nourished and enforced by the melting of the ice and snow, and so bloweth a ioly coole winde, which refresheth the barbarous people and beastes all the day long. *Sectorius* marking this with him selfe, and vnderstanding by the inhabitants therabouts, that this winde blew commonly among them: commaunded his souldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light bridle earth together, & to raise a mount of it, right against the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockery of it at the first, thinking *Sectorius* would haue made a mount to haue fought with them upon it: howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his souldiers backe againe into his

A fine deuise of *Sectorius* to teache men the benefit of time and perfeuerance.

Sectorius words to his souldiers, declaring the benefit of time.

The Character of the *Characitanians* what people they be.

Sectorius vnderstandeth the deuise against the barbarous people, called the *Characitanians*.

his campe. The next morning by breake of day there was a pretty litle winde stirring, that onely blew of the toppes of his forced mount, & the highest parte of that masse of earth, as chaffe when they winnowe corne: and as the llyane beganne to haue any power, the North winde also rose, which soorthwith filled all the hill with dust. And withall, came *Sectorius* souldiers who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all those drie clots of clay in peeces. The horsemen on thother side, they still maintained their horses vp and downe in it, to raise vp the greater dust, which the winde carried as soone as it rose, and blow into the caues of these barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and cleftes of the rockes: So they haue no other vent nor ayre any way, but there where the winde blew in upon them: it did so blinde fold their eyes, and filled their caues with such a thicke stuffing ayre, that they were almost choked withall, not able to take breath. For when they should drawe their breathes, this stuffing ayre and dust came in at their mouthes so fast, that they had much a doe to hold out two dayes, and on the thirde yielded them selues vnto *Sectorius* mercy: the which thing did not so much increase his power, as it wanne him honor, by policie to haue wonne such an vnlkely conquest, which by force could neuer haue bene gotten, and where to fight was matter impossible. So longe therefore as he made warre with *Metellus* alone, he commonly had the aduantage of him, because *Metellus* was an olde man and heauy, & could not resist *Sectorius* lusty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a company of theues and robbers, than to an army of men of warre. But afterwarde when *Pompey* came oute from the mountaines Pyrenai, and that both of them being encamped eche before the other, and that *Pompey* had shewed him all the stratagemes and policies of warre possible for a good Captaine to deuise, & he the like vnto *Pompey*: and found that *Sectorius* had the better of him both in laying his ambushes, & also in foreseeing to intrap him: then grew the fame of *Sectorius* to be so great, that euen in *Rome* it selfe he was thought to be the noblest Captaine, & of best conduction of any man in his time. Yet was *Pompey* at that time of great fame and reputation, which afterwarde also waxed greater, by the noble actes he did vnder *Sylla*, who gaue him the surname of *Pompey* the great, for that he had deserved honor of triumphe, before his beard was grown. So, when he was comen thus into *Spain*, diuers townes and cities subiect vnto *Sectorius*, were halfe in minde to yeelde vnto *Pompey*: but afterwarde they altered againe, upon the chaunce that happened vnto the cite of *LAVRON*, beyond all expectation: For *Sectorius* being gone to lay siege to it, *Pompey* in haft went thither with his armie to raise the siege. Neere vnto the city there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a campe in, and also to distresse them of the cite: whereupon thome made haft to get it, and thother to keepe him from it. Notwithstanding, *Sectorius* was the first man, and got the hill: and *Pompey* came euen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had so fallen out, thinking to haue made *Sectorius* sure at that time, being kept in on the one side with the cite of *LAVRON*, and with his army on the other. Thereupon he sent vnto the citizens, and bad them care for nothing, more then to stand upon their walles at their pleasure, to see *Sectorius* straightly besieged, who thought to haue besieged them. This message being brought to *Sectorius*, he smiled at it, and sayd, that he would teache *Sylla* young scholler (for so in mockerie he called *Pompey*) that a wife Captaine should rather see behinde then before him: and therewithall he shewed the *LAVRONITANS* fixe thousand footemen well armed, which he had left in his campe when he came to take the hill where he was, to thend that if *Pompey* came by chaunce to assaile him, they should geue a charge upon his rereward. *Pompey* hauinge founde this to lye, dust not offer *Sectorius* battell, fearing to be compassed in behinde: and on thother side he was ashamed to forsake the *LAVRONITANS*, whome he was driven in thende to see vnto the spoiled and destroyed before his eyes, and durst not once sturre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the contrarie part (seeing no hope of aide by him, yeelded straight vnto *Sectorius*, who did not onely pardon them, but also suffered them to goe whether they would. Howbeit he burnt the cite, for no anger or crueltie (being a Captaine that neuer shewed crueltie in anger) but to thend that *Pompey* withall, and to stoppe their mouthes that made such accomptes of him: and that this brute might runne among the barbarous people, that *Pompey* him selfe being present, might in manner haue warned him by the fire that burnt a goodly city of his confederates, fight.

Sectorius dedes against *Pompey*.

Sectorius goes to lay siege to the cite of *Lavron*.

Sectorius sheweth his saying of a Captaine.

Sectorius burns the city of *Lavron* in *Pompey*.

*Sertorius of
him selfe in-
vincible.*

neither durst nor could helpe them. In dede *Sertorius* in continuance of this warre suffered much losse and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the fault of his Lieutenants, as touching him selfe, he was neuer ouerthrowen, nor thofe he led. And yet he cared more honor in recouering of those battells which his Captaines lost, than his enemies did that had put them to the worke. As in the battell he wanne against *Pompey*, by the city of *Syracusa* and in another he wanne against *Pompey* and *Metellus* both, by the citie of *Tyrrhus*. And for the ouerthrow of *Syracusa*, it is thought it came through *Pompeys* ambition, makinge more haile for feare *Metellus* should be partaker of the honor of his victorie: and that was the thing *Sertorius* looked for, to fight before *Metellus* came to ioine with him, and therefore he fought the battell with *Pompey* towards night, supposing the darkenesse of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to saue them selues if they were overcome, and allowe chase the enemies if so it happened they had the vpper hande, because they were strangers, and knew not the contrie. When both battells came to geue charge, *Sertorius* at the first was not directly against *Pompey*, but against *Afranius*, who led the left wing of *Pompeys* battell, and him selfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howebeit *Sertorius* being aduised that the left wing of his owne army against the which *Pompey* fought, was in such distresse, they gaue backe, and could abide no longer, if they were not presently aided: straight left the leading of the right wing, which he assigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all speede possible vnto the left wing, which were then euen as good as flying. And first be-chered them together againe which had turned their backes, and after put those also in good order that were yet a fighting: and so hauing encouraged them both with his wordes, and the presence of his person, he gaue a new charge againe upon *Pompey*, more courageously than before, (who thinking he had already wonne the field, was then a chafing such as fled) and caute so, fiercely upon him, that he put all the whole army of the *ROMANES* to flight: in the which *Pompey* him selfe escaped killing in the field very hardly being sore hurt, & saued by a strange meane. For the *AFRICANS* of *Sertorius* hauing taken *Pompeys* horse (which was richly trapped with harnessse of gold and other precious furniture) falling out among them selues, and fighting for deuotion of the same: in the meane time let *Pompey* goe, and neuer followed after him. *Afranius* againe on thother side, whilest *Sertorius* was gone to helpe the other wing of his battell, made them flie all that stood before him, & followed killing of the euen into the trenches of their campe, entring in amongst them that fled, and spoiled the campe being darke night. Knowing nothing of *Pompeys* ouerthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from spoyle. *Sertorius* also comming thither upon the instant, finding *Pompeys* men in disorder, slue a number of them: and the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them out into the field, to fight once more with *Pompey*. But receiuing intelligence that *Metellus* was at hand, he founded the retreat, and dislodged from the place he encamped, saying: had not that old woman comen, I would haue whipped that young boy to *ROME* with roddes. Now was *Sertorius* very heauy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynde: further by all his furtletie and finesse to kepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then specially, when they stood in neede of most comforte. But by good happe, certaine of his souldiers that had lost them selues in the night, met with the hynde in their way, and knowing her by her colour, tooke her, and brought her backe againe. *Sertorius* hearing of her, promised her a good reward, so that they would tell no liuing creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be secretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroade among them, and with a pleasant countenance tolde the noble men and chiefe Captaines of these barbarous people, how the goddess had reuealed it to him in his dreame, that he should shortly haue a maruelous good thing happen to him: and with these wordes fate downe in his chayer to geue audience. Whereupon they that kept the hynde nor fere from thence, did secretly let her goe. The hynde being lost, when the had spied *Sertorius*, ran straight to his chayer with great ioy, and put her head betwext his legges, & layed her mouth in his right hande, as she before was wont to doe. *Sertorius* also made very much of her, and of purpose appeared marcelous glad, shewing such tender affection to the hynde, as it seemed the water stood in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that stood there by & beheld the

*Battell be-
tweene Serti-
rius & Pom-
pey.*

*Pompey fled
Sertorius at
Syracusa.*

*Sertorius
smile to
Pompey.*

At the same, at the first were much amazed therewith: but afterwards when they had better be- thought them selues, for ioy they clapped their handes together, and waited vpon *Sertorius* to his lodging with great and ioyfull shewtes, saying, and stedfastly beleuing, that he was a heavenly creature, and beloued of the goddess: whereupon they were maruelously pleased in their mindes, and certainly hoped that their assayes should prosper daily better and better. Another time hauing straighted his enemies with scarcety of vittells, in the territorie of the *SAGYNTINES*, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they sent great troups of men to forrage the contrie, to get vittells. Upon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either side, where *Metellus* was slaine, (the valliantest Captaine *Pompey* had) cora- giously fighting in the midst of the battell, *Sertorius* finding him selfe the stronger, followed his first wing, making great slaughter of those that withstood him, vntill he came vnto *Metellus* selfe, who taried his comming, defending him selfe more valliantly than was either ho- ped, or looked for, in a man of his yeares: in so much as he was at the last hurt with a partizan. Which was such a dishonor to the *ROMANES*, nor vnto them only that saw it, but vnto such also as heard of it, that being all ashamed to forsake their Captaine, and turning their shame into anger against their enemies: they couered *Metellus* rounde about with their shieldes and targets, & getting him out of the presse and furie of the fight, gaue such a fierce onfet, as they draue the *SPARTARDS* to flie. This fortune changing the victory, *Sertorius* to geue his sca- tered men time to saue them selues, and leasure also for a new supply (which he caused to be presently leauied) to come at their pleasure: fled of purpose into a citie of the mountaines of strong situation, and there setting a good face of the matter repayed the rampers, and forti- fied the gates, thinking nothing lesse then to abide there to be besieged, but only to lay a baite for his enemies, comming to besiege the citie, hoping they should easily winne it, and in the meane time left pursuing of the barbarous people which had therby good leasure giuen them to saue them selues. Furthermore, they tooke no order to suppress the new supplye that was comming to *Sertorius*, who had sent out his Captaines to the next cities & thieres adioyning, to leaue men, with expresse commendement, that when they had mustered a conuenient number together, they should sende them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderstoode of their comming, he easily passed through his enemies to meete them, and with them sodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worse then before: sometime cutting their vi- D talls from them by land, through his ambushes and continuall furtle policies, being quickly in euerie place whether they thought to go, with his light army: and on the sea also with cer- taine pirats pinnelles, with the which he scored all the coast upon the sea side. By this meanes, both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to seuer the selues farre one from the other, in so much as *Metellus* went to winter in *GAULE*, *Pompey* remained in *SPAYNE* (in great scarce- tie of all things for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the *VACCIAIANS*, and wrote to the Senate at *ROME*, that he would returne with his armie into *ITALIE*, if they sent him not money out of hande, for that he had spent all his owne daily fighting for the defense of *ITALIE*. Thus it was certainly thought at *ROME*, that *Sertorius* would be in *ITALIE* before *Pompey*: because he had through his valliancie and great skill brought two of the most famous E Captaines of their time, to great extremitie and distresse. Then did *Metellus* shewe how much he feared *Sertorius*, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemy. For he pro- claimed by sounde of trompet, that if any *ROMANE* could kill him, he would geue him an hundred silver talentes, and twentie thousand *Lugera* of land: and if he were a banished man, he promised he should be restored to his contry and goodes againe, buying his death by trea- son, whome he could not overcome by force. And furthermore, being his chaunce once to winne a battell of *Sertorius*, he was so ioconde and provide for this victorie, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to say, Prince, or soueraine Captaine: and was con- tented the people should sette vp altars and doe sacrifices vnto him in euerie citie where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlandes of flowers on his head; and would be bidden to dissolve bankets, sitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victory goe vp and downe the hall, moued by certaine secret engines carying triumphes of golde, and crownes and garlandes of triumphe, and daunfers of goodly young

*Sertorius flie
Metellus,
Pompey
Lirienensis.*

*Shame turned
into anger.*

*Sertorius be-
sieged of
Pompey.*

*Metellus fea-
red Sertorius.*

*Metellus
made him selfe
be called Im-
perator.
Metellus ro-
manie.*

boyes and fayre gines following of them, with longes of triumphe in his praise. *Whithin* A double he deferred to be laughed at, shewing him selfe so much caried away with ioy and vaine glory, for one ouerthrowe geuen vnto him, whom him selfe was wont to call *Sylla* his gitiue, and the remnant of the banished men of *Carbo*. On thother side, *Sertorius* noble courage was easily discerned, first, for that he called the banished men which were escaped from *Rome*, and comen to him, *Senators*: and hauing them about him, called them the *Senate*, making some of them *Treasurers*, others *Pretors*, directing and ordering all things according to the manner of his contrie. And in this also, that making warres with the souldiers of the cities of *SPAYNE*, and defeating the same at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authoritie, so much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with *ROMANE* officers and Captaines: saying still, that he fought for the liberty of the people of *ROME*, and not to increase the glorie and power of the *SPANYARDS*, to the hurt and dishonor of the *ROMANES*. For to say truly of him, he euer loued his contrie well, and longed much to be sent for home againe: and yet in his greatest troubles, when thinges thwarted him most, then was his minde greatest, yielding no manner of shewe or appearance to his enemies, of any faint hart or discouragement in him. Againe, when he was in best prosperitie, and had most aduantage of his enemies, he sent vnto *Metellus* and *Pompey* both, letting them vnderstand that for his parte he was contented to lay armes aside, and to lue at home like a priuate man, so that he might be lawfully restored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meanest citizen in *ROME*, then being a banished man out of his contrie, to be called Emperor of the world. And it is said, that one of the chiefe causes which made him desire so much to be called home againe, was the tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had brought him vp from the time of his fathers death) vpon whom he cast all his loue and delite: in so much as after that his friends in *SPAIN* had sent for him to come to be their Captaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiuing newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it so strake him to the hart, that he had almost dyed for sorrowe. For he lay seuen dayes together continually on the ground weeping, & neuer gaue his souldiers the watch word, nor would be fene of any of his friends vntill that the other noble men and Captaines of his owne estate, came to him to his tent, and were so importunate of him by intreaty and perswasion, that they gotte him out of his tent, and shew him selfe to his souldiers, to speake to them, & to take order for his affayres which prospered very well. By these signes many haue iudged, that he was of a courteous and pityfull nature, and that naturally he was geuen to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessity to take charge of men of warre, because he could not otherwise lue quietly nor safely, being pursued by his enemies, which would neuer let him rest, and thereupon entred into warre, for his owne gard and safety. The treaty selfe he made with king *Mithridates*, argued his noble minde. For when *Mithridates* whome *Sylla* had ouercomen, was recouered againe (like a wrestler that being ouerthrowen getteth vp on his feete to trye an other fall with his enemy) and tooke apone him toinade *ASIA*: *Sertorius* fame was then so great, that he was spoken of through the world, by marchauntes comming from the West, who blew abroad the reporte thereof al the East partes ouer, euen into the realme of *PONT*, like to marchandises which they went to seeke for in straunge contries. Whereupon *Mithridates* being perswaded by the vaine vauntes of his fauored courtiers, who compared *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, and him selfe vnto king *Pyrus*, saying that the *ROMANES* being set apone by them both, could not withstand two such excellent natures, & great powers together, when the noblest Captaine of the world should be ioyned with the greatest and most puissant Prince that euer was: sent thereupon his Ambassadors into *SPAYNE* vnto *Sertorius*, with full power and commission to promise him money and shippes towards the maintenance and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he desired that *Sertorius* would redeliuer him the possession of *ASIA* againe, the which he had surrendered vp vnto the *ROMANES* apone the peace made between him and *Sylla*. *Sertorius* hereupon called his counsell together (which he termed the *Senate*) to consult apone this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept *Mithridates* offers, and were exceedingly glad of the same, considering that they asked them nothing but a tale in the ayer, and a name of thinges which were not in their power, offering them therefore things present,

Sertorius noble minde.

Sertorius honorable respect vnto his contrie.
Sertorius minde greatest in aduersity.

Sertorius affection to his contrie.

Sertorius natural lue to his mother.

Mithridates sent Ambassadors vnto Sertorius in Spayne.

A present, whereof they had greater neede, yet would *Sertorius* neuer agree therunto. Howwithstanding, thus much he graunted *Mithridates*, that he should enioy *CHAPADOCIA*, & *Bithynia*, which had euer bene contries subiect vnto kings, & whereunto the *ROMANES* had neuer any right, excepting this specially: that he would neuer suffer him to vspurie any contrie vnto the which the *ROMANES* had any iust title, and the which he had lost in warres by force of armes vnto *Fimbria*, & had afterwarde also willingly surrendered: by agreement made between him and *Sylla*. For he sayd he would enlarge the Empire of *Rome* through his victories, but not impyre or hurte it by his conquestes. For, a valiant man (sayd he) should rather conquer with honor, but in no wise desire life with dishonor. His answer being reported vnto king *Mithridates*, did much amaze him: and some haue written, that he then sayd vnto his familiars. What would *Sertorius* commaund vs then, if he fate among the in the *Senate* at *Rome*, who being an exile now, and remaining in the furthest parte of the world by the sea *Atlanticum*, doth take apone him to bounde the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatening vs all so with warres, if we attempt any thing against *ASIA*? All this notwithstanding, they were agreed apone other things betweene them, that *Mithridates* should enioy the contries of *CHAPADOCIA* and *Bithynia*, and that *Sertorius* should send him one of his Captaines with aide of men of warre, and that apone performance thereof, the king should geue him the summe of three thousand talents, and fortie shippes of warre. So *Sertorius* sent thither one of his Captaines called *Marcus Marius*, a Senator of *Rome*, who fled to him for succour: vnto whom *Mithridates* distressed certaine cities of *ASIA*. And when *Marius* entred into them, with his sergeantes carying the bundells of rodde and axes before him, as before a *Proconsul* full of the *ROMANES*: *Mithridates* gaue him the vpper hande, as his better and followed after him. Furthermore, *Marius* did set certaine cities at libertie, and wrote vnto others, declaring vnto them, that *Sertorius* of his grace and goodnesse did release them of their taxes and customes they payed: so that poore *ASIA* which had bene oppressed by the couetousnes of the *Treasurers* and farmers of the *ROMANES*, and also by the pride and insolencie of the souldiers which lay in garrison among them, beganne to haue some hope of chaunge; & to desire that alteration of government, which *Sertorius* offered. But on thother side, the *Senators* of *Rome* that were in *SPAYNE* as banished men in *Sertorius* armie, and of the like dignitie and estate that him selfe was of, they hearing say that all was well againe at *Rome*, and perswading them felues that they should be stronge enough for their enemies, hauinge no cause to feare any more daunger: beganne then to enuie *Sertorius* greatnesse and authoritie, but *Perperna* specially amonge other, who by reason of his nobilitie being putt vp with a vaine presumption and ambitious selfe will, practised to make him selfe chiefe of all the armie; and to that ende threwe forth amongest his frendes and familiars such kinde of feditious wordes. What cruel fortune (quod he) my frendes doth daily haunt vs worse then others making vs that were vnwilling to obey *Sylla* (commaunding at this day both lande and sea at his will) to chooseth rather to forsake our landes and contrie? And nowe being come hither in hope to lue at libertie, we willingly make our felues slaues, becomminge *Sertorius* garde for defence of his persone in his exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with fayer wordes, calling vs the *Senate*, whereas euery man laugheth to heare vs so called, and in fine we must abide this dishonor to be at his commaundement, and drudge and take as much paines, as the *SPANYARDS* and *LYSIANIANS* doe them felues. Hereupon the more parte of them being caried away with these mutinous wordes, durst not yet shew them felues in actual rebellion against *Sertorius*, being afear of his authoritie: howbeit secretly vnderhande they ouerthrowe his doinges, by shewing extreame crueltie vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of iustice, imposing great paymentes apone them, geuing it out it was *Sertorius* commaundement. By which their lowde practises, many cities reuolted against him, and put them felues into his enemies handes: and they daily also raised new mutinies and rebellions apone him. Furthermore, those whome he sent to pacifie the tumultes did handle them felues in such sorte, that where they founde haue quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they let them farther out, and procured new tumultes. Hereupon was *Sertorius* gentle nature and former goodnes so altered, that he committed a most cruell act apone all the noble mens children of that land, which

Sertorius noble minde.
Sertorius minde greatest in aduersity.

Sertorius was saying.

Sertorius league with Mithridates.

Marius sent vnto Mithridates.
King Mithridates gaue M. Marius Proconsul, the vpper hand.

The enuie of Perperna vnto Sertorius.

The feditious wordes of Perperna, against Sertorius.

Sertorius slew the Spanyards children.

The treason
of Perpenna
& his accom-
plices against
Sertorius.

he brought vp at schoole in the city of O S C A : for some of them he put to death, and others he solde as slaues. Thus *Perpenna* hauing many associates in his wicked conspiracie against *Sertorius*, brought into his confederacie also one called *Manlius*, who had chiefeft charge in all the army. This *Manlius* loued a young boy exceedingly, & bicause he would let him know he loued him well, he told him on a time the whole plat of this conspiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him only : for he should see him a great man before it were long. The younge boy louinge an other better than him, called *Aufidius*, went & reuealed vnto him all that *Manlius* had told him. *Aufidius* marueled to heare the boy made priuie to it, seeing him selfe also was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that *Manlius* was one of them. And when the boy also named *Perpenna*, *Gracianus*, & some other whom *Aufidius* knew well to be of counsell, he was worse afayed then before, but yet seemed to make litle of it, and tolde the boy : for that matter it was nothing, and counselled him not to credit *Manlius* wordes, who was but a vaine man, and boasted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceiue him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went forthwith vnto *Perpenna*, and tolde him how their practise was discovered, declaring further what danger they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he sayd, & thereupon they deuised this treason. They had suborned a messenger to bring counterfeite letters to *Sertorius*, saying in the same that one of his Lieutenantes had won a great battell, in the which he had slaine a maruelous number of his enemies. *Sertorius* being very glad of the good newes, made sacrifice vnto the goddes to geue them thanks. Whereupon, *Perpenna* taking the present opportunity inuited *Sertorius* to supper to him, and all other of his frendes that were present (euery one of the conspiracie with him) and was so importunate with *Sertorius*, that in the end he promised him to come. Now *Sertorius* did euer vse great modestie at the bourde, and would suffer no dissolute talke nor light partes at his meate, and had acquainted them also that vsed his table, to talke of graue and wise matters, and yet one to be honestly mery with an other, without any playing or vncomely talke. In the middelt of supper, they that sought occasion of quarrell, beganne to speake lewde wordes, counterfeiting to be drunke, and to play many vile partes of purpose to anger *Sertorius*. Whereupon *Sertorius*, whether it was that he coule not abide to see those villanous partes, or that he mistrusted their ill will towards him by fumbling of their wordes in their mouthes, and by their vnworsted irreuerent maner shewed vnto him : fell backwards apon the bed where he fate at meate, seeming no more to marke what they did or sayd. *Perpenna* at that instant tooke a cuppe full of wine, & making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpose. The cuppe falling downe made a noyse, and that was the signe geuen among them. Therewithall *Antonius* that fate aboute *Sertorius* at the table, stabbed him in with his dagger. *Sertorius* feeling the thrust, strove to rise : but the traitorous murderer got vp on *Sertorius* brest, & held both his handes. And thus was *Sertorius* cruelly murdered, not able to defend him selfe, all the conspirators falling apon him. *Sertorius* death being blowne abroad, the most parte of the SPANYARDS sent Ambassadors immediatly vnto *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yekled them selues vnto them : and *Perpenna* with those that remained with him, attempted to doe some thing with *Sertorius* army and preparation. But all fell out to his vter destruction and ruine, making the world know that he was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went to assaile *Pompey*, who had ouerthrowen him straight, and was in the end taken prisoner. And yet in that instant of his calamitie, he did not vse him selfe like a valliant minded man, and one worthy to rule : for, thinking to saue his life, hauing *Sertorius* letters and writings, he offered *Pompey* to deliuer him all *Sertorius* letters sent him from the chiefeft Senators of ROME, written with their owne handes, requestinge *Sertorius* to bring his armie into ITALIE, where he should finde numbers of people desirous of his comming, and that gaped still for change of gouernment. But here did *Pompey* shewe him selfe a graue and no younge man, deliueringe thereby the cite of ROME from great feare and danger of change and innouation. For he put all *Sertorius* letters and writings on a heape together, and burnt them euery one, without readeing any of them, or suffering them to be red. And moreover, he presently put *Perpenna* to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, would breed

new

The treason
denied a-
gainst Sertorius.

Sertorius murdered as he sat at his table.

The murder of Sertorius.

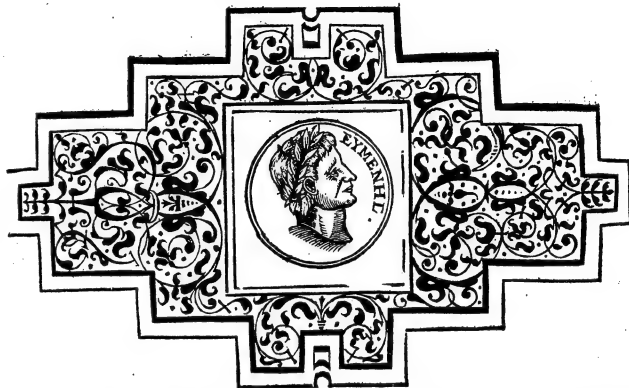
Perpenna taken by Pompey.

Pompey's wisdom in burning Sertorius's letters.

Perpenna's confession that he put to death by Pompey.

A new occasion of trouble & sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of the afterwards were brought to *Pompey*, who put them all to death : and the rest of them fled into AFRICA where they were all ouerthrowen by them of the contrie, and not a man of them escaped, but fell vnfortunatly apon the edge of the sword, *Aufidius* only except, *Manlius* companion in loue. Who, either bicause he was not reckened of, or else vnknown, dyed an olde man in a peking village of the barbarous people, poore, miserable, and hated of all the world.

THE LIFE OF Eumenes.



Darius the Historiographer wryteth, that *Eumenes* was borne in the cite of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a carriers sonne of the same contrie, (who for pouertie earned his liuing by carying marchaundises to and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought vp, as well at schoole, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, *Philip* king of MACEDON chaunsing to come through the city of CARDIA, where hauing nothing to do he tooke great pleasure to see the young men of the cite handle their weapons, & boyes to wrestle : and among them, *Eumenes* shewed such actiuitie, and performed it with so good a grace withall, that *Philip* liked the boye well, and tooke him away E with him. But sure their reporte seemeth truest, which wryte that *Philip* did aduaunce him for the loue he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of *Philip*, *Eumenes* continued his seruice with king *Alexander* his sonne, where he was thought as wife a man, & as faithfull to his master, as any : and though he was called the Chaunceller or chiefe secretary, yet the king did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefeft frendes & familiars. For he was sent his Lieutenaut generall of his whole army, against the INDIANS, and was *Perdiccas* successor in the gouernment of his prouince, *Perdiccas* being preserued vnto *Hephestions* charge after his death. Nowe bicause *Neoptolemus* (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the body vnto the king) after the death of *Alexander* told the Lordes of the counsell of MACEDON, that he had serued the king with his shield and speare, and howe *Eumenes* had followed with his penne and paper : the Lordes laughed him to scorn, knowing that besides many great honors *Eumenes* had receiued, the king esteemed so well of him, that he did him the honor by marriage to make him his kinsfeman. For the first Lady that *Alexander* knew

Eumenes portrayed.

How *Eumenes* came to preferment by the kinges of MACEDON.

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Barfine, the
wife of Eumenes.

in ASIA, was *Barfine Artabazus* daughter, by whom he had a sonne, & called his name *Hyeron* & of two of her sisters he married the one of them called *Apamavnto Ptolomey*, & her other sister also called *Barfine*, he bestowed vpon *Eumenes*, when he distributed the *PERSIAN* Ladies among his Lordes and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell in disgrace with king *Alexander*, & stood in some danger by means of *Hephestion*. For *Hephestion* following *Alexander* courte on a time, having appointed *Enius* a phiphe player a lodging, which *Eumenes* seruantes had taken vp for their maister: *Eumenes* being in a rage, went with one *Mentor* vnto *Alexander*, crying out that a mā were better be a phiphe & a common plaiyer of Tragedies, then a souldier, since such kinde of people were preferred before men of seruice that ventured their liues in the warres. *Alexander* at that present time was as angrie as *Eumenes*, & roundly tooke vp *Hephestion* for it howbeit immediately after hauing chaunged his minde, he was much offended with *Eumenes*, because he thought him not to haue vsed that franke speeche so much against *Hephestion*, as of a certaine presumptuous boldenes towards him selfe. And at an other time also, when *Alexander* was lending *Nearchus* with his army by sea to cleere the coastes of the Ocean, it chaunced the king was without money: whereupon he sent to all his frendes to take vp money in prest, and among others, vnto *Eumenes*, of whom he requested three hundred talentes. *Eumenes* lent him but a hundred, and sayd he had much a doe to get him so much of all his tenants. *Alexander* sayd nothing to him, neither would he suffer them to take his hundred talentes: but commaunded his officers to set *Eumenes* tent a fire, because he would take him tardy with a lye, before he could geue order to cary away his gold and siluer. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make shift to saue any thing: the which *Alexander* repented afterwarde, and was sorie it was burnt, because all his letters and wrytings were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and siluer mingled together, aboue a thousand talentes, and yet *Alexander* tooke none of it away: but more then that, he sent vnto all his Lieutenantes, Captaines, and Gouernors of contries, wherefoeuer they were, that they should send him copies of all the letters which they before had sent vnto him, because all those which he had were burnt, and commaunded *Eumenes* to take them againe. After that, *Eumenes* and *Hephestion* fell at variance againe, by reason of a gifte that was geuen him, inso much as very fowle wordes passed betwext *Hephestion* and him: yet did not the king geue *Eumenes* any ill countenance at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after *Hephestion* was dead, the king taking his death grieuouly whom he loued so derely, gaue no good countenance (and was very brieft besides) vnto those whom he knew bare any grudge vnto *Hephestion* while he liued, & that he thought were glad of his death, but specially vnto *Eumenes* of all other, whose malice towards *Hephestion* was known to him well enough: inso much as he would ofte twyt him withall, remembring him of the iniuries he had offred *Hephestion*. But *Eumenes* being very wise, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the selfe same meane that did him hurte: and deuised (to further *Alexanders* desire, seeking to honor *Hephestions* funeral with all pompe possible) newe inuentions to set forth the fame, of more magnificence then had before bene seene, sparing for no cost, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately tombe. Again, when *Alexander* was dead, there fell out great variance betwext the *MACEDONIAN* footemen, and the noble men that had bene neereft about him: and in that quarrell, *Eumenes* in good will stucke to the Lordes, but in wordes he seemed a newter and friend to both partes saying, it was not for him being a straunger to thrust him selfe into the quarrells of the *MACEDONIANS*. And when the other Lordes were departed from *BABYLON*, *Eumenes* tarying behinde pacified the greatest parte of the souldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lordes. Whereupon, after the Lordes and Captaines had consulted together, and taken order for the contentions, they deuised the gouernment of the prouinces amonge them which they called Satrapaes: in which partition *Eumenes* had *CAPPADOCIA*, *PAPHLAGONIA*, and all that coast vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the citie of *TRAPEZYNTE*, the which at that time was not subiect to Thempire of *MACEDON*, for *Ariarathes* kept it then as king. Howbeit it was sayd, that *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* would put him in possesion of it, with a great and puissant armie, and make him Gouernor there. Yet afterwarde *Antigonus* made

none

Eumenes
made Gouernor
of the contries of
Cappadocia and
Paphlagonia.

A none account of *Perdiccas* letters vnto him, putting him in the head of great imaginations to conquer all, despising all other. And *Leonatus* also came downe into *PHRYGIA*, and vnderooke the iorney of this conquest for *Eumenes* sake. But when he was in iorney, and afterwarde, *Hecateus*, tyrant of the *CARDIANS*, went to him to his army, & prayed him rather to goe helpe *Antipater* and the other *MACEDONIANS*, which were besieged in the citie of *AMANI*. So *Leonatus* being willing to take sea, and go thither, went about to perswade *Eumenes* also to like of it, and to reconcile him with *Hecateus*: for they were not frendes one with another, by reason of a quarrell that *Eumenes* father had with this *Hecateus*, about the gouernment of their citie. Besides that, *Eumenes* had many times complained of him openly vnto king *Alexander*, saying, that he was a tyranne, and besought the kinge that it would please him to sette the *CARDIANS* at libertie. And therefore *Eumenes* refusing that iorney against the *GRACIANS*, alleging that he was afrayed of *Antipater*, who had bene his enemy of long time, doubting that for the olde grudge he bare him, & also to gratifie *Hecateus*, he would put him to death: *Leonatus* then revealed him selfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would passe ouer the sea to ayde *Antipater*, where in dedde his meaning was to take the kingdom of *MACEDON*. Thereupon he shewed him letters sent him from *Cleopatra*, willing him to come to the citie of *PALLA*, and there she would marry him. When *Eumenes* was made priuy to his purpose: either because he feared *Antipater*, or els for that he had no great good opiaion of *Leonatus*, knowing him to be a sonde man, and very rashe and vnconstant in his doings, he stole away from him by night, with those fewe men he had (being about three hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the summe of fise thousand talentes, and fled with them vnto *Perdiccas*, vnto whom he betrayed all *Leonatus* intent and minde: whereupon he was immediately of great credit about him, and called to counsell. Shortly after, *Perdiccas* brought him into *CAPPADOCIA*, with a great armie which he him selfe did leade. Where *Ariarathes* was taken prisoner, and *Eumenes* established Gouernor of the contrie, who deliuered the charge of the great cities vnto his frendes, and left them there Captaines of garrisons which he appointed, placing euery where, Iudges, Receiuers, Gouernors, and all such other officers necessarie as he thought meete, *Perdiccas* meddling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, *Eumenes* went away with *Perdiccas* againe, as well to wayte apon him, as also because he would euer be about the kinges. But *Perdiccas* thinking with him selfe that he alone could wel enough performe thenterprise he went about, and considering also that the realme he left behinde him stood needefull of a wife and skilfull Gouernor, whom he might trust with the safety of his state: when they were in *CILICIA*, returned *Eumenes* backe againe, vnder colour to send him to his gouernment, but in dede to keepe the realme of *ARMENIA* in obedience, the which confined apon the frontiers of his contrie whereof he was Gouernor, because *Neoptolemus* did vnder hand practise some alteration. Now though *Neoptolemus* was a prowde and insolent person, yet *Eumenes* still deuised to hold him in, and kept him from attempts, by gentle and fayer wordes. Furthermore, perceiuing also that the regiment of the *MACEDONIAN* footemen were growen exceeding stowe & insolent: he for a strength & defense against them, set vp a copany of horsemen, & to bring it to passe, released all the contriemen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to serue a horsebacke, and bought a great number of horse of seruice, which he gaue amongs them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them coragious, by honors and giftes he gaue to them that serued well, and so by continuall exercise and often removing them from place to place, made them very ready and seruiceable. Thus were the noble men of *MACEDON*, some much amazed, some others very glad when they sawe how by this diligence *Eumenes* had in so shorte a time gotten about him such a number, as fise thousand three hundred horsemen. About that time, *Craterus* and *Antigonus* hauing subdued the *GRACIANS*, came on with their army into ASIA to ouerthrow *Perdiccas* & greates and powers: and newes also, that shortly they would inuade *CAPPADOCIA*. Whereupon *Perdiccas* being otherwise occupied in warres, fighting against *Ptolomey*, made *Eumenes* his Lieutenaut general, and gaue him commiffion and full authoritie ouer all his souldiers that were for him, either in *CAPPADOCIA*, or in *ARMENIA*: and wrote letters vnto *Neoptolemus* and *Alcetas*,

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commanding them by the same that they should be obedient vnto *Eumenes*, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for *Alcetas*, he flarty answered, that he would not be at this warre: for the MACEDONIANS vnder his charge were ashamed to take armes against *Antipater*, and moreover they would not fight against *Craterus*, but contrarily were bent to receiue him for their Captaine, so much good will they bare him. *Neoptolemus* on thother side, was as ready to play the traitor, and to doe *Eumenes* a shrewde turne, as *Alcetas* was. For being sent for by *Eumenes* to come to him, where he should haue obeyed him, he set his men in battell ray to fight with him. There did *Eumenes* reape the first fruite of his wife foresight of the horsemen, which he had set vp to make head against the footemen of the MACEDONIANS. For when his owne footemen were broken and ouerthrowen, he ouercame *Neoptolemus*, and put him to flight with his horsemen, and tooke all his cariage. Then he made them march in order of battell against the MACEDONIANS, who were disperfed euery where, following the chafe of his footemen, whom they had ouerthrowen. Thus coming upon them in this disorder, he draue them to throw away their weapons, and to yeelde vnto him: and moreover, euery man to take his othe to serue him faithfully in this warre, wherefoeuer he would lead them. Now *Neoptolemus* gathering a few together that fled, went with them vnto *Craterus* and *Antipater*: who sent vnto *Eumenes* to pray him to take their parte, with condition that he should not onely enioy the contries and prouinces still which he had in gouernment, but furthermore that they would geue him others vnto them, and make him stronger thence: uer he was: besides that by thacceptation of thoffer, he should be taken for *Antipaters* good friend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemy. Whereunto *Eumenes* made answer, that hauing alwayes bene *Antipaters* enemy, he could not of a sodaine become his friend, specially seeing him vse his frendes as enemies: howbeit otherwise that he was very willing to make *Craterus* peace with *Perdiccas*, and to restore him againe to his fauor, upon reasonable & indifferent condicions. And furthermore, that if he ment to assaile him, that then he would aide him so longe as he had any breath in his bodie, and would lose life before he would breake his promise. This answer being brought vnto *Antipater*, they fel to consult at lesure what was to be done. In the meane space, *Neoptolemus* that fled upon his ouerthrowe, was come vnto them: who told them how the battell was fought, and besought them both venie instantly, (but *Craterus* chiefly) to geue him aide if it were possible. For the MACEDONIANS were so farre in loue with him, that if they did but see his hatte, and heare him speake, they would all arme them selues and follow him. For, to speake a troth, *Craterus* was had in great estimation amog the MACEDONIANS: insomuch as after *Alexanders* death, he was more desired of the common souldiers, than any other Captaine, remembering how often he had for their sakes incurred *Alexanders* disgrace and displeasure, because he went about to perswade him to leaue the king of PERSIAS maner, whereunto *Alexander* by lide and lide gaue him selfe: and also for that he maintained and defended the customes of the cuntry of MACEDON, the which euery man through pride and excefse beganne to forsake and contemne. At that time therefore *Craterus* sent *Antipater* into CILICIA, and he him selfe with *Neoptolemus*, went against *Eumenes* with the best parte of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether vnprouided, supposing he would geue him selfe to pleasure and pastime, after so laue a victorie. But *Eumenes* like a wife and vigilant Captaine had taken such order, that he heard newes time enough of his enemies coming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readines to resist him. Yet was not this the chiefeft point of his skill in warre. For he looked so precisely to his doings, that he did not onely kepe his enemies fro knowledge of any thing that he did, but making his men also to kill *Craterus* in battell, before they knew against whom they should fight, and to keepe also so dreadfull an enemy from their knowledge: that of all others shewed the passing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policie. First, he made a rumor to be spred in his host, how *Neoptolemus* & *Pigres* were againe come against him, with certaine horsemen of all forties gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to haue remoued in the night, a great desire of sleepe came upon him, in the which he had a maruelous strange dreame. For it seemed vnto him that he saw two *Alexanders* preparing to fight one with an other, either of them leading a batell

Eumenes skil
in warre.

Eumenes
dreame.

a batell of footemen, ranged after the MACEDONIAN facion: who coming to geue charge thone upon the other, came the goddess *Minerva* to aide the one, and *Ceres* likewise to aide the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom *Minerva* aided was ouerthrowen, and that *Ceres* had gathered eares of corne and made a crowne of them, to geue him that had wonne the field. Hereupon *Eumenes* perswaded him selfe that this dreame made for him, and promised him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile contrie of corne, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were sown with corne in euery place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit of long peace, so see all the corne fields how greene they looked. But whē he vnderthode that the enemies had giuen their souldiers for the signall of battell, *Minerva* and *Alexander* then was his first imagination confirmed more then before. Whereupon, he gaue *Ceres* and *Alexander* for signall of the battell to his souldiers, and commanded euery man to make them a garlande of wheate eares to weare on their heades, and that they should wreath flowers and nosegayes about their pikes. He was in amide many times to make his trustiest Capitaines priue against whome they should fight, and not alone to trust him selfe withall, to keepe so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking in the safest way, not to commit this danger, but to him selfe. Now when he came to geue battell, he would place neuer a MACEDONIAN directly against *Craterus*, but set two companies of men of armes that were strangers against him, the which *Pharabazus* (*Artabazus* sonne) and *Phenix* *Tenidius* did lead. Then he specially commanded, that so soone as they saw the enemies before the, they should straight geue charge, geuing them no leasure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Heraulde or tromper that they should send vnto them: for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turne against him, if they once came to know *Craterus*. Now for him selfe, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troupe of three hundred men at armes, the chiefeft men of all his army, where he should meete full with *Neoptolemus* fronte. When they had passed a litle hill that stood betwene both battells, *Eumenes* horsemen following his commandement, ranne with full carriere to fet upon their enemies. *Craterus* seeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and cursed *Neoptolemus* that had deceived him in that sorte, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turne of his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shewe them selues like valliant men that day, and therewithall fiercely set spurres to his horse to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their stauies being broken, they fell straight to their swordes: but that day did not *Craterus* dihonour the memory of *Alexander*, for he slue many of his enemies round about him; valliantly repulled them that did assaile him, and many times ouertrewe them. Yet in fine, one of the men of armes of THRACIA gaue him such a blow on the side, that he turned him of his horse, and when he was downe, many passed ouer him. But *Gorgyas*, one of *Eumenes* Capitaines knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to garde him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and euen in the very pang of death, *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus* on thother side, which had bene mortall enemies of long time, being a fire with an old malice, they fought vp and downe thone for the other. So at the two first courses they could not one light upon thother, but at the third meeting, when they knew one another, then they set spurres to their horses, their swordes drawn, and with great cries gaue charge upon eche other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed galles had met with their prowes: and both the Capitaines laying the bridles in their horse neckes, closed together, and with both hands strued to plucke of eche others headpeeces, and to rent their polsons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing eche other, their horses ran from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrightled together. *Neoptolemus* got vp first: but as he rose, *Eumenes* cut the hamme of his legges, & raised him selfe vp withall. *Neoptolemus* laying him selfe upon one knee, his other legge being very sore hurt, defended him selfe on the ground the best he could, from *Eumenes* that was on F his feete, but he could geue him no deadly wound: neuerthelesse him selfe had a blow on the necke, that layed him flat on the ground. Then *Eumenes* inflamed with choller against him, went about to stricke him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious mood, remem-

Battell be-
tweene *Eumenes*
and *Craterus*.

Craterus
death.

Neoptolemus
slaine.

Eumenes vi-
ctory of Cra-
terus and
Neoptolemus.

Sardis, the
chieftie city of
Lydia.

The constancy
of Eumenes in
aduersity.

bred not that *Neoptolemus* had his sword yet, who hurt him vnder his cuirasses, euen about the groyne, not farre from his priuie partes: howbeit the wounde made *Eumenes* worse abrayed, then there was cause of hurt, for that *Neoptolemus* strength was gone before the stroke came, dying presently apon it. *Eumenes* hauing stripped him found him self very ill, (by reason of his woundes) on his armes and legges, which had many a fore gashe: notwithstanding, he got vp on his horse againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies should bene fighting still. But there being told that *Craterus* had his deethes wound, he went straight to the place where he lay, and found him yet alive, not past knowledge. Then *Eumenes* brought him from his horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hande, accursed *Neoptolemus* that had brought him to that pitiefull state, and had also forced him to be in battell against one of his deereft frendes, to make him the instrument of his vnderdoing. This second battell *Eumenes* wanne tenne dayes after the first battell obtained, which got him great honor, for that he had discomfited one of his enemies through wisdom, and the other by valiantnes. Buryer this bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his frendes also that tooke his paine, when they bethought them, that he being a stranger, had with the weapons and power of the *MACEDONIANS* them selues, slaine the greatest and most famous Capitaine among them. Now if *Perdiccas* had bene so happie, as to haue liued and receiued that aduersifement of *Craterus* death: no doubt he had bene the greatest person of all the *MACEDONIANS*. But as ill lucke would haue it, within two dayes after that *Perdiccas* was slaine in a mutinie of his men in *BYZANTION*, newes came to his army of *Eumenes* victorie, and also of the death of *Craterus*. Whereupon the *MACEDONIANS* were so offended with *Eumenes*, that incontinently they condemned him to dye, & gaue *Antipater* and *Antipater* commission to execute the reuenge. When *Eumenes* passing by mount *Ida* (where the king kept a race and brede of horses) had taken away with him as many horses as he would, and had sent letters of aduersifement thereof to the kings ryders: *Antipater*, as it is reported, smiled, and in mockerie sayd, that he marueled to see *Eumenes* great care, to thinke that he should either geue or receiue any account of the kings goodes. So *Eumenes* thought good to fight in the great plaines of *LYDIA*, especially neere vnto the chiefe citie of *SARDIS*, because he was the stronger in horsemen, and for that he would make *Cleopatra* see the power of his armie. Howbeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of *Antipater*) he went further into his *PHRYGIA*, and wintered in the citie of *CLABES*. But there *Polemon*, *Aleas*, and *Docius*, fell in conuention with him for leading of the army, saying, that they had as much right to leade the army as he. *Eumenes* answered them, truly here is euen the comon saying vp and downe: desperate men regard no daunger. Now *Eumenes* hauing promised his souldiers pay within three dayes, to keepe his promise, sold them all the farmes & castles of that contrie, together with the men and bestes of the same, whereof the prouince was fully replenished. Thereupon his Lieutenantes of the bandes hauing bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through *Eumenes* engines of battery which he suffred them to carie with him: and hauing taken them, they wear and deuiled the spoyle, paying euery souldier ratably his wages due. This deuise brought him againe in fauor among his souldiers. For certaine papers being founde in his campe cast abroad by his enemies, promising great offices, and a hundred talents besides to any man that killed *Eumenes*: the *MACEDONIANS* that serued vnder him were so offended withall, that they presently set downe an order, that from that time forward a thousande of the best souldiers amongst them (which also had charge vnder them) should alwayes garde his person, keeping watche euery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after another. Whereunto they all agreed: & *Eumenes* gaue them those honors and rewardes, which the kings of *MACEDON* were wont to geue vnto their frendes, and which they gladly receiued. For through their graunt he had authoritie to geue purple clokes and hattes to whom he thought good, which was the honorablest gift the kinge of *MACEDON* could geue. It is true that prosperitie maketh simple men high minded, whereby they seeme (though they be not) very honorable, but specially when fortune hath raised them to honor & wealth. But in deede he that is of a noble minde & stout corage is best discerned in aduersitie: for he neuer yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by *Eumenes*. For when he had lost a battell among the *ORONTIANS*, in the realme of *CAPPADO-*

CIA,

Eumenes first
regaine.

any lesure to flie to his enemies for safety, but tooke him, & trusted him vp. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horse head vpon a sodaine, and leauing his enemies side hand of him that had him in chace, he closely stole by them without their knowledge, & held on ior-nyng so long, vntill he came to the selfe same plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies, (the Capitaines by them selues, and the souldiers aparte) he burnt them with the dores, gates, and windowes of all the villages & towncs thereabouts that he could get together: and in steede of tombes for them, he raised vp great heapes of earth. In so much as *Antigonus* comming thither immediately after, he wondred much at this valiantnes & inuincible corage. Remouing thence, he met with *Antigonus* cariage, & might easily without daunger haue taken a number of prisoners, as well free as bonds, & haue gotten all the riches & treasure which they had spoyled in so many sundrie warrs, towncs, and countries: howbeit he was afraied that if his souldiers were laden with that spoyle, it would make them more heauy to march, and vnable to flie, but specially more tender to abide to run from place to place a long time together, being the only meane wherein he trusted to come to end this warre. For he made account that *Antigonus* in the end would be weary of following him so long a time, & therefore that he would turne some other way. Moreover he perceived, that it was vnpossible for him by his authority to keepe the *MACEDONIANS* from taking for the spoyle, as offered it selfe vnto them: whereupon he commanded them to stay awhile, & baire their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the enemies cariage. But in the meane time he secretly sent a messenger to *Menander* (who had the charge and conduct of all the cariage) to will him to flie with all speede out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not farre from thence, and safe from horsemen, where they could not be enuironned, and there to fortifie him selfe: sending him word also, that he sent him this aduersifement, for the old frendship & acquaintance that had bene betwene them afore. *Menander* hearing what daunger he was in, made his men trusse vp their cariage straight. Thereupon *Eumenes* openly sent certaine light armed men to discouer, & to bring him newes: and therewithall commanded them to arme, and bridle their horses, as if he had ment to haue led them against the enemies. His skowtes were nowe returned, and told him that it was vnpossible either to disfreffe or take *Menander*, for that he was fled into a place of such strength, & therefore he was not to be come by. *Eumenes* seemed to be very sory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithstanding. *Menander* afterwards reported this matter to *Antigonus*, & the *MACEDONIANS* that were in his army, who did greatly commend *Eumenes*, & after that loued him better then euery they did before: because that hauing their child in his hands whom he might haue made slaves, & their wiues also whom he might haue defiled, he spared them all. Howbeit *Antigonus* to put them out of this humor, told them, ye are deceiued, my frendes: for it was not for your sakes, nor yet to pleasure you, that *Eumenes* tooke not your wiues, your children, & your goodes, but only for the feare he had to haue shackles on his heeles, to let him from speede flying. So *Eumenes* departing from thence, fled still before *Antigonus*, & wandring vp & downe, did him selfe with his souldiers to get them somewhere else, either in deede for that he was careful of them, or for that he was vnwilling to haue such a number about him, being too fewe to fight a battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a strong place of situation called *Nora*, in the confines of *LYCAONIA* & *CAPPADOCIA*, with five hundred horsemen, and two hundred footemen well armed. And when he was come thither also, he gaue euery one leaue to depart that asked him licence, because they could not haue abidden the discomfort of the place, which was very straight, & the lacke of necessary vittells which they must needs haue wanted, if the siege did continue long: & thus departed from them with very good words and louing countenance. Shortly after came *Antigonus* before the forte, but would not besiege it, before he sent for *Eumenes* to come to him apon his word. *Eumenes* answered him, that *Antigonus* had many of his frendes about him, that after him might come to be the heades of his tribe, & that him selfe on choicer side had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therefore if *Antigonus* would haue him come and speake with him, that he should send him one of his chiefe frendes in hostage. Again *Antigonus* being earnest with him, and telling him it was

*Eumenes talks
with Antigonus,
and magnanimity.*

*Eumenes be-
sieged in the
force of Nigra.*

*Eumenes per-
forms and
pleasance.*

*Eumenes in-
dustry in the
siege for mar-
shall exercise.*

reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: *Eumenes* answered him, I will acknowledge none better then my selfe, so long as I can hold my sword in my hand. In the end, *Antigonus* (according to *Eumenes* request) sent his owne newe *Phylomy* into the forte, and then came *Eumenes* out. At their meeting they both embraced and saluted eche other, as frendes of old acquaintance and familiaritie: and so fell in talke of diuers matters: but all this while *Eumenes* neuer once made request to departe in safety, neither yet demanded pardon, but only desired the confirmation of his charge & government, and that he might be restored to that which was geuen him. They that were present at their meeting marueled much at *Eumenes*, & greatly commended his stownes. Now whilest they were thus in talke together, the *MACEDONIANS* came out of all partes of the campe, to see what manner of man *Eumenes* was: bicause that after the death of *Craterus* there was no talke among the *MACEDONIAN* souldiers, of any Captaine, but of *Eumenes*. Neuerthelesse, *Antigonus* fearing they would do *Eumenes* some mischief, commaunded them alowde to geue backe, and made stones to be throwen amonge them to keepe them of him. All this notwithstandinge he was sayne in the end to put them of with his gard, and to take *Eumenes* in his armes, and had much a doe to deliuer him safely into his forte againe. After this imparlance, *Antigonus* compassed this forte of *Nora* round about with a wall, and left a sufficient number of men to continue the siege, and so went his way with the rest of his army. In the meane time *Eumenes* remained besieged within this forte, where there was plenty of wheate, water, and salt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor swete of taile, to susteine them with their bread. Yet with such as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in house with him. For he made them euey one after an other sit at his bourde with him, and withall did facion out that manner of dyet, with a certaine life and familiarity of pleasaunt deuises to entertaine them at their meate. For besides that he fought to shewe them as pleasaunt a countenance as he could, yet naturally he had a swete fayer face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had bene trained vp in it: but like a fresh youth, being of such a constitution of bodie, that the excellentest workman that euer was could not better set out all the partes and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be seene in him. His speeche was not harsh nor churlishe, but very mylde, and pleasaunt, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the siege, there was nothing that more annoyed the besieged, then the narrownes of the forte wherein they were, which was not about two furlonges compass about, and their houses so litle and narrowe, that they could scant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of exercise for them selues, or their horse. Now *Eumenes* to take away the sluggishnesse that groweth by idleness, (a thing most hurtfull to them that are acquainted with trauell and paines) to keepe them in breth, and to make them the lighter to sie, if occasion were offered: put his men into the longest & widest hall he had in his house, (being foureene cubits long to walke vp and downe in) and taught them first of all to march fayer and softly, and then by litle & litle to hasten their pace. For the horses he had, them he made to be girt before, one after an other, & then did softly trife them vp with long pulleyes fastned to the beames: their hindmost feet standing on the ground, & their foremost being aloft. The horses being trified vp in this maner, their riders came with lowde cries behinde them, & some with whippes in their hands to lash them, that the horse being mad withall, yerked out behind, & sprang forward with his foremost legges to touch the ground, that they did but euen raise it a litle, so as euery vaine and sinew of them were strained by this meanes, that they blue, and were all of a some withall, so good an exercise to the it was, as well to put them in breth, as to keepe their legges supple to run. After that, they had their otes very cleane pickt & dressed, that they might digest them the sooner. *Antigonus* hauing long continued this siege, newes came vnto him that *Antipater* was dead in *MACEDON*, & that the realme was in a great broyle, through the factions of *Cassander* & *Polyperchon*, *Antigonus* whose head was straight full of great imaginations, greedily coueting with him selfe the whole kingdom of *MACEDON*: thought good to make *Eumenes* his frende, that through his helpe he might attaine his desired purpose. Thereupon he sent *Hyeronimus* vnto him to treat of peace, and gaue him the forme of the othe which he would haue him sweare vnto him. When *Eumenes* had seene it, he would not be sworne in that maner, but corrected it, and

A & sayd: that he did referre him selfe to the iudgement of the *MACEDONIANS* which kept him besieged, to iudge which of those two formes were most meetest: that which *Antigonus* had sent him, or the same which he had corrected. For in *Antigonus* forme of othe, there was a litle mention only made at the beginning of the blood royall, but in all the rest following, he bound *Eumenes* particularly to him selfe. But *Eumenes* in his forme of othe, did first of all put *Olympias* the mother of kinge *Alexander*, and the kinges his sonnes afterwards: and for the rest, he sware he would be frende of the frendes, and enemye of the enemies, not of *Antigonus* onely, but of the kinges, and of *Olympias*. The *MACEDONIANS* being at the siege before *Nora*, did better like the forme of *Eumenes* othe, than they did that of *Antigonus*. So hauing geuen *Eumenes* his othe, & made him sweare according to that forme: they raised their siege, B and sent also vnto *Antigonus* to take his othe. All this accomplished, *Eumenes* redeliuered the *CAPPADOCIANS* their hostages, (which he had kept in *Nora* with him) and they that came for them, gaue him in their steade, horse of warre, bestes of cariage, tentes and paultions. Thus he beganne to gather his men againe together, which were disperfed abroad after his ouerthrowe, so that in fewe dayes he was about a thousande horsemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet *Antigonus*, and he did wisely. For *Antigonus* had not onely commaunded them to hurte him vp againe straighter then he was before: but besides that wrote sharpe letters and verie angrily vnto the *MACEDONIANS*, which had accepted the correction of the othe. Whilest *Eumenes* wandered vp & downe flying still, he receiued letters from certaine in *MACEDONIA* (fearing *Antigonus* greatnesse) and specially from *Olympias*: which sent vnto him C to come into *MACEDON*, to take the charge and gouernment of her young sonne *Alexander*, whome they fought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewise receiued letters from *Polyperchon* and from king *Philippe*, who commaunded him to make warre with *Antigonus* with his armie he had in *CAPPADOCIA*, and to put in his purse of the kinges, five hundred silver talents (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the citie of *CYNOPS*, and besides, to defraye the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall also they wrote vnto *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the two Captaines of the *Argyrasides*: to wit, the souldiers with the silver shieldes, or shieldes siluered, which were of the olde bandes of *Alexanders* armie. These two Captaines hauing receiued these letters, did vfe *Eumenes* with very good wordes, & shewed him great countenance: yet a man by their looks might D easily coniecture that they eniued him, for either of them both thought them selues men sufficient, and worthe to commaunde *Eumenes*, not to aide him. Howbeit *Eumenes* behaued him selfe very wisely. For as touching their eniue, he pacified that, bicause he tooke not the money which he was comaunded to take for his owne vse, for that he had no neede of it. And as for their ambition and presumption, disdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell howe to commaunde nor obey: he did reclaime them, by a superstition he layd before them, which was this. He made them beleue that *Alexander* did appeare to him in his sleepe, and that he shewed him a paultion sumptuously sette out in the state and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and tolde him, that if they would keepe their counsell place in that paultion, he would be present among them, and ayde them E in all their counells and conduct of their warres, so that they would alwayes begimme by him. He easily perswaded *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to beleue that which he spake, who would not geue to him to consult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for him selfe to be seene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their consents they incontinently set vp a goodly rich paultion, which was called *Alexanders* paultion: and there they kept their counells and assemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest causes. After this, they went towards the hie contries and met with *Pencestus* on the way, (*Eumenes* very great frende) who ioyned with them, and other great pieres of the realme, with all their power besides. This did greatly strengthen the armie of the noble men of *MACEDONIA*, as touching the number of men, and their braue armors and furniture: but for their owne persones, bicause they had no man F to commaunde them since the death of *Alexander*, they were growen selfe willed by diffolue libertie, and effeminate in their maner of life: and moreover they had gotten a tyrannicall fiercenesse, nourished & increased by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many

*This was Ant-
dorus, the
sonne of Phi-
lippo, father of
Alexand. whom
they had sumamed
Philippe. Eumenes,
made king
Philippe's
Lieutenant
of his army.
Argyrasides
Alexander
souldiers, so
called, for
their siluered
shieldes.
Eumenes im-
providence.
Eumenes sai-
ued himselfe.*

*Eumenes wil-
lence to
winde him
selfe out of
danger.*

Pastigris fl.

*Eumenes bar-
rell with An-
tigonus, and
victorie.*

*Antigonus
fouldiers ar-
med with gilt
armors.*

of them being then together, could not be quiet one with an other, but shamefully flattered the old bandes of the MACEDONIAN souldiers, geuing them money, and making them banquettes and feastes of sacrifices. And thus in shorte time, of a campe they brought it to be a dis-
solute rauerne, where the noble men got the souldiers fauor that they might be chosen chief-
taines of all the armie : like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where
the people doe rule) to be preferred to honorable states and offices of the common wealth.
Now *Eumenes* found straights that these pieres of the realme disdained one another, howbeit
that they all feared and mistrusted him, and fought but for oportunitie to kill him. Wherefore
to preuent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupie money, and so borrowed a
great summe of the especially, whom he knew most hated him : to the end that from thence-
forth they should no more distrust, but trust him, standing in feare to lose the money they had
lent him. And thereof followed a straunge thing : for other mens money and goodes, was the
safetie of his life. For where others geue money to saue their liues, he by taking of money sa-
ued his owne life. Now for the souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whilest they sawe they were
without danger of enemies to make them afraied, they stil hong upon them that gaue them,
being desirous to be made Generall : and came euery morning to their vprising to waite
upon them, and follow them whersoever they went. But when *Antigonus* was come to campe
hard by them with a great and puissant army, and that their case required then a valliant Cap-
taine and skilfull leader : not the souldiers alone, but all the pieres and states besides, (which
in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit them selues vnto
Eumenes, to be at his commaundment. For when *Antigonus* assailed all the wayes he could to
passe ouer the riuier of *Pastigris*, the pieres which were layed in diuers places to let him from
passing ouer, heard nothing of it, so that there was none but *Eumenes* onely that resisted him,
and fought with him : where he slewe such a number of his men, that he filled the riuier with
them, and tooke foure thousande of them prisoners. Againe, when *Eumenes* was sicke, these
olde bandes did more plainly shew, what opinion they had of him, and of others : to wit, that
they could banquet them, and make them good cheere at their houses, yet that *Eumenes* onely
of all other was worthiest to be their Capitaine, and to commaunde them. For *Pencestus* ha-
vinge feasted them in the kingdom of *PERSIA*, and geuen euery souldier a mutton to sacrifice,
thought he had wonne great fauor & credit among them. But shortly after, as the army mar-
ched against their enemies, *Eumenes* by misfortune fell dangerously sicke, & therefore would
needes be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noyse, because he could take
no rest. But they had not gone farre, before they saw their enemies, which hauing passed ouer
certaine litle hills betwene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the souldiers
sawe the glistering of the gilt armors of their enemies, that glared in the sunne, and the good
order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephanes with the towers upon their backs,
and the men at armes with their purple coates upon their armors : (which was the apparell
they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the foremost stayed upon it, and
cried out, willing them to send for *Eumenes* to lead them, for they would els goe no further if
they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raised their pykes, & layed downe
their shieldes at their feete, calling from one to another to stay, & to their priuate Capitaine
also, and told them plainly, that they would not flurre a foote from thence, nor fight at all, vntill
Eumenes were among them to lead them. *Eumenes* hearing of it, came to them with great
speede, hastening his slaues and littermen to bring him thither : and then opening his litter
on euery side, he held out his right hand to the souldiers, and tolde them he was very glad
of the good opinion they had of him. The souldiers also so soone as they saw him, saluted him
in the MACEDONIAN tongue, and tooke vp their shieldes, clapping them against their pykes
with a great shoute, bidding their enemies come when they would, they should be fought
withall, now that their Capitaine was among them. *Antigonus* on thother side, being in-
formed by certaine prisoners which his souldiers had taken in skermish, that *Eumenes* was fallen
very fore sicke, and by reason thereof was caried in a litter : thought now he should haue no
great a doe to discomfit the rest of the army, and therefore made all possible speede he could
to fight. But when he came so neere, that he might easily see the order and countenance of
his

*Antigonus
mocke to Eu-
menes.*

*Eumenes fra-
rageant a-
gainst Anti-
gonus.*

*Emy the co-
panion of ver-
tus.*

*Eumenes
death conspi-
red.*

A his enemies, who were set in such good order of battell, that it could not any wayes be amen-
ded : he was much amafed withall, and pawled a great while, and in the meane time spied *Eu-
menes* litter a farre of, caried from one end of the battell to the other, wherat he laughed out
allowed, as his maner was, and turning him selfe to his frendes, sayd. See, sayd he, I beleue it
is that litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But with those wordes, he
founded the retreat, & brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was
a litle passed ouer, the MACEDONIANS fell to their olde trade againe, the pieres to flatter the
souldiers, and the souldiers to waxe braue and stowte against their Capitaines : so that when
they came to take their garrisons for the winter time, they deuided in maner among them the
whole contrie of the *GABENIANS*, the first from the last being lodged almost a shewland fur-
longe of. Which *Antigonus* vnderstanding, determined to set upon them, they mistrusting
nothing. And so went sodainly towards them, by a shorter way then that he had already com-
men, but the worse way a great deale, and where no water was to be had : in hope that if he
met them thus disperfed asunder, their Capitaines could not readily assemble them all toge-
ther. But while he was in this iorney, in the desert crooked way, he was so ouertaken, and
with such boysterous windes and extreame bitter cold, that his souldiers could go no further,
but were forced to tary stil, to provide them present remedy against the fury of the time. Now
the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires : and by them their enemies knewe
of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines towards the desert,
being amafed to see such a number of fires in the valley, sent presently with speede upon two
Camells light laden, to aduertise *Pencestus*, who being nereft vnto the mountaine was so sca-
red with these newes, that he was at his wittes end, not knowing what to doe. For, seeing his
other companions as much afraied as him selfe, he fled upon it, and caried all them with him
which he met in his way. But *Eumenes* quieted this great feare, assuring them that he would
stay the sodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they should come three dayes later than
they looked for : which they beleued. Then did *Eumenes* sende messengers into euery quar-
ter to all the Capitaines, commaunding them speedily to put their men in readinesse, and to
meete him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him selfe in the meane time went with
other Capitaines to choose a fit ground to lodge a campe, the which might easily be seene
from the toppe of the mountaines, which they must passe that come from the desert : & there
D fortified the same with trenches, and deuided it out into quarters, making fire in euery place,
such a distance of one from another, as they vse commonly to make in a campe. It was no
sooner done, but *Antigonus* came to the toppe of the mountaines, and sawe these fires a farre
of, which grieved him much : for he thought that his enemies had longe before knownen of
his comming, and that they came against him. Being afraied therefore least his enemies would
compell him to fight, comming fresh upon him, his owne men being weary and done with
the paines they had abidden, comming through that desert contrie : he tooke his way to
lead backe his armie, not the neereft way by the which he came, but through the contry rich-
ly inhabited and replenished with great cities and good townes, to refresh his ouerwearyed
people. Yet seeing he had none alarmes geuen, nor any skermishes offered him, (as they vse
commonly when both armies are neere together) and that the valley men told him that they
had seene none other armie but his, sauing that round about there was store of fires : then he
straight mistrusted that it was one of *Eumenes* stratagemes of warre, wherewith he had decei-
ued him. And therewithall he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he
thought to finde him, determining no more to steale upon him, but to put all to the hazard of
a battell. But in the meane time, the most parte of the hoast was gathered about *Eumenes*, for
the great estimation euery man had of his wisdom and sufficiency : in so much that they agreed
and ordained, that he only as their Lieutenaunt generall should commaund the whole army.
This spited the two Capitaines of the *Argyraspides*, *Antigenes* & *Tentamus*, who bare him such
an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practised his death : & assembling together
F with many of the states & particular Capitaines, they sat in counsell to know when, & in what
forte they should kill him. Howbeit the most voices assembled in this counsell, were whole of
opinio, that they should take the benefit of his seruice in leading the battell, & that immediatly

*Eumenes save
all his friends
letters to keep
them out of
trouble.*

*The old band
of the Mac-
edonians, were
every man 60
years old and
must abide.
Eumenes con-
flict with An-
tigonus.*

*Eumenes be-
trayed by the
Argyraspides.*

after they should put him to death. This being thus resolved upon, *Eudamus* Captaine of the Elephants, and another called *Phedimus*, went secretly and told *Eumenes* what they had concluded upon in the assembly against him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they fought to pleasure him, but only because they were afraid to loose the money they had lent him. *Eumenes* gave them great thanks, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it vnto his best frendes, and tolde them: you see howe I am enuironned with a troupe of wilde and brutish beastes. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and writings that had bene sent him, because he would not haue them suffer for him after his death, that had sent him secret aduertisements. Afterwards when he had disposed of all his priuate matters in this sorte, he stooode in a doute whether he should lose the battell geuing his enemies the victorie, or whether it were better for him to flie into *CAPPADOCIA*, through *MEDIA* and *ARMENIA*. Howbeit he resolved of nothing before his frendes. But when the mischief he was in had put diuers thoughtes into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did fet his army in battell ray, perswading the *GRÆCIANS* as well as the barbarous people to stand to it like men. And as for the olde fouldiers of the *MACEDONIANS*, they so litle needed exhortation, that they them selues did exhorte *Eumenes* to be of good corage, saying: that their enemies would neuer abide them, because they were all the oldest fouldiers, and of greatest experience, that had bene in all the conquestes of kinge *Philippe*, and of his sonne *Alexander*, and that it was neuer heard that they had bene ouerthrowen in any sette battell, the most of them being three score and tenne yeares olde, and the youngest no lesse then three score. Whereupon, when they ranne with great furie to geue charge upon their enemies, they cried out a lowde speaking to the fouldiers of the *MACEDONIANS* that were vnder *Antigonus*: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And so assailing them with a lustie corage, and in a rage withall, in a shorte space ouerthrew the squadron of their enemies, & slue the most parte of them in the field. Thus was *Antigonus* armie cleane ouerthrowen on that side: but on the other side where his men of armes were, through *Peucestus* cowardlinesse (that handled him selfe very ill at that battell) he had the vpper hande, and wanne all their cariage, through his foresight in the greatest furie of the battell, and the strength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a maruelous great plaine of length, neither too deepe, nor yet to hard vnder foote, but couered ouer with a small fine sand, much like to the drie sand the sea casteth vp, & leaueth upon the shore. This sand being scattered abroad by riding and going to & fro of so many thousandes of men and horses during the time of the battell foughten, had raised such a mightie dust and white smoke in the element, as if they had sturred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their sight so fore, as they could see nothing before them: in respect whereof *Antigonus* might easily lease all their cariage, them selues being neuer a whit the wiser. The battell being cometo this passe you haue heard, *Tentamus* sent presently vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage againe, which he had taken & caried into his campe. *Antigonus* made him aunswere, that he would not only redeliuer the goods vnto the *ARGYRASPIDES*, but would moreover vie them with all the fauor he could, so farre forth as they deliuered *Eumenes* into his handes. Whereupon the *ARGYRASPIDES* tooke presently a wicked resolution, to deliuer him aliuie into the handes of his enemies. And with that determination they came neere vnto him, not makinge any countenance as though they would lay handes on him, but rather seeming to garde and defend his person as their manner was: some of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had wonne the battell: and others accusing the noble men of cowardlines, saying that the fault was in them that they had not the whole victorie. But in fine, one of the hauing spied his time, flew to him, and tooke his sword out of his hande: the others straight layed hold of him, and bound both his handes behinde him with his owne girdle. *Antigonus* vnderstanding it, sent *Nicanor* thither to take him out of their handes, and to bring him to him. Then *Eumenes* hauing made request vnto them to suffer him to speake, as they brought him through the bandes of these olde *MACEDONIAN* fouldiers: it was granted him with condition, that he should make no motion vnto them to turne from that they were determined to doe, but to tell them of thinges, which (as he sayd) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereupon silence

being

*The death
of Eumenes:
to the maister
Argyraspides
his fouldiers*

A being made, he got vp vpon a litle hillocke, and there spake vnto them, putting forth his handes being bound: O wretched and faithlesse men, the wickedest that euer made mans bred. What so great triumphe, or victorie, hath euer *Antigonus* wonne of you, hauing sought it such infinite wayes: and you your selues doe now put into his handes, deliueing him your Capitaine bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great shame, that being masters of the field, you will graunt the honor of the victory vnto your enemy, only for a litle courtesies sake of money and paltry stuffe which you haue lost? And yet is not this all, but the worst behinde: to send your Capitaine as you do to pay the ranfome of your baggage. For my selfe, though now they lead me bound, yet doe I remaine free vntoercome, vanquisher of mine enemies, & sold by them that should be my frendes. Well, yet this request I only make vnto you, in the name of *Iupiter*, protector of armes, and for the honor of the goddess, (vnto whom all vowed othes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and coniuere you, to kill me your selues in this place. For all cometh to one end. To be slaine in *Antigonus* campe by the hands of mine owne enemies, will euer be counted your deede: and you may be assured he will not be angrie withall, for he only desireth *Eumenes* death, and not his life. If you will needes hold your handes from this attempt, vnlesse yet one of youe only: that shall suffice to doe the feate. And if for feare ye will not put a sword in my hande, throw me bound yet handes and fettes vnto wilde beastes: which if ye performe, then doe I discharge you of your othe taken betwene both my handes, which ye haue sworne vnto your Capitaine as holily and perfectly performed. Upon this speeche of *Eumenes*, all the rest of the army had compassion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the *ARGYRASPIDES* cried out to carry him away, and not to geue eare to his preaching: and that it was a good deede to punish this wicked *CHERRONSIAN*, according to his desertes, considering that he had turneoyled the *MACEDONIANS* with endless warre and battell. And moreover, that it were too much shame that the worthiest fouldiers that euer serued kinge *Philippe* & *Alexander*, so painfully in all their warres, should for recompence of their seruice in their olde age be turned a begging, their wiues hauing now lyen three nightes with their enemies. With those wordes, they violently draue him on towards *Antigonus* campe, who fearing least the multitude of people that ranne to see him, would smother him in the prease, because euery man ranne out of the campe: he sent thither tenne of the strongest Elephanes he had, and a good number of men of armes of the *MEDES* and *PARTHIANS*, to make way for him in the prease. When *Eumenes* was now come into *Antigonus* campe, his hart would not serue him to see him in that miserable state, for that they had once bene so familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him in their custodie, came to *Antigonus* to aske him, how he would haue him kept. Who answered them: like a Lyon, or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pite of him, and discharged him of his weightiest irones, and sent one of his household seruants to him to see him well vied, and suffered his frendes to come & bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did *Antigonus* deferre many dayes, before he would determine ought of *Eumenes*, hearing euery man speake, and pondering their purposes and severall opinions. *Nearchus* *CRETAN*, and his owne sonne *Demetrius* spake for *Eumenes*, and made sure to save his life, contrarie to all the other Lorde and Captaines that were about *Antigonus*, who would in any case haue him dye. *Eumenes* standing in these termes, asked his keeper *Onomarchus* one day, what *Antigonus* ment, that hauing his enemy in his handes, he did not quickly tie him out of his paine, or nobly deliuer him? *Onomarchus* chushtly answered him againe, that the time was past now to shewe his corage, as though he feared no death: and that he should haue shewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me *Iupiter* (quod he) so haue I done, and if thou beleuest not me, aske them that set apon me: for I neuer met with anyer more strong then my selfe. *Onomarchus* replied againe: sith now therefore thou hast found a stronger than thy selfe, why then canst thou not abide his pleasure? In fine, when *Antigonus* had reloued of his death, he commaunded them to geue him no more meare: and thus taking his steuenance from him, *Eumenes* was three dayes a dying. In the meane time came such newes: that sodainly the campe remoued: and therefore before their departure, a man was sent to *Eumenes* to dispatch him out of his paine. *Antigonus* licensed his frends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his ashes and bones to send them to his wife & children. *Eumenes*:

*Antigonus
answer for the
keeping of Eu-
menes being
prisoner.*

*The noble
minde of Eu-
menes.*

*The death of
Eumenes.*

The last re-
ward of trea-
son.

being slaine in this manner, the gods appointed some other iudges to reuenge the disloyaltie and treason of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Capitaines, for betraying of *Eumenes*, but *Antigonus* selfe: who desirring them as cruell murderers, and periuering persones to the gods, appointed *Thyrinus* Gouvernor of the prouince of *ARACHOSIA*, to kill them euery one his owne sonne what way he coulede, that none of them might euer see *MACEDON* againe, nor the Greekes the sea.

THE COMPARISON OF *Eumenes with Sertorius.*



Here haue we set downe the thinges worthe memorie of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*: Nowe to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being strangers in a straunge contrie, and banished out of their owne, had alwayes bent Capaines of diuers nations, and chieftaines of great and warlike armies. But this was proper to *Sertorius*, that all those of his faction gaue him the chieftest place of authoritie, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to commaund: where *Eumenes* hauing many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be gouerned by a good Capaine: & for their owne safety gaue place to the other, seeing them selues vnable to commaund. For *Sertorius* being a ROMANE, gouerned the SPANYARDS and LVSITANIANS: and *Eumenes* a CHERONESIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of the which, the SPANYARDS of long time had bene subiect to the Empire of ROMES: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had subdued all the worlde. Furthermore, *Sertorius* beinge then of great estimation for that he was a Senator of ROMES, and had had charge of men of warre before, came to the dignitie & estate to be chieftaine of a great army. Where *Eumenes* came with small reputation, disdained for that he was but a secretarie: and when he began to come forwardes, had not only lesse meanes to preferre him then *Sertorius* had, but greater lets & impedimentes also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many openly ffooded against him, and secretly conspired his death: and not as *Sertorius*, whom no man contrariied from the beginning, vntill his latter ende, when certaine of his companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore *Sertorius* ende of all his daungers, was to overcome his enemies: where *Eumenes* greauest daungers came through his victories, which he wanne of his owne men, through the malice of them that enuid his honor. Nowe for their deedes of armes, they are both in manner alike: but on the other side for their conditions, *Eumenes* naturally loued warre and contention: and *Sertorius* embraced peace & quietnes. For *Eumenes* that might haue liued in safety with honor, if he would but haue geuen place to his betters, and forsaken the warres: liked

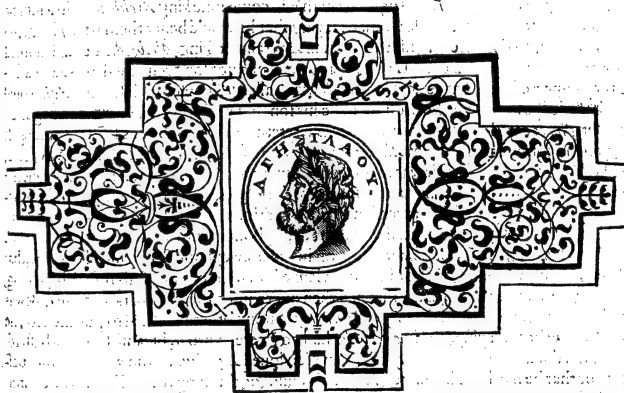
The deedes & conditions of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius* compared.

better

A better with the daunger of his life to followe martiall feates; with the greatest personages of *MACEDON*, and in the end so came to his death. *Sertorius* contrarily being vnwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the safetie of his person to take armes against them, that would not let him liue in peace. For had not *Eumenes* bene so ambitious and stowe to strive against *Antigonus* for the chieftest place of authoritie, but could haue bene contented with the seconde, *Antigonus* would haue bene right glad thereof: where *Pompey* would neuer so much as suffer *Sertorius* to liue in rest. So, the one made voluntary warre only to rule, and the other against his wil was compelled to rule, because they made warres with him. Whereby it appeareth that *Eumenes* naturally loued warre, preferringe the courtois desire of a better estate, above the safetie of his life: and the other as a right souldier, vied the warres only for a meane to faue his life by valiant defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was slaine, mistrusting no treason against him: and the other, looking euery howe for present death threatened him. Whereof the one argued a noble minde, not to mistrust them whom he thought his frendes: and the other shewed a faint hart, being taken when he ment to flie. So *Sertorius* death dishonored not his life, suffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him suffer. The other hauing no power to auoide his destinie before he was taken, and hauing sought meanes to liue being in prison and captiuitie: could neither patiently nor manfully abide his death. For, begging life at his enemies handes, he gaue him his hart with his body, who before had but his body in his power.

Sertorius death more honest, then the death of *Eumenes*.

THE LIFE OF *Agessilavus.*



Archidamus the sonne of *Zeuxidamus*, hauing honorably reigned in *LACEDEMON*, left two sonnes behind him: *Agis* which he begate of that noble Lady *Lamprido*, & *Agessilavus* a great deale younget, which he had by *Eupolia*, *Melissippidas* daughter. So the kingdom falling by succession vnto *Agis* the elder, the younger sonne *Agessilavus* remaining a priuate person, was brought vp after the *LACONIAN* manner, which was a straight kind of life: but withal it taught children how to obey. Whereof it is thought the Poet *Simonides* calleth *SPARTAN*, *Damagambrosos* to wit, making men ciuill: for that by continuance of custome, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much, or more, than any other city that euer was in

The parentage of *Agessilavus*.

The instruction of *Agessilavus*.

Agessilaus learned to obey, before he came to command.

The modestie of Agessilaus.

Agessilaus leucomer.

Alcibiades committeth adultery with kinges Agis wife.

Agessilaus created kinge through Lysanders means.

A lame king.

the world, taming them from their childhoode, as they doe young colts. The law dispensed with the heires apparant to the crowne, from that straight subiection & hard life: but *Agessilaus* had that excellencie in him aboue all others of his estate, that he came to the dignity and honor to commaund, hauing from his youth learned to obey. The which undoubtedly was the cause, that he knewe better than any other king, howe to please and beare with his subiectes, helping his royall estate & princely behavior, grafed in him by nature, with that curtesie and familiarity which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought vp together, *Lysander* fell in loue with him, wondering at the modesty of his wit. For hauing better spirit, and being more constant in his opinion, than any of the other children, struing euer to excell in all things, with such a vehemency he tooke all trauels in hande, that it was vnpossible to ouercome him, much lesse to compell him. He was on thother side so milde & gentle, that euery courteous word wrought in him better obedience, than any feare could doe: because it grieved him more to be reprovued, then to take upon him any paine or labor. And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasaunt wit, he vsed the matter so pleasantly and patiently, that he would merily mocke himselfe: which maner of mery behavior did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his life & courage was the more commendable in him, for that men sawe that notwithstanding his lamenes, he refused no paine nor labor. Of his person we haue drawn no counterfeate, because he would not in any wise haue it drawn, and did exprefly commaund by his will, that they should neither draw his picture, nor make any mould or image of his body. Howbeit we finde that he was of small stature, wherby his presence promised no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was euer mery and pleasaunt, and neuer pensiue nor troublesome in word nor looke, euen to the last ende of his life he was better loued, then the most fayer creature that liued. Notwithstanding, the Ephori (as *Theophrastus* writeth) did condemne king *Archidamus* in a summe of money because he married a liue woman: saying that he would beget them deny kinges, no kinges in deede. In the time that his eldest sonne *Agis* reigned king, *Alcibiades* being banished Athens, fled out of Sicily into Lacedæmon, and had not long remained in Sparta before they suspected him, that he kept king *Agis* wife, called *Timea*: for which cause *Agis* would not acknowledge the child (she brought to be his soone, saying that *Alcibiades* had begotten him. But *Timea* cared not much for it, as *Durandus* writeth: for otherwhile as the fate amongst her women, softly she called him *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. On thother side they report, that *Alcibiades* him selfe sayd, it was for no hurt he ment to any man, that he lay with Queene *Timea*, but only for the desire he had that some of the kinges of Lacedæmon should be gotten of his seede. Neuertheles at the length he was driuen to forsake Lacedæmon, mistruing king *Agis*, who euer after doubted of the child, & thought him a bastard: vntill such time as being on his death bed, *Leotychides* falling on his knees, wept, and so behaued him selfe, that *Agis* before many witness, said he did acknowledge him for his sonne. This notwithstanding, when king *Agis* was dead, *Lysander* that had then ouercome the Athenians by sea, & was more in credit & authority in the city of Sparta, than any other practised to put the crowne upon *Agessilaus* head, saying, that *Leotychides* had no interest vnto it, because he was a bastard. The like did diuers other citizens say of him, which loued *Agessilaus* vertue, and liked him passingly, for that he had bene brought vp from his childhoode amongst them. But on the contrary parte also, there was a Soothsayer or wisard in Sparta, called *Diopithes*, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, & was accounted a very skillfull man touching prophecies and diuinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of Sparta: and for prooffe thereof he told this auient oracle before the counsell.

As statels as thy stomake is o Sparta take good heede,

And stand vpon thy gard, and looke about thee I thee reede.

For halting one day downe vntill cast thine Empire to the ground,

By meane of vvarres and troubles great that shall inclose thee round.

Lysander replied against it, saying, that if the Spartans were afrayed of this oracle, they should rather beware of *Leotychides*. For the goddes cared not, if any man lame of a foote aspired

Aspired to be king: but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the race of *Heracles*. For that, sayd he, were to make the kingdom halte. *Agessilaus* furthermore alleaged, that the god *Neptune* him selfe had witnessed, that *Leotychides* was a bastard: for he draue *Agis* by an earthquake, to runne out of his wiuces chamber, and that tenne monethes after that, and more, *Leotychides* was borne. So was *Agessilaus* upon these allegacions not onely proclaimed king of Sparta: but he had geuen him moreouer, as lawfull heire, all his brother *Agis* goods, and *Leotychides* reiecte as a bastard. Notwithstanding, considering that his parentes by his mothers side were very poore, (yet honest men) he left them the moyty of all the goodes: by which act, *Agessilaus* wanne all their good willes, where else they had enuied him for his succession in the kingdom. And (as *Xenophon* sayth) by obeying his contrie, he grew to such power that he might doe whatsoeuer he would. The Ephori and Senatours at that time bare all the sway and government of the common wealth, the Ephores office chaunging yearly, the other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the insolency of the kings, for that they should not (as we haue more amply writen in *Lycurgus* life) haue absolute power in their handes. Vpon this occasion, the kinges that succeeded in the government, had (as it were) by inheritance, a present grudge and malice against them. This notwithstanding, *Agessilaus* tooke a contrary course to all his predecessors. For where others presently quarrelled with the Ephori and Senatours, *Agessilaus* did honor and reuerence them, and would neuer dispatche any matter without their priuaty, but was alwayes ready to goe when they did send him. When he was set in his chaire of state to geue audience, if any of the Ephori chaunted to come in, he would rise vp vnto them: and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honors sake present him a gowne, and an oxe. And thus cunningly seeming to honor and increase the dignity of the Senatours, winning their good wills, he made his power great, & the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behavior towards the rest of his contymen was such, as his enmity was lesse faulty the his frendship. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without iust cause, but he aided his frends euen in vniuall causes. And whereas he thought it a shame not to honor enemies, when they had done well: he could not finde in his hart to rebuke his frends when they did amisse, but rather gloried in succoring & helping of them in their euill doings. For he thought it no shame to serue his frends turne, howe soeuer it were. Again, when any of his aduerfaries offended, he was as sory for it as any man, and as readie to beare with it if he were intreated: whereby he allured and wanne the hartes of all men. The Ephori seeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in money for that he made the common loe of his contrie priuate to him selfe. For, as naturall Philosophers holde opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of nature, it would come to passe that the heavenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all things should be at a stay, by reason of the mutuall agreement betwene the worlde and them: euen so, the lawemaker of Lacedæmon seemeth to haue allowed ambition & strife in the common wealth, as a spur to vertue, by procuring alwayes some contention and emulation amonge great persones. And his reason was that this base and effeminate fauor, in winking one at another, when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concord. And sure some thinke that *Homer* also law the same, for he would neuer else haue made *Agamemnon* to haue reioyced to see *Phylis* and *Achilles* at great wordes together, if he had not bene of opinion, that enuy and contention amonge great men, were very available for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and doe bring great daungers with them. Nowe when *Agessilaus* was entred into his kingdom of Lacedæmon, newes were brought him out of Asia, that the king of Persia prepared a great navy to conquer the Lacedæmonians signory by sea. *Lysander* being glad of this occasion, longing to be sent againe into Asia to succour his frends whom he had left there as Gouvernors & Lieutenants of cities & provinces (of the which, some of them were driuen away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authority & ruling ouercruelly) perswaded *Agessilaus* to goe into Asia, to make warre upon this barbarous king, farre from Greece, before his army were gathered together. And to cōpasse this the easilier, he wrote vnto his frends in Asia that they should send vnto Sparta, to require *Agessilaus* for their Captaine, and so they

Agessilaus proclaimed kinge, & Leotychides a bastard.

Ephori were certaine officers, authorized to bridle the kinges insolency and iniustice if any were by them vsed.

Agessilaus, an expugnant strong, than a frend.

Whether contention among the nobility be profitable in a common wealth.

did. Thereupon *Agessilavus* going to the assembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would geue him thirtie Capitaines of the SPARTANS to be countellers & assistants to him in these warres, two thousand free IOTES, & six thousand of the confederates of LACEDÆMON. All this was immediately granted through *Lysander's* frendshippe towards him, and he was sent away straight with the thirty Capitaines which he had requested: of the which *Lysander* was the chiefeft, not only for his riches and authoritie, but also for the good will he bare vnto *Agessilavus*: who thought him selfe more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, than for his frendship he shewed him in bringing him to be king. Now *Agessilavus* army being assembled at the haufen of Geræstæ, him selfe with certaine of his frends went vnto the cite of AVLIDE, where in his sleepe he drempt that one sayd vnto him: O king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou knowest that neuer none but *Agamemnon*, & now thy selfe, was chosen Generall of all GREECE, considering therefore that thou commaundest the same people he did, that thou makest warres with the selfe same enemies, departing from the selfe same place to goe thither, it is reason that thou make the selfe same sacrifice vnto the goddesse, the which he made at his like departure. *Agessilavus* straight upon this vision, remembered that *Agamemnon* through the perswasion of the Soothsayers did sacrifice his owne daughter in the same place. Yet this made him not afrayed, but the next day he told it to his frendes, and said he would sacrifice that vnto the goddesse, which he thought would please her well enough, and that he would not followe that cruell deuotion of this auncient Capitaine *Agamemnon*. And with that, he brought a hynde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commaunded his Soothsayer to sacrifice her: and would not suffer him to haue the honor to doe the sacrifice, that was appointed for the same purpose by the Governours of BOEOTIA, according to the custome of that place. The Governours of BOEOTIA vnderstanding it, were much offended, and sent their officers to will *Agessilavus* not to doe any sacrifice there, contrary to the law and custome of their contrie. The officers that were sent, performed their commission: and finding that the beast was slaine, & the quarters of it upon the altier, theyooke and flong them of the altier euery way. This vexed *Agessilavus* being readie to imbarke, and departed thence in choller against the THEBANS, and mistrusted much his good successe by this vnluckie prediction, which seemed to prognosticate vnto him, that he should not preuaile according to his desire. Furthermore, when he was arriued at EPHEVS, he presently misliked the honor he sawe done vnto *Lysander*, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the contriemen there repaired continually to his house, that when he came abroade, they all followed him wherfoeuer he went: as though *Lysander* had in deede bene in authority to doe what he would, and that *Agessilavus* only had but the name to be general, so appointed by the law of LACEDÆMON. For in troth there was neuer GREEKIAN Capitaine in those partes that had won him such estimation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was neuer man that was more beneficial to his frends, neither also that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All these things being fresh in memorie, the contriemen of that contrie perceiuing the simplicitie of *Agessilavus*, and howe he was geuen to please the people, and caried no great maiestie nor countenance with him, and obseruing in *Lysander* that wanted roughness and sharpe speech wherewith they had bene acquainted before: euery man obeyed him, and nothing was done but what he commaunded. This first of all made the other SPARTANS angrie, for that it appeared they were come as it were to serue *Lysander*, and not as to counsell the king: but after that, *Agessilavus* him selfe also grew discontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious nor forie to see others honored besides him selfe. Yet being a man ambitiously geuen, and of a noble courage, fearing if he should doe any noble exploit in this warre, that they would impute it vnto *Lysander*, for the great estimation he was of: he first beganne to deale in this sorte with him. First he contrariet all his counsell: and what matters soeuer he preferred, which he was desirous should haue taken effect, *Agessilavus* would none of that, but tooke some other in hand. Furthermore, if any of *Lysander's* followers came to make fute to him for his fauor, perceiuing that they did leane vnto *Lysander*: he sent them away without any thing done for them. In like case also in matters of iudgements, if *Lysander* were against any, they were fure to haue the matter passe on their side. On the contrarie parte also, if *Lysander* bare good will to the partie, and fauored

Agessilavus hereby into Asia.

Agessilavus dremes in Avlide.

Lysander's glory diminisheth.

Agessilavus grudges vnto *Lysander*.

A the cause to gratifie him: they hardly escaped from setting a fine of their heades. *Agessilavus* continuing these shewes ordinarily of purpose, not by chaunce to one or two, but indifferently to all: *Lysander* looking into the cause, dissembled not with his frendes, but told them plainly that it was for his sake they had those repulses and wronges, and therefore did counsell them to waite upon the king, and those that had more credit then him selfe. Now *Agessilavus* supposed he gaue that aduise to make euery man to malice him: wherefore, to despise him the more, he made him distributor of his vittells, (& hauing done so) some say that he spake these words in open presence of many: nowe let them goe and honor my flesh distributor. *Lysander* being grieved withall, sayd vnto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppresse your frendes. And to doe I sayd *Agessilavus*, how to keepe them vnder, that would be greater than my selfe. It may be yet, replied *Lysander*, I haue not done as your grace doth say: yet if you so conceiue of me, put me I beseeche you in some place of charge or office, where I may doe you good seruice without offence. After this talke betwene the, *Agessilavus* sent him into HALLESPONT, where by practise he tooke prisoner a noble man a PERSIAN, called *Spithridates*, out of the *harmabazum* prouince whereof he was Gouernor, and brought him to *Agessilavus* with a great summe of golde and siluer, and neere about two hundred horemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgate not his grudge to *Agessilavus*, but being offended still, sought opportunitie and meanes to deade the two houses of the priuilege of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of SPARTA: and surely he had made great broyle (in my opinion) in the city of SPARTA, had he not bene preuented by death, in a iorney he made into BOEOTIA. Thus we see, that ambitious mindes obseruing no meane, are in a common weale oftentimes more hurtfull, than beneficial. For though *Lysander* was in deede intollerable, to shew him selfe so ambitious, and out of time: yet was not *Agessilavus* ignorant neither, that there were diuers other meanes leafe reprochfull to punish such a noble man, that offended only by greedines of honor. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one selfe passion: the one not to know his Princes power, & the other not to beare with his frendes imperfection. Now *Tisaphernes* at the first being afrayed of *Agessilavus*, made league with him, colourably letting him vnderstand that the king would be content to set the cities of GREECE in ASIA at liberty. Notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed warre. *Agessilavus* was very well content withall: for the expectation was great of him through all GREECE, that he would doe some noble exploit in this iorney. Moreouer he thought him selfe dishonored for euer, that the tenne thousand GREECIANS which were returned backe from the furthest parte of ASIA, euen vnto the sea Maior (vnder the conduct and leading of *Xenophon* their Capitaine) had overcome the king of PERSIAES army as oft as they listed the selues: and that he which was the Lieutenant generall of the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at that time commaunded both sea and lande) should not doe some deede worthe memorie among the GREECIANS. Presently therefore to reuenge *Tisaphernes* periturie by iust deceit, he made a countenance as though he would first invade the contrie of CARIA. Whereupon, this barbarous person *Tisaphernes*, gathered all his power together. But *Agessilavus* on a sodaine returned backe againe, and entred into PHRYGIA, tooke there many cities, and swanne great spoyle, making his men see by experience, that to infringe & breake a league made & scattered by othe, was a sacriledge, and contemning of the goddes. On the other side also, that to beguile his enemies, it was not only iust and honorable: but also profitable and pleasant. Now *Agessilavus* being weaker in horemen than his enemy, and finding the liuers of the beastes which he had sacrificed, without heades, returned into the cite of EPHEVS, and there gathered horemen together, letting the rich men vnderstand (which would not them selues seruise in person) that he did dispense with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for seruice in their place. Many of them tooke that course, & by this meanes *Agessilavus* within few dayes had leauied a great number of men of armes, in steade of footemen that could doe small seruice. For they that were vnwilling to goe to the warres, did hier them that were willing to serue in their place: and such also as would not serue a horsebacke, did geue them pay that were desirous to serue in their steades. In this he wilyly followed king *Agamemnon's* example, who did dispense with the person of a riche coward for going to the warres, by taking a good

See the life of *Lysander*.

Ambitious heades are very dangerous in a common weale.

Agessilavus desires in Asia, and the false head of *Tisaphernes*.

Agessilavus makes a countenance as though he would first invade the contrie of CARIA.

Agessilavus leuies men in the place of those that are unwilling to goe to the warres.

mare of him. Then *Agessilav* had commaunded them that sold the prisoners by the *dromed* taken in the warres, that they should strippe them naked, & so sell them: which they did. And sundry persons willingly bought their spoyles and rayment, but they scorned their bodies, because they sawe them white skinned, soft, and delicate: so that fewe men would outbid the price for them, for that they thought those men vnprofitable and good for nothing. *Agessilav* also being present at this sale of purpose, sayd thus vnto his men. See, my frendes, quod he thesē be the men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoyles for the which ye shall fight. Time being come now to put him selfe into the field, and to invade his enemies count againe, he gaue it out that he would enter *LYDIA*, not meaning to deceiue *Tisaphernes* againe, but *Tisaphernes* deceiued him selfe. For he being deceiued before by *Agessilav*, gaue no credit to this second rumor, but perswaded him selfe that doubtlesse *Agessilav* ment then to enter into *CARIA*, & the rather for that it was a woddie contrie, very ill for horsemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, *Agessilav* invading (as he had geuen it out) the champion contrie, in the which stode *SARDIS*, the capital city of *LYDIA*: *Tisaphernes* was compelled to come to reskue it in hast, and being come thither with great speede with his horsemen, he stale upon many of his enemies whom he found straggling out of order, spoyleing the contrie, & put the most of them to the sword. *Agessilav* hauing intelligence of this, imagined with him selfe that the footemen of his enemy could not yet be arriued, & considering also that he had his army whole about him: thought it best forthwith to bid him battel, rather the to delay time any longer. Thereupon he thrust in among the horsemen his light armed footemen, and commaunded them straight to charge the enemy, whilst he caused the heavier armed men to follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled upon it immediatly: and the *GRECIANS* lustely following the chase, tooke their campe, & made great laughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leasure enough not only to spoyle & ouerrun the kinges contrie at their pleasure, but also to see the reuenge taken of *Tisaphernes*, that was a vile man, and a cruell enemy to the *GRECIANS*. For the king of *PERSIA* made an other his Lieutenant immediatly in his roome, called *Tithraustes*: who strake of *Tisaphernes* head, and sent vnto *Agessilav* to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him store of golde and silver to departe out of his contrie. Thereto *Agessilav* answered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the *LACEDÆMONIANS*: and that for his owne parte, it was an easer manner to enriche his souldiers, than him selfe. And furthermore, that the *GRECIANS* thought it dishonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then spoyles. This notwithstanding, to gratifie *Tithraustes* somewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of all the *GRECIANS*: for the summe of thirtie talentes geuen him to defray his charges, he withdrew his army out of *LYDIA*, and went into *PHRYGIA*. In his iorney he received from the counsell of *LACEDÆMON*, the *Scytala*, or scrolle of parchment wreathed about, aduertising him that the citizens had made him also their Generall by sea, as he was by lande. *Agessilav* onely of his time, as *Theopompus* witnesseth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, than for the greatnes of his authority. In this notwithstanding he was to be blamed, when he made choise of one *Pisander* his wiues brother, to be Lieutenant of the navy, & forsooke other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: seeking rather to please his wife, and to aduance one of his kinne, than to regarde the weale and safety of his contrie. Afterwards he led his army into *Pharnabazus* contrie which he had in charge, where he founde not onely plenty of all sortes of vittells, but gathered together also a wonderfull masse of money. From thence he went into the realme of *PAPHLAGONIA*, and made league there with kinge *Corys*: who for his vertue and constant fidelity, was very desirous of his friendship. The like did *Spithridates*, forsaking *Pharnabazus*, and came vnto *Agessilav*: and after he was come to him, he neuer went from him, but alwayes followed him wheresoeuer he went. *Spithridates* had a young sonne that was passing faier, called *Megabates*, (of whom *Agessilav* had great liking) and likewise a fayer young woman to his daughter, of age to be married, whom *Agessilav* caused king *Corys* to marry. So, taking of king *Corys* a thousand horsemen and two thousand footemen, light armed, he returned backe into *PHRYGIA*, and there destroyed *Pharnabazus* contrie which

*Sardis, the
chiefe city of
Lydia.*

*Agessilav
viceroy of Tisaphernes.*

*Agessilav
made Generall of all the
Lacedæmonian navy.*

*Corys king of
Paphlagonia,
became Agessilav's friend.*

A which he had in government, who durst not meete him in the field, nor trust to his holdes, but still fled from him, carying all his chieftest thinges with him, flitting from place to place: vntill that *Spithridates*, accompanied with *Erippidas* the *SPARTAN*, followed him so neere, that he tooke his campe, and all his treasure in it. But there did *Erippidas* shewe him selfe so hard and cruell, ouerstraghtly teaching our parte of the spoyle that had bene imbecaeled, compelling the barbarous people to deliuer it againe, ransacking euery corner for it: that *Spithridates* was so offended withall, that on a sodaine he tooke the *PAPHLAGONIANS* with him, and went backe vnto the cite of *SARDIS*. This more grieved *Agessilav*, than any thing that happened to him in all his iorney: for that he had lost so valliant a man as *Spithridates*, and such a number of good souldiers as he caried away with him. Moreover, he was afayed least he should detect him of miserable couetousnes, a thing which he euer was careful to auoid, not onely in his owne persone, but also to keepe all his contriemen from it. But besides these known causes, the loue he bare to *Spithridates* sonne pinched him neerely: though when the boy was with him, he strued with his owne nature to subdue that naughty affection and desire he had of him. For when *Megabates* on a time came to make much of him, & to kisse him: *Agessilav* turned his face from the boy. The boy being ashamed of the repulse, durst no more come so familiarly, but saluted him aloofe of. *Agessilav* then repenting him that he had not suffered *Megabates* to kisse him, made as though he marueled why he did not kisse him as he was wont to doe. Then answered some of his familiars about him: your selfe, O king, is in faulte, because you durst not tarie, but were afayed to kisse so fayer a boy. For if he knewe your minde, he would come againe, so that you turned your face no more away. When *Agessilav* had heard them, he pawled a while, and said neuer a word, but in fine answered them: It shall not neede you say any thing to him, for it would doe me more good I could refuse such an other kisse againe, then if all that I see before me were golde. Thus was *Agessilav* disposed whē *Megabates* was with him: but in his absence he did so loue him, that I dare scanty say, that if the boy had come againe into his presence, he would haue refused a kisse at his hands. After that, *Pharnabazus* sought to speake with him, and one *Apollophanes* a *CYZICENIAN* brought them together, that was a frende vnto them both. *Agessilav* was the first that met at the place appointed with his frends, and tarying for *Pharnabazus* comming, he layed him downe vpon the depe graffe in the shadow, vnder a fayer great tree. *Pharnabazus* also came thither, & they did spread soft skinnes long heared, and tapestry excellently wrought of diuers colours, for him to sit on upon the ground. But being ashamed to see *Agessilav* laied on the bare ground in that sorte, he also layd downe by him, though he had vpon him a maruelous riche gowne, of excellent tisse & passing colour. Now when they had embraced one another, *Pharnabazus* began first to speake, and lacked no good perswasions & iust complaints, for that he hauing bene (as he was) a frende vnto the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the warre against the *ATRENIANS*, was then spoyled and sacked by them. *Agessilav* then finding that the *SPARTANS* that were about him at that meeting, hong downe their heades for shame, not knowing how to aunswere him, considering that *Pharnabazus* had iniury offered him: began to speake in this manner. Heretofore when we were frendes with the king (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) we haue vsed his goodes like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we vse them: and sence we see that thou wilt needes be a slaue of his, maruell not though we hurt thee for his sake. But when thou shalt like rather to be a frend of the *GRECIANS*, then a slaue to the king of *PERSIA*: then make account, that all these souldiers, this armor, our shippes, and all we are to defend thy goodes and liberty against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon *Pharnabazus* told him his minde plainly: surely, sayd he, if the king doe sende hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenant, before I will then take your parte straight. But on thother side, if he make me his Lieutenant in this warre, trust to it, I will do him the best seruice I can against you. This aunswere passingly pleased *Agessilav*, who taking him by the hand, and rising vp with him, sayd vnto him. I would with (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) hauing so noble a minde as thou hast, that thou were rather our frend, then an enemy. So *Pharnabazus* departing from thence with his men, his sonne being left behinde, ranne to *Agessilav*, and smiling told him. King *Agessilav*, I will make thee my frend: and there with gaue him a dart he

*Agessilav
drags Pharnabazus out
of his tent.*

*The meeting
of Agessilav
and Pharnabazus.*

*Agessilav
vnto Pharnabazus.*

had in his hande. *Agessilau* tooke it of him, and liking well the beawtie of the young youth, and the curtesie he had offred him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might bestow on him. At the last he spied his secretarie *Adens* horse, which had a rich capariffon on: he straight tooke it be him, and gaue the horse & furniture to this liuely youth *Pharnabazus* sonne, who neuer after forgate it. For it chaunced afterwards that being driuen out of his contrie by his brethren, and flying into *PELOPONNESVS*, *Agessilau* made very much of him, and did not sticke to further him in his loue abroad. For he had a great fancie and liking to a boy of *ATHENS*, whome they brought vp in wrestling, one day to play for the best games. But when he was growen a bigger man and strong, and that he came to offer him selfe to be billed with them that should wraitle at the games Olympical, being in some perill to be vtterly refused: this *PERSIAN* that loued him, went vnto *Agessilau*, and besought his helpe, that this wraitle might not receiue the foyle to be reiected. *Agessilau* being desirous to pleasure him, performed his request with some difficultie. Thus *Agessilau* in all things else was a straight obseruer of the law: but in his frendes causes to be straight laced in matters of iustice, he sayd that was but an excuse for them that would do nothing for their frendes. To this effect, they finde a letter of his wrytten vnto *Idrian*, Prince of *CARIA*, for the deliuerie of his frende. If *Nicias* haue not offended, lette him goe: if he haue offended, then pardon him for my sake. But howe soeuer it be, let him goe. This was *Agessilau* manner in the most parte of his frends causes. Notwithstanding, occasions fell out oftentimes, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driuen to remoue in haste on a sodaine, and to leaue one sicke behinde him whome he loued deere: he the sicke man callinge him by his name as he was going his way, besought him that he would not forsake him. *Agessilau* (as *Hieronymus* the Philosopher reporteth) turned backe againe, and sayd: O howe hard is it both to loue, and to be wife. Nowe had *Agessilau* spent two yeares in this warre, and was spoken of throughout *ASIA*, beinge maruelously commended to the kinge him selfe, for his great honestie, his continencie, his curtesie and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the contrie with his owne traine onely, he would euer lye in the holiest temples of the goddess: because he woulde the goddess them selues shoulde be witnesses of his priuate doings, whereas commonly we are lothe that men shoulde see what we doe. Furthermore, amongst so many thousande souldiers as were in his campe, there coulde hardlie be founde a worse matrisse, then that him selfe did lye apon euerie night. And as for heate and colde, he coulde as easilie awaie with either of both, as if by constitution of bodie he had bene borne to abide anie weather and season. But aboue all, it was a pleasaunt sight to the *GREECIANS* that dwelt in *ASIA*, when they sawe the great Lordes, the kinges Lieutenantes of *PERSIA*, (which before were proude, cruell, riche, and geuen to all lust and pleasure) to honor and feare a man that went vp and downe in a poore cape, beinge affrayed of euerie shorte worde that he spake like a *LACONIAN*: inmuch as many of them called to minde *Timothews* the Poetes verses, who sayd,

As Mars hath no mercie, so Greece skorneth gold.

Now all *ASIA* being vp and in garboile, they willingly yielding to him in euery place, after he had taken order with the cities, & had stablished the liberty of their comon weale, without any bloodshed, or banishment of any person: he determined to goe further, into the land, and transporting the warres from the sea coastes of *GREECE*, to fight with the king of *PERSIA* in proper person, and with the wealth & happines of the *EBRATANIANS* and the *SYSTIANIANS*, and by that means to take his pleasure from him, who sitting still before, made the *GREECIANS* make warre one with an other, by force of money, corrupting the Gouernours of euery cite. In the meane time came *Epycidas* a *LACONIAN* vnto him, and brought him newes how *SPARTA* was grieuouly troubled with warres, enforced on them by the other *GREECIANS*: & that therefore the *Ephori* did send for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his contrie.

*Oh wretched Greece, how cruell slaughters hath
Thou brought vpon thee, for to lay thee waste?*

For

A For how should a man otherwise call this enuie, treason, and ciuill conspiracie among the *GREECIANS*? Who ouerthrow their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their warres against the barbarous people, out of *GREECE*, and now to bring it against themselves. I am not of *Demaratus* opinion the *CORINTHIAN*, that sayd the *GREECIANS* delight was taken from them, which sawe not *Alexander* the great sitting in *Darius* royall throne: but rather I would thinke they should haue wept, to haue left this honor vnto *Alexander* and the *MACEDONIANS*, fondly losing so many famous Captaines of *GREECE*, at the battells of *ISOTROES*, of *CORONEA*, of *CORINTH*, and of *ARCADIA*. Neuertheless, *Agessilau* neuer did better ge in his life, nor euer shewed better example of obedience and iustice due to his contrie, than he did in his returne home. For sithe *Hannibal* that beganne to haue ill success in his warres, being in manner driuen out of *ITALIE*, thought neuer (but compelled) to returne againe into his contrie, to obey his contrienemen: which called him home to defend the warre the *ROMANES* made at their owne dores: and that *Alexander* the great also being sent for home vpon the like occasion did not onely refuse to returne into *MACEDON*, but made a iellatist, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenant *Antipater* had fought with kinge *Agis*, saying, me thinks when I heare these newes, whilst we are ouercomming of kinge *Darius* here, there hath bene a battell of rattes fought in *ARCADIA*. Sith then (I say) these two famous Captaines haue made so litle account of their contrie, may we not thinke the cite of *SPARTA* blessed to haue had such a kinge; that so much reuerenced his contrie and obeyed the lawe as receiuing onely a litle scrolle of parchement commaunding him to returne, he forooke a worlde of goodes and wealth that he quietly enjoyed (with assured hope and certaintie of more) and unbarkeed forthwith, leauing all the alies and confederates of his contrie verie sorrowfull, for that he had geuen ouer to noble an enterprife, which he had so happily begonne? Yes sure. Nay furthermore, he passed not for the saying of *Demostratus* *PHACIAN*, who sayd, that the *LACEDEMONIANS* in publicke matters were the worthiest men, and the *ATHENIANS* in priuate causes. For as he had shewed him selfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the common wealth: so was he alwayes courteous priuately to his familiar frendes. And because the *PERSIAN* coyne was stamped on the one side, with the print of an archer: *Agessilau* beinge ready to departe, sayd, that tenne thousand archers draue him out of *ASIA*. For so much was brought vnto *THEBES* and *DATHENS*, and distributed among the Orators and Gouernours there, who through their Orations made both those great cities to rise, and make warre against the *SPARTANS*. In his returne, *Agessilau* hauing passed the straight of *HELLESPONT*, tooke his way through the contrie of *THRACIA*, and neuer intreated barbarous kinge nor people to suffer him to passe, but only sent vnto them to know whether they would he should passe through their contries as a frende, or an enemy. All contries and nations else receiued him very honorably to their power, saue the people called the *TROCHALIANS*, vnto whom king *Xerxes* him selfe gaue presentes that he might passe friendly through their contrie: who sent vnto *Agessilau* to demand a hundred silver talentes, and a hundred women to suffer him to passe through their contrie. But *Agessilau* laughing them to scorne, answered againe: why, how chaunceth it that they came not them selues to receiue them? So therewithall he marched forward against these barbarous people who were ranged in battell raye to stoppe his passage: howbeit he ouerthrowe them, and slue a great number of them in the field. The like demand he made vnto the kinge of *MACEDON*, whether he should passe through his contrie as a frende, or an enemy. The king made him aunswere, he would confider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quod *Agessilau*: we will goe on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldenes, and fearing least he would doe him some hurte as he went: sent to pray him that he would passe through his contrie as a frend. Now it chaunced fo that the *THESSALIANS* at that time were in league with the enemies of the *LACEDEMONIANS*: therefore as he passed through their contrie, he did spoyle and forage it as his enemies contrie, and sent *Xenocles* and *Scythas* to the cite of *LARISSE*, hopeinge to perswade them to take parte with the *LACEDEMONIANS*. These two Ambassadors were retained there as prisoners. The *SPARTANS* were maruelously offended withall: and thought good that *Agessilau* should besiege *LARISSE* with his

KKK ij

*Agessilau
overcame the
Pharalians.*

*Narthacium
mont.*

*The eclipse of
the sunne.
Disander,
Generall of
the navie
slaine in bat-
telle.
The hands of
Gnidus.*

*Agessilau
battell with
the Thebans.*

army. But he answered them, he would not lose one of those men, to winne all *THERACIA* and therefore found means that he redeemed them againe by composition. Peradventure this is not to be marveled at in *Agessilau*, that newes being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the citie of *CORINTHE*, where were many worthie and valliant Captaines slaine of the enemies, and but few of the *SPARTANS*: he seemed not to reioice at it, but rather to fetch a grievous sigh, saying, O poore *GREECE*, how vnfortunate art thou to haue slaine with thine owne handes so many valliant Captaines of thine owne people, as ioyning together, might at one field haue overcome all the barbarous people. The *PHARSALIANS* haryng and troubling the rereward of *Agessilau* armie, he put forth five hundred horsemen which gaue them to lustie a charge, that he ouerthrew them by force. For this victorie, he let vp tokens of triumphe upon the mountaine called *Narthacium*, and this victorie pleased him above all the rest, bicause with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of him selfe, he had ouerthrowen the glory & pride of the enemies horsemen in battell, where they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came *Diphridas* one of the *Ephores* vnto him, sent of purpose from *SPARTA*, to commaund him immediatly to inuade *BOEOTIA* with his armie. Nowe though *Agessilau* intended some other time with a greater power to enter *BOEOTIA*, yet bicause he would not disobey the counsellis commaundement of *SPARTA*: he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of *ASIA*, was at hande, and therefore he sent for two companies of them which lay in campe by *CORINTHE*. The *LACEDEMONIANS* that were at *SPARTA*, to honor *Agessilau* for that he had obeyed their commaundement so readily: proclaimed in the citie, that as many young men as were desirous to goe aide the king, should come and enter their names. Notwithstanding, they onely chose but fiftie of the valliantest among them, and sent them vnto him. In the meane time, *Agessilau* passed through the contrie of *THERMOPILES*, and coasting ouer the lande of *PHOCIDE*, confederates to the *LACEDEMONIANS*, he entred into *BOEOTIA*, and camped by the citie of *CHERONEA*: where immediatly after his arriuall, he sodainly saw the sunne eclipsed, and darkened in the facion of a new moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of *Disander* vnto him, who was slaine in a battell which he lost by sea, fighting against *Pharabacum* and *Conon*, hard by the Ile of *GNIDOS*. These newes were very heauie vnto him, both for respect of the person his kinsman whom he lost, as also for the great losse that happened to the common wealth. Neuerthelesse, fearing his souldiers would be discouraged with the newes, and become faint hearted, being ready to ioyne battell: he commaunded them that came from the sea, to brute abroade a contrarie tale to that they tolde him, and he him selfe to make good their speache, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did sacrifice to the goddess, as thanking them for the good newes, sending to euery one of his friends a peece of flesh sacrificed, as he commonly vsed to doe, in any publike cause of ioy. Then marching forward, he straight discovered his enemies farre off, and they likewise him: & therupon put his men in battell ray, and gaue the left wing vnto the *ORCHOMENIANS*, leading him selfe the right wing. The *THEBANS* on thother side, placed them selues in the right wing of their armie, and gaue the left vnto the *ARGIVES*. *Xenophon* being at that battell on *Agessilau* side, wryeth that he neuer knewe of the like fildes fought. At the first onser, the conflict was not great betwene both, neither helde long, bicause the *THEBANS* brake the *ORCHOMENIANS* straight, and *Agessilau* the *ARGIVES*. But when either side vnderstoode that the left winges of their battells were in great distresse, and that they turned their backes: they returned sodainly againe. And where *Agessilau* might easily haue had the victorie without any daunger, if he had suffred the squadron of the enemies to passe by him, and afterwards to haue charged them in the rereward: of a noble corage to shew his vallianties, he gaue charge upon the vaward, to haue honor in ouercoming them. The *THEBANS* on the other side no lesse valliantly received him, & fought lustily on all hands: but the cruellst fight was about *Agessilau* person, with the fifty young men that were sent to gard him, who shewed the selues very valliant. *Agessilau* was sore hurt, notwithstanding their valliant resistance, his armor being passed thorow with their f pikes & swords in sundry places: whereupon they enuironned him round amongst the, & kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of the, & many of them selues also being killed.

In

A In fine, finding the *THEBANS* too strong in the vaward they were forced to do that which they refused at the first: and opening them selues, gaue them passage thorow them. So when they were passed them, the *SPARTANS* perceiuing howe lowely and disorderly they marched, as thinking them selues out of all daunger, followed them, and gaue charge upon their flanke. But all this could not make the *THEBANS* flie: for they reioicing for their victorie at this battell, retired fayer and softly vnto the mountaine *Helicon*. But *Agessilau*, notwithstanding he was very sore hurt, with many a grievous wound, would not go into his paviilion to be dressed before he had bene first at the place where the battell was fought, and had seene his men that were slaine brought away in their armors. As many of his enemies as were fled into the temple of *Minerva Itonian*, which was not farre from thence: (where also were sette vp tokens of triumphe offered vnto her long time before by the *THEBANS*, when they had overcome the armie of the *ATHENIANS*, vnder the conduct of *Sparton* their Capitaine, and had slaine also *Tolmides* their Capitaine in the fildes) he commaunded his men they should lette them goe where they would. The next morning by breake of day, *Agessilau* desirous to see if the *THEBANS* had any corage to comedowne to fight againe: commaunded his souldiers to put garlandes upon their heades, and his musitians to founde their shalmes or pipes, whilest he did sette vp a token of triumphe as victorior. Moreouer, his enemies sendinge to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he graunted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the citie of *DELPHES*, where the *Pythian* games were played, he made a solemne proceffion and common sacrifice vnto *Apollo*, and offered him the tenth parte of all his spoiles which he had brought out of *ASIA*, which amounted to the summe of an hundred talentes. This thing done, he returned into his contrie, where he was greatly honored and esteemed of all his citizens and contrie men, for his orderly life and noble behauiour: for he was no chaungeling, but the selfe same man in state & condicion that he was before he tooke his iorney. He transformed not him selfe into strangers manners, as commonly other Capitaines doe, that returne out of a farre contrie where they haue made warres: neither did he scorne his contrie facions, or shewed him selfe disobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwayes kept and obserued them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in walhing or bathing, in his wiues apparell, in his armory, or any way else in his householde stuffe, as if he had neuer passed ouer the riuier of *Eurotas*. D Yet further, he left his olde gates standing that were of so great continuance, that they were thought to be those which *Aristodemus* had set vp. *Xenophon* also sayeth, that his daughters *Canathrum* was nothing more lumpitious than any others were. A *Canathrum* in *LACEDEMON*, is a kinde of coche or charret after the likeness of griffins, hartes, or goates: upon the which they caried younge wenches in solemne proceffions in the citie. *Xenophon* wrote not what was the name of this daughter of *Agessilau*: and *Dicaearchus* also was much offended, that they neither knewe *Agessilau* daughters name, nor yet the mother of *Eupaminondas*. Yet we finde in the *LAONIAN* Chronicles, that *Agessilau* wiues name was *Clora*, one of his daughters called *Apolia*, and the other *Prolyta*. Moreouer, *Agessilau* speare is seene to this day in the citie of *SPARTA*, euen like vnto others, and no manner of difference. E Now *Agessilau* perceiuing certaine citizens of *SPARTA* to stand vpon their reputation, and esteeming them selues above others, bicause they kept horse in their stable: perswaded his sister *Cynisca* to lend her coche and coche horses to the *Olympian* games to runne for the best prize, only to let the *GREECIANS* see that it was no act of any vertue, but simply of riches and cost. Furthermore hauing *Xenophon* the Philosopher about him, whome he loued and made great account of, he perswaded him to send for his sonnes to *LACEDEMON*, that they might be brought vp there, where they should learne the noblest science that men coulde possible learne, to witte: to obey, and to commaunde. When *Lysander* was dead, *Agessilau* as his returne out of *ASIA*, founde a great faction and conspiracie raised by his meanes against him in *SPARTA*: and bicause it might appeare what manner of citizen *Lysander* was when he fled, he was likely to haue openly shewed and declared an Oration which he founde among his wrytinges (the which the Orator *Cleon Halicarnassus* had wrytten for him, and *Lysander* should haue cunne without booke, to haue spoken in open assembly) that was to stirre inno-

KKK iij

*Helicon mont.
The worship
of Agessilau.*

*The temple of
Minerva Itonian.*

*The conspiracy
of Agessilau.*

*Canathrum,
what it is.*

*Clora, the
wife of king
Agessilau.
Apolia, and
Prolyta Agessilau
daughters.*

*Xenophon,
great aduise
Agessilau.*

*The priests of
Lysander about election
of govern-
ment.*

The wife col-
fell of a Sena-
tor as Spar-
ta.
The policies of
Agessilau to
win his ene-
mies.

Agessilau, &
Agessipolis,
kings of La-
cedemon.

Telenias, A-
gessilau's half
brother, made
General of the
army by
sea.

Certaine Apo-
thegmes of
Agessilau.

* Meaning
that he was
not well in his
wits to be so
presumptuous.

uation, and in maner haue made a change of the whole gouernment of the common wealth A of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit there was a graue counsellor that hauing red the oration, and douting the apparant reasons and perswasions alleaged, tolde him, that he would wishe him not to plucke vp the dead againe out of his graue, but rather to burie this oration together with his bodie. *Agessilau* liked the counsellor, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had bene his enemies, he did the no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make some of them to be sent as Lieutenants of army, or otherwise to haue charge in the warres. In fine, he made it openly known, what courteous and wicked men they had bene in their charges: so that when they were accused of it before the counsellor, he would than helpe & intreate for them. By this meanes he made them againe his frendes, where they had bene his enemies inso much as in the ende, he had not one enemy at all. For the other king *Agessipolis* his colleague, whose father had bene banished: he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with gouernment of the common wealth. Neuerthelesse, he so behaued him selfe vnto *Agessilau*, that he made him his verie good frende: for both the kings when they were in the citie, did eate together in one halle. Then *Agessilau* knowing that *Agessipolis* (as him selfe) was geuen to loue, would euer minister talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the citie, intising him to loue some one of them, which he him selfe did loue: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these LACONIAN louses there was no manner of dishonestie offered, but a true affection and honest regarde to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honest condicions: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lycurgus*. *Agessilau* by this meanes hauinge the whole authoritie (about all men in the citie) in his hands: C made his halfe brother *Telenias* General by sea, and him selfe with the armie by land went to besiege the citie of CORINTHE, where with his brothers helpe by sea he tooke the long walls of the same. The ARGIVES which kept CORINTHE at that time, at *Agessilau* arrivall there were solemnising the feast of the Isthmian games: who made them flie, euen as they came from sacrificing vnto the god *Neptune*, driuing them to leaue all their preparation and solemnity. Then diuers banished men of CORINTHE that were in his armie, besought him that he would keepe these Isthmian games. But he denyed them, yet was contented they should themselves solemnize them, and so him selfe remained there, during the time of the feast, for their safetie. Afterwardes when *Agessilau* was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Isthmian games: and there were some of them which hauing wonne the game D at the first, did also winne it at the second time: and others that were victours before, were this second time overcome. Whereupon *Agessilau* sayd, that the ARGIVES shewed them selues rancke cowardes, that esteeming so much (as they did) these playes and sacrifices, they durst not once offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For him selfe, touching such like sportes and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, & not to be too curious. For he was contented to honor such solemne assemblies and common feastes with his presence, as were commonly vsed in SPARTA, & tooke great pleasure to see the sportes betwene the yong boyes and girles of SPARTA: howbeit touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that *Callipides* an excellent stage player (wonderfully esteemed of among the GRECIANS for a singular man in that arte) E meeting *Agessilau* on a time, at the first did his dutie to him, and then arrogantly thrust him selfe amonge them that walked with him, thinking the king would haue made much of him: but perceiuing he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him: O king *Agessilau*, doe you not know me? *Agessilau* looking upon him, answered: what, art not thou *Callipides* the stage player? And so made no further account of him. An other time beinge desired to heare a man that naturally counterfeited the nightingalls voyce: he would not heare him, saying, I haue oftentimes heard the nightingall it selfe. An other time also when *Menecrates* the Phisitian (hauing by good fortune cured a desperate disease) called him selfe *Jupiter*, and arrogantly vsurped that name, presuminge in a letter he wrote vnto *Agessilau*, to subscribe it in this manner, *Menecrates Jupiter*, vnto king *Agessilau*, greeting: *Agessilau* wrote againe vnto him, *Agessilau* vnto *Menecrates** health. So, whilst *Agessilau* was in the territorie of CORINTHE (where he had taken the temple of *Iuno*) beholding his souldiers forraging & spoiling the

A the contrie rounde about: Ambassadors came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he that alwayes hated the THEBANS, and besides that thought it then very requisite for the good successe of his doings, to make light of it: seemed as he neither heard nor saw them that spake vnto him. But euen at that very instant, as by diuine reuenge to crie quittance, there fell a great mishap vpon him. For before the Ambassadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bandes called the mothers, were slaine euery man by *Iphicrates*: which was the greatest losse that they in long time before had sustained. For they lost a great number of valliant souldiers, all naturall LACEDÆMONIANS: who being well armed euery man, were slaine by naked or light armed hirclinges. Thereupon *Agessilau* went straight into the field with hope to saue them, or at the least to be reuenged. But B receiuing certaine intelligence by the way that they were all slaine, he returned againe to the temple of *Iuno* from whence he came, and then sent for the Ambassadors of the BOEOTIANS, to geue them audience. But they, to requite his former disdain vnto them, made no manner of speache of peace, but onely requested him to suffer them to enter into CORINTHE. *Agessilau* beinge offended, answered them: if it be to see your frendes triumphe of their victorie, ye may safely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambassadors with him, he destroyed the CORINTHIANS contrie, euen to the wallies of their citie. And when he had made the Ambassadors see, that the citizens of CORINTHE durst not come out into the field to defend their contrie: he gaue them leaue to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowen, which by flight had escaped: he brought them into LACEDÆMON againe, alwayes removing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, because the ARCADIANs (their mortall enemies) should not reioyce at their losse. After this voyage, to gratifie the ACHAIANs, he entred in with them into the contrie of A CARBANTIA, & brought great spoyles from thence, after he had ouercome them in batell. Moreover, when the ACHAIANs besought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from sowing of their grownd: he made them answer he would not. For, sayde he, they will be afraide of warre the next year, when all their fieldes shall be sowne with corne: and so in deede it came to passe. For the army returning againe, they made peace incontinently with the ACHAIANs. About that time, *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, with the king of PERSIAES army, being Lordes of the sea without let of any, destroyed and spoyled all the coast of LACONIA. Moreover, the city D of ATHENS did reare vp her walls againe by helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS thought good to make peace with the king of PERSIA, and to that ende sent *Antalcidas* Ambasadour vnto *Tiribazus*, most shamefully and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRECIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whose libertie *Agessilau* had made warres with him before. So it was *Agessilau* hadde not to be foyled with any part of his shame: for *Antalcidas* that was his enemy, fought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he saw warre did daily increase the authoritie, honor, and fame of *Agessilau*. Notwithstanding, he answered one then, that reproued him for that the LACEDÆMONIANS did fauor the MEDES: no, sayd he, they do not so, but the MEDES doe play the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheles, threatening warre to all the GRECIANS, which would not agree E to the condicions of this peace: he compelled them to yield vnto that the king of PERSIA liked. But surely he did this chiefly for respect of the THEBANS, to thende that they beinge enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to set the contrie of BOEOTIA at libertie againe, should be so much the weaker. This plainly appeared soone after by that that followed. For *Phobidas* hauing committed a fowle acte, in open peace to take the castell of the citie of THEBES, called *Cadmea*, offending thereby all the other GRECIANS (and the SPARTANS them selues also not being very well pleased withall, and those specially which were *Agessilau* enemies) *Phobidas* beinge asked in great anger, at whose commandement he had done that sodaine enterprife: to lay all the supsition of the acte upon him: *Agessilau* for *Phobidas* discharge, letted not openly to say, that the qualitie of the acte was to be considered of, whether it were profitable for F the common wealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing fallinge out profitable for his contrie to do it of his owne head without commandement. All this notwithstanding, he was wont to say in priuate talke, that iustice was the chieftest of all vertues, and therefore

Agessilau o-
uercome the
ACHAIANS.

Antalcidas
peace.

Phobidas pos-
sessed the ca-
stell of *Cadmea*.

Agessilau
proue of in-
justice.

that valiantnes without iustice was of no validity, and that if all men were iust, valiantnes were of no estimation. And to them that tolde him, the great king will haue it so: Why, sayd he, and wherein is he better then my selfe, if he be not iust? Iudging very wisely therein, that they should esteeme a king (whether he were of great or small power) by his iustice, as by the beame of princely balance. When peace was concluded, the king of PERSIA hauing sent him a priuate letter desiring his frendshippe, *Agessilau* refused it, saying that common frendshippe was enough betwext them, and that they should neede none other, so long as that was kept. But this notwithstanding, when it came to the poynt of performance, he went from his first good opinion, and gaue place to his will & ambition, specially against the THEBANS, at that time when he did not only saue *Phabidas*, but also procured the citie of SPARTA to take the fault upon them which he had committed, and to iustifie it, by keeping the castell of Cadmea still, and making *Archias* and *Leontidas* Gouvernours of the citie of THEBES, by whom *Phabidas* came by the castell of Cadmea, and possessed it. Thereupon euery man thought straight, that *Phabidas* was he that had put the matter in execution, & that *Agessilau* gaue the counsell to do it: as things falling out afterwarde, did manifestly proue the suspicion true. For, after that the THEBANS had driuen the garrison of the LACEDEMONIANS out of the castell of Cadmea, and restored their citie againe to libertie, burdening them that they had traiterously slaine *Archias* and *Leontidas* (who in deede were tyrannes, though in name Gouvernors) he made warre with them: and *Cleombrotus*, reigning then king with him after *Agessilau*'s death, was sent before into BOEOTIA with an armie, *Agessilau* was dispensed with by lawe for going any more to the warres, by reason of his age, for that he was fortie yeare olde from the first C growth of heare on his face, & therefore went not that iorney: being ashamed that the THEBANS should now see him fight to reuenge the tyrans deathes, who had but a litle before taken armes for the banished men, against the PHILISTIANS. At that time there was a LACONIAN called *Sphodrias*, of the contrarie faction vnto *Agessilau*, and was then Gouverneur in the citie of THEBES, a valliant and stout man of his handes, but euer fuller of vaine hope, than of good iudgement. He desiring fame, and supposing that *Phabidas* came to dignitie and great estimation through his valliant enterprise at THEBES: perswaded him selfe that he should winne much more honor, if of him selfe he tooke the haue of Piræa doainly stealing upon the ATHENIANS by land, cutting them off by that meane from al trade by sea. It was thought commonly that this was a practise deuised by *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, Gouvernours of BOEOTIA, who had allured certaine men to faime them selues very deuout and frendly to the LACEDEMONIANS. These men praising and extolling *Sphodrias* to his face, put him in the head that they knew none so worthe as him selfe alone, to take in hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their perswasions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vilenes was nothing inferior vnto that trecherous winning of the castell Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with lesse hardines and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of Thirasiu, where he made account to haue bene at the walles of Piræa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him seeing certaine fires from the temples of the city of ELEVSIN, were all affrayed and amazed: yea he him selfe also fainted perceiving he was discouered, and so returned backe with shame and dishonor to the citie of THEBES, without any exployt done, sauing only a litle spoyle taken. Thereupon accusers were straight sent from ATHENS vnto SPARTA, who upon their arruall found that they needed not to accuse him, for that the counsell and Gouvernours of the citie had already sent for him to come vnto them, to condemne him of his treason. But he durst not returne to SPARTA, fearing the furie of his contriemen, thinking in deede that they would seeme as though the wrong had bene done to them, because it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This *Sphodrias* had a sonne called *Cleonymus*, a very fayer boy, with whome *Archidamus* (*Agessilau*'s sonne) was farre in loue: who then was maruelous sorie to see this boy he loued, in so great daunger to lose his father, & yet durst not be seene to helpe him, because *Sphodrias* was one of *Agessilau*'s aduersaries. Notwithstanding, *Cleonymus* making his mone to him with the teares in F his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father *Agessilau* (whome they feared about all men else) *Archidamus* followed his father three or foure dayes together, and durst not breake the

matter

A matter to him: in fine, the day of the next session being at hand, when iudgement should be giuen of *Sphodrias*, he boldly ventured to tell him, howe that *Cleonymus* had prayed him to be an humble suitor to him touching his fathers fact. *Agessilau* vnderstanding that his sonne loued *Cleonymus*, would not withdrawe him from louing of him, because the boye was from his childehoode gaue alwayes good hope that one day he would see him make as honest a man as any other whatsoeuer: neither made he any countenance to his sonne, as though he would doe any thing at his sute, but onely answered him, for that, he would doe as became him in such a case. Whereupon, *Archidamus* being baflesall, left comming any more to *Cleonymus*, where before he would see him oftentimes in a day. This made *Sphodrias* frendes dispaire of his life more then before, vntill *Etymoetes*, one of *Agessilau*'s familiars talking with them, tolde them that for the facte it selfe, *Agessilau* thought it a shamefull deede, and as much disliked it as might be: but for *Sphodrias* selfe, that he tooke him for a valliant man, & saw that the common wealth had neede of men of such seruice. This was *Agessilau*'s common talke to please his sonne, when any man came to speake to him of *Sphodrias*'s accusation. Incomuch that *Cleonymus* found straight that *Archidamus* had delt as faithfully and frendly for him as might be, and then *Sphodrias* frendes also tooke hart againe vnto them, to sollicite his cause, and to be earnest suiters for him. *Agessilau* among other had this speciall propertie, that he loued his children deely: and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his house when they were litle ones, and ride upon a litle cocke horse, or a reede, as a horsebacke. Incomuch as a frende of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children: he prayed him to say C nothing, till he had litle children him selfe. In fine, *Sphodrias* was quit by his iudges. The ATHENIANS vnderstanding it, sent to proclaime warre with the LACEDEMONIANS. Whereupon *Agessilau* was much reprobued, because that to please the sonde affection of his sonne, he had hindered iustice, & brought his citie to be accused among the GRECIANS for such grieuous crimes. *Agessilau* perceiving that king *Cleombrotus* his companion went with no verie good will to make warre with the THEBANS, he breaking the order set downe for leading of the army, which was kept before, went to the warres him selfe in person, & so inuading BOEOTIA he both receiued and did great hurt. Whereupon *Antalcidas* seeing him hurt one day, now truly (sayd he) the THEBANS haue payde you your deserued hier, for teaching them against their wills to be souldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For in dede they say the THEBANS became better souldiers and warriours than they were before, being daily trained and exercised in armes, through the continual inuasions of the LACEDEMONIANS. Loe, this was the reason, why the olde father *Lycurgus* in his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make warre too oft with one selfe people, because that by compulsion they should not be made expert souldiers. For this cause did the confederats of LACEDEMON hate *Agessilau*, saying, that it was not for any known offence to the state, but for very spite & priuate malice of his owne, that he sought to vndoe the THEBANS in this manner: and that to follow his humor, they consumed them selues going yearly to the warres one while this way, an other while that way, without any necessitie at all, following a few LACEDEMONIANS, them selues being alwayes the greater number. Then it was, that *Agessilau* desiring to make the fee what number of men E of warre they were, vsed this deuise. On a time he commaunded all the allies to sit downe together one with an other by them selues, & the LACEDEMONIANS also by them selues. Then he made a herauld proclaime that all pottemakers should stand vp on their feete. When they were vp, he made him crie to the brasiers to rise also. After them in like maner, the carpenters: then the masons, & so consequently all occupations one after an other. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamacion, were all in maner on their feete. The LACEDEMONIANS, not one of them rose: because all base mechanicall crafteres were forbidden them to occupie. Then *Agessilau* laughing at them, loe, my frendes sayd he: doe ye not see now that webring more souldiers to the field, than ye doe? At his returne from this iorney of THEBES, passing by the city of MEGARA, as he went vp into the counsell house within the castell, there F doainly tooke him a great crampe in his left legge, that swelled extremely, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the vaine: a Phisitian of SYRACUSA IN SICILE being there, straight opened a vaine vnder the ankle of his foote, which

Howe *Sphodrias* was fared
frs death.

Agessilau
cuckering his
children too
much.

Agessilau hur-
ry into Boe-
tia.

Antalcidas
saymg.

Rhetra, of *Lycurgus*.

Agessilau sus-
taine deuise to
showe the
weaknes of
the allies.

Agessilau fell
suddenly sicke
of a danger-
ous disease.

Sphodrias
practise to
take the ha-
men of Piræa
at Athens.

Sphodrias ac-
cused of trea-
son.

*Epaminondas
the Theban,
sent Ambassa-
dor vnto La-
cedæmon.*

*The strife be-
tween Agesi-
lavus and Epa-
minondas for
the libertie of
Bœtia.*

*The Lacedæ-
monians/laire
at the battell
of Leuctres.
Cleombrotus
king of the
Lacedæmo-
nians/laire.
Cleonymus,
the sonne of
Sphodrias,
laire at king
Cleombrotus
foote.
Xenophon
saying.*

made the paine to cease: notwithstanding there came such abundance of blood, that they could not stanche it, so that he sounded off, & was in great daunger of present death. In fine, a way was found to stoppe it, and they caried him to LACEDÆMON, where he lay sicke a long time, so that he was past going to the warres any more. The SPARTANS in the meane time receiued great ouerthrowes both by sea and land, and among other, their greatest ouerthrow was at the battell of LEUCTRES, where the THEBANS ouercame and slue them in plaine battell. Then the GRÆCIANS were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereupon came Ambassadors from all the cities of GRÆCE, & met at LACEDÆMON to that end. One of these Deputies was *Epaminondas*, a notable learned man, and a famous Philosopher, but as yet vnskillfull in warres. He seeing how the other Ambassadors carried his uor with *Agessilavus*, only he of the rest kept his grauity to speake freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GRÆCE in general, declaring to them all, how warres did only increafe the greatnes & power of the citie of SPARTA, and contrarily did minish and decay all other cities and townes of GRÆCE: and for this cause, that he did counsell them all to conclude a good and perfit peace indifferently for all, to the ende it might continue the longer, when they were all alike. *Agessilavus* perceiuing then that all the GRÆCIANS present at the assemblie gaue him good eare, and was glad to heare him speake thus boldly of peace asked him openly, if he thought it mete and reasonable, that all BOEOTIA should be set cleare at libertie againe? *Epaminondas* presently & boldly againe asked him: if he thought it iust and requisite to set all LACONIA cleare againe at libertie? *Agessilavus* being offended therewith, stood vpon his seate, and commaunded him to aunswere plainly, whether they would set all BOEOTIA at libertie or not? *Epaminondas* replied vnto him with the selfe speache againe, and asked him whether they would set all LACONIA at liberty or not. That nettled *Agessilavus* so, that besides he was glad of such a cloke, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the THEBANS, he presently put the name of the THEBANS out of the bill of those, which should haue bene comprised within the league, and cried open warres apou them in the market place. For the rest, he licensed the other Deputies and Ambassadors of the people of GRÆCE to departe, with this conclusion: that they should louingly take order among the selues for the controuersies betwixt them, if they could peaceably agree together, and they that could not fall to such a greement, that then they should trie it by warres, for that it was a hard thing to take vp all quarells among them. King *Cleombrotus* by chance was at that time in the contrie of PHOCIDE with his armie, vnto whom the Ephori wrote that he should forthwith spoyle the THEBANS contrie: and therewith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fanisie to the iorney, and were loth to make warre with them, but yet durst not refuse to goe, nor disobey the LACEDÆMONIANS. And notwithstanding that there were many signes prelagging ill lucke, as we haue wrytten in the life of *Epaminondas*, and that *Prothous* LACONIAN was against the enterprise of this warre all that he could: *Agessilavus* would needes forward, hoping he had now found opportunity to be reuenged of the THEBANS, sith all GRÆCE besides was in peace and at libertie, them selues onely exempted from treatie of peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very thornes of time, that made it manifest enough that this warre was begonne in a geere, without any manner of reason. For the general peace amongst the GRÆCIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, and the LACEDÆMONIANS were ouercome at the battell of LEUCTRES the fifteene of Iune so as there was but twentie dayes between them. There were slaine a thousand LACEDÆMONIANS with their king *Cleombrotus*, and the choicest of the valliantest SPARTANS about him. Amongst them was also slaine that goodly young man *Cleonymus*, *Sphodrias* sonne, of whom we spake before: who hauing bene beaten downe thrise at the kings foote, three times got vp againe, but at the length was slaine, valliantly fighting against the THEBANS. This great ouerthrowe chaunting to the LACEDÆMONIANS vnlooked for, and withall so glorious a victorie vnto the THEBANS, as GRÆCIANS fighting with GRÆCIANS had neuer the like: the vanquished citie of SPARTA notwithstanding deserued no lesse honor and commendation for her fortitude and worthinesse, than did the victorious citie of THEBES. For as *Xenophon* wryteth, that as amongst good men euen in table talke, and in their sportes & mirth there falleth out

cuer

A euer some thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: euen so in like case, no lesse, but rather more, ought noble mens wordes to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in aduersitie as in prosperitie. At that time by chaunce there was a common feast day in the citie of SPARTA, which was full of straungers that came to see the daunfies & sportes of them that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arriued that brought the newes of the battell lost at LEUCTRES. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor straight ranne all about, that they were all vndone, and how they had lost the signorie and commaundement of ouer all GRÆCE would not suffer them for all this to breake of their daunfe in the Theater, nor the citie in any thing to change the forme of their feast, but sent vnto the parentes to euerie mans houle, to let them vnderstande the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they them selues remaining still in the Theater to see the daunfies & sportes continued, to iudge who caried the best games away. The next morning when euerie man knewe the number of them that were slaine, and of those also that were escaped: the parentes and frendes of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking cheerefully of the matter, and one of them embraced an other. On thother side, the parentes of them that scaped, kept their houfies with their wiues, as folke that mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houfies, for any matter of necessitie: ye should see him looke so heauily and sad, that he durst not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Besides all this, euen amongst the women there was greater difference. For the mothers of the that kept their sonnes which came from the battell, were sad and sorowfull, and spake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers of them that were slaine, went frendly to visite one an other, to reioyce together. Now when the people saw that their confederates beganne to forsake them, and did daily looke that *Epaminondas* glorying in his victorie, would inuade PELOPONNESVS: then they beganne to be prieked in conscience about the oracles of the goddes, thinking that this misfortune came to their citie, for that they had thrust out of the kingdome a man perfect in limmes, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the goddes to beware of that about all things. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valliantnes, and his authoritie was such thereby, that they did not onely vse him in warre, as their king and soueraine Capitaine: but in ciuill causes also wherein there rose any question, they euer vsed his counsell and aduise. As they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at SPARTA Trefantas, (being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houfies and of greatest power within the citie) least they should moue some flure or commotion among them. (For by lawe, they can beare no office in the common wealth. It is shame and reproche to geue them any wiues, and also to marrie any of theirs. Whosoeuer meeteth them may lawefully strike them, and they must abide it, and not geue them a word againe. They are compelled to weare poore tattered cloth gownes patched with cloth of diuers colours: and worst of all, to shau the one side of their beardes, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the daunger great to deale with them, to execute the lawe according to the infamie they deserued, specially then standing in neede of a great number of men of warre: they referred them selues altogether vnto *Agessilavus*, to take such order in it as he thought good. But *Agessilavus* then, without chauncing or altering any thing of the lawe, sayd in open assemblie at LACEDÆMON: that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this policie he kept the lawe inuiolate, and saued also the honor of those poore men: and withall, to put these youtnes againe in hart, being amazed with this feare, he led the armie into the contrie of ARCADIA, and would geue no battell, but onely tooke a small citie of the MANTINIANS, and foraged the contrie. This againe did a little reuiue the citie of SPARTA with some hope, to make that it should not vterly dispaire. But shortly after, *Epaminondas* inuaded the contrie of LACONIA, with fortie thousand foote men well armed, besides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the spoyle: so that in all, there were about three score and fenne thousand fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was well nere fixe hundred yeares sith the DORIANS possessed LACEDÆMON, and in all that time till then they neuer saw enemies in their contrie that durst inuade them: but then they sacked & burnt

*The conflict
and fortitude
of the Spar-
tans.*

*The fortitude
of the Spartan
women.*

*Trefantas be-
cowerds, or
faine harred
men.*

*Punishments
at Sparta, for
cowerdsly be-
hauour.*

*Epaminondas
inuaides La-
conia with
three score &
ten thousand
men.*

Certaine witty
answers.

Conspiracies
at Lacedæ-
mon under
Agessilau,
Isthemus the
temple of
Diana.

A fine device
to appeasende
the traitors.

all that came in their way, euen vnto the riuert of Eurotas, and hard adioyning vnto SPARTA, and no man durst come out to resist them. For *Agessilau* (as *Theopompus* wryteth) would not suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to goe out to fight against such a tempest and furie of warre, but hauing fortified the middest of the citie, and garded euery end of the streetes with souldiers, he patiently bare all the bragges and threats of the THEBANS, which challenged him out to fight, and bad him come into the feld to defende his contrie, that onely was the cause of all these their calamities, hauing him selfe procured this warre. If this went to *Agessilau* hart, no lesse grievous were these troubles to him that rose within the citie. As the cries and runninge toe and froe of the old men, which were mad to see that they did before their eyes: and of old women also, which no ground nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe, as straught out their wittes, to heare the noife the enemies made, and to see the fire which they raised all the fildes ouer. Much more sorowefull also did this make him, when as he bethought him selfe, that entring into his kingdom at such time as the citie of SPARTA was in the greatest prosperitie that euer it was, he now saw his honor eclipsed, and the glorie of his kingdom ouerthrowen: and the rather, for that him selfe had often auaunted, that LACONIAN women had neuer seene the smoke of any enemies campe. And as they say of *Antalcidas* one day, that he auersified an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valliantnesse of one an others nation, alleaging for him selfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driuen the LACEDÆMONIANS from the riuert of Cephesus. It is true, said the LACONIAN: but we did neuer driue you from the riuert of Eurotas. The like aunswere made a meane man of SPARTA, to one of the ARGIVES that cast him in the teeth, there are diuers of your LACONIANS buried in the contrie of ARGOLIDE: so are there none of yours, sayd he, buried in LACONIA. It is reported, that *Antalcidas* being one of the Ephori at that time, did secretly sende his children into the Ile of CITHERA, fearing least the citie of SPARTA should be taken. *Agessilau* perceiving that the enemies forced to passe ouer the riuert, to enter the citie: he stooode to defende the middle parte of the citie, being the hiest place of the fame, and there had his men sette in order of battell. Now at that time, by chance the riuert of Eurotas was swelled greater then of ordinarie, by reason of the snowe waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the THEBANS with the coldnes, then roughnes of the same, in passing it ouer. Some shewing *Agessilau* how *Epaminondas* marched formeist before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer of him, saying neuer a word but this onely: O, what a noble fellowe is that? *Epaminondas* hauing done all that he could possible to geue the LACEDÆMONIANS battell, euen within the citie, selfe of SPARTA, that he might there haue set vp some tokens of triumphe, he could neuer intise *Agessilau* to come out of his forte: wherefore he was driuen in the ende to departe thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the contrie. There fell out a conspiracie of two hundred men in SPARTA, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that quarter of the citie where the temple of *Diana* stooode, called *Issorium*, a place of strong situation, and ill to distresse. Hereuppon the LACEDÆMONIANS in furie would straight haue set upon them. But *Agessilau* fearing great mutinie and sturre upon it: commaunded that no man should sturre: and him selfe vnarmed, in a poore gowne went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye haue not obeyed my commaundement. This is not the place I appointed you to assemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to disperse your selues, some one way, some another way, shewing them the quarters of the citie. The traitors hearing these wordes, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not betraied: and so leauing that strength, went into those partes of the citie that he had shewed them. *Agessilau* then bringinge others thither, possessed the forte of *Issorium*, and tooke fiftene of those conspiratours, and put them to death the next night followinge. Howbeit then there brake out an other conspiracie farre greater than the first, of the SPARTANS them selues which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sodaine sturre and garboyle, and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard: on thother side to neglect it, the conspiracie was ouer dangerous. *Agessilau* hauing consulted with the Ephori, did put them all to death, without any iudgement of lawe, neuer SPARTANS before them suffering death, without due order of law. Again, whereas diuers of their neighbours, & of the *Mores* them selues, (whom

The depence
of the The-
bans out of
Laconia.

Agessilau sa-
ued the citie
of Sparta.

The reuelless
battell of
Archidamus, o-
uercoming
the Arcad-
ians. The Lacedæ-
monians were
not wont to re-
sist much as
any victor.

Mistaken
forced againe
by *Epaminon-
das*.

A (whom they had billed in their bandes for souldiers) stole away, and ranne to their enemies, which did much discourage them that remained: he warned his men that they should euerie day goe to their couches where they lay, and that they shoulde take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, bicause they should not knowe the names of them that were fled in this forte. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, some say that they went out of LACONIA by reason of the winter that came on, whereuppon the ARCADIANS discharged their bandes, and euerie one departed his way in disorder. Others also holde opinion, that they continued there three monethes together, during which time they destroyed the most parte of the contrie. *Theopompus* wryteth notwithstanding, that the Captaines of the THEBANS hauing determined to departe, there came one *Phrixus* a SPARTAN vnto them, sent from *Agessilau*, who brought them tenne talents that they should departe out of their contrie. Thus had they money geuen them to defraye their charges homewards, to doe that, which they them selues had long before determined to haue done. And yet doe I wonder, howe it is possible that all other hiltoriographers knewe nothing of this, and that *Theopompus* onely could tell of it. All doe acknowledge truly, that *Agessilau* onely was the cause that the citie of SPARTA was faued: who leauing his ambition and selfe will, being passions borne with him, did wisely foresee their safetie. Neuerthelesse, after this great ouerthrowe, he could neuer raise SPARTA againe to her former greatnesse. For like as a whole bodie, which hauing acquainted it selfe continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfeit presently, and so putteth all in danger: euen so *Lycurgus* hauing framed a perfect state of government in the common wealth of SPARTA, to make her citizens liue in peace and amitie together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdoms and realmes, the which the good lawemaker thought vnmeet to continue happie life: they were straight ouerthrowen and all went to wracke. By this time *Agessilau* was grown olde, and could no more goe to the warres for verie age: but his sonne *Archidamus*, with the aide which *Dionysius* the tyranne of SYRACUSA sent vnto them, wanne a battell against the ARCADIANS, called the tearelesse battell: for there dyed not one of his men, and they lue a great number of their enemies. This victorie plainely shewed the great weakenesse and decate of the citie of SPARTA. For in former times it was so common a thing vnto them to overcome their enemies in battell, that they did sacrifice nothinge else to the goddess in token of thanks, within the citie, but a poore cocke: and they that had fought the battell made no boast of it: neither did they that had the newes reioice greatly at it. For when they had wonne that great battell at the citie of MANTINEA, which *Thucydides* describeth: the Ephori onely sent the messenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they vnderstoode *Archidamus* came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the citie, but the father him selfe went first of all to meete him, with the teares in his eyes for it, and after him all the other Magistrates and officers of the citie, and a swarme of old folke both men & women came downe to the riuers side, holding vp their hands to heauen, & thanking the goddess, as if their citie had redeemed and recovered her shame and lost honor, and beganne nowe to rise againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, some say, that the husbandes durst not boldly looke their wiues in the faces, they were so aithamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the citie of MESSINA being by *Epaminondas* reedified and replenished with people, he called home againe out of all partes, the naturall inhabitants of the same. The SPARTANS durst not fight with him (not to hinder his purpose) though it spighted them to the hartes, and were angrie with *Agessilau*, for that in his raighe they had lost all that territory, which was as great as all LACONIA selfe, and that for goodnesse and fertilitie compared with the best partes of all GRECE, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And this was the cause why *Agessilau* would not agree to the peace, which the THEBANS sent to offer him: and all bicause he would not relinquish that in wordes, which the enemies kept in deedes. Therefore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without recovering the thing he looked for, but had in manner also lost the citie of SPARTA by a warlike stratageame, in the which he was decieued. For the MANTINIANS being newly reuolted againe from the alliance of the THEBANS, and hauing sent for the LACEDÆMONIANS: *Epa-*

*Epaminondas
second journey
vnto Sparta.*

*Agefilaw re-
pulsed Epami-
nondas from
Lacedæmon.*

*The surprisall
of Archidamus.*

*The valiantie
of Iphidas
a Spartan.*

*Iphidas reward-
ed for con-
stit.*

*The death of
Epaminondas.*

*Macheria-
nus, why so
called.*

*Agefilaw
greedy of
warre.*

Epaminondas receiving intelligence that *Agefilaw* was departed from *SPARTA* with all his po-
wer to aide the *MANTINIANS*, & marched away secretly by night from *TEGÆA*, without the
priuite of the *MANTINIANS*, and went straight to *SPARTA*, the which he had almost surpris-
ed on the sodayne (going another way then *Agefilaw* came,) being in manner without men
to defende it. Howbeit a *THESPIAN* called *Euthymus*, as *Callisthenes* sayth, (or as *Xenophon*
wryeth, a *CRETAN*), brought *Agefilaw* newes of it: who dispatched a horseman straight
to aduertise them of the cite of *SPARTA*, and marching forward him selfe to returne, stayed
not longe after before he arrived. He was no sooner come, but incontinently also came the
THEBANS, who passing over the river of *Eurotas*, gaue assault to the city. Then *Agefilaw* per-
ceiuing that there was no more place nor time of securitie as before, but rather of depreda-
tion and courage: he valiantly defended it more then an olde mans yeares could beare. Thus,
through corage and desperate minde, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did
euervise it, he put by the danger, and saved the cite of *SPARTA* from *Epaminondas*
handes, setting vp markes of triumphe for repulsing of the enemies, and making the women
and children of *SPARTA* to see the *LACEDÆMONIANS* how honorable they rewarded their
nurse and contrie for their good education: but *Archidamus* chiefly of all other, fought
wonderfully that day, running into euerie parte of the cite, with a fewe about him, to re-
puls the enemies wheresoeuer the danger was greatest. It is sayd also that at that time there
was one *Iphidas* the sonne of *Phæbidæ*, that did maruelous straunge thinges to beholde, both
in the face of his enemies, as also in the fight of his frendes. He was of goodly personage,
and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being stark naked, and vnarmed, his bodie
noynted with oyle, hauing in one hande a borestaffe, and in the other a sword, in this ma-
ner he went out of his house, and ranne amongst them that fought, killinge and ouerthro-
wing his enemies that withstoode him, and was not once hurt, either for that the goddes pre-
ferred him for his manhoods sake, or else bicause men thought him more then a man. The
Ephor immediately gaue him a crowne, in honor and reward of his valiantnesse: but withall
they set a fine on his head to pay a thousand silver Drachmas for his rash attempt, to hazard
him selfe in battell, vnarmed for defense. Shortly after they fought an other great battell be-
fore the cite of *MANTINEA*. There *Epaminondas* hauing ouerthrowen the first rankes of the
LACEDÆMONIANS, and coragiously distressing the rest, valiantly following the chase: there
was one *Anticrates* a *LACONIAN*, who receiuing him (as *Diofcorides* writeth) slue him with his
borestaffe. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* to this day notwithstanding, doe call the offspring of this
Anticrates, *Macheriones*: as much to say, as swordmen, as though he had slaine him with a
sword. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* did esteeme this *Anticrates* so much, for that deadly stroke he
gaue (bicause they were afrayed of *Epaminondas* while he liued) that they gaue him that slue
him, great honors & dignities, and discharged all his offspring & kinned from payment of sub-
sidie and common contributions, which priuledge one *Callistates*, a kinsman of this *Anticrates*,
enjoyed euen in our time. After this battell and death of *Epaminondas*, the *GRÆCIANS*
hauing taken peace generally amongst them, *Agefilaw* would needs exclude the *MESSENIANS*
from being sworn to this peace, saying: that they neede not sweare, bicause they had
no city. Now, forasmuch as all the *GRÆCIANS* did receiue them as amongst the number, &
& tooke their othe vnto this peace: the *LACEDÆMONIANS* brake of from this general peace,
and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recouer the *MESSENIANS* contrie, and all
through the allurement of *Agefilaw*, who for this cause was thought of the *GRÆCIANS* a
cruell and vnstable man for warres, to deale so craftily, and all to breake this generall league.
Again, he brought him selfe in discredit with all men, beinge compelled to make his cite
bare of money, borrowing of them still, and raising sundrie contributions amongst them:
wheras in deede it had bene his best way to haue ended all those miseries, hauing so hap-
pie an occasion offered at that time, & not to haue lost so great an Empire of so many townes
and cities, both by sea and lande, and all to plague his contrie, to winne the lande and riches
of the *MESSENIANS*. But yet was this most shame vnto him of all other, when he gaue him
selfe vnto one *Tachos*, a Captaine of the *EGYPTIANS*, euerie man thinking it a shamefull parte
of him, that such a personage as he (reputed the chiefe man of all the *GRÆCIANS*, and the
which

A which had filled the worlde with reporte of his fame and glorie) should for money let out his
person to hyre, and the glorie of his name, vnto a barbarous person, a traitor and rebell to his
kinge and maister, to become a mercenary Captaine and souldier to doe him seruice. And
moreouer, he being now foure score yeares of age and vpwardes, his bodie all mangled with
woundes, though he had vnderaken this honorable charge for the recouerie of the libertie
of the *GRÆCIANS*, yet had his ambition deserued some blame: for noble actes haue their
time, yea rather the good and ill doe nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocri-
ty. But *Agefilaw* had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in seruice, spe-
cially for benefite of the common wealth, but perswaded him selfe that it was a dishonor to
him to lye idle in a cite and doe nothing, till death should come and make his summones:
thereupon therefore he leuied men of warre through all *GRÆCE* with the money *Tachos* sent
vnto him, and with them tooke sea; hauing thirtie *SPARTANS* counsellors and assistants to
him, as he had in his first iorney. Now *Agefilaw* being arrived in *EGYPT*, all the chiefe Cap-
taines and Gouernours of king *Tachos* came to the sea shore, and honorable receiued him:
and not they only, but infinite numbers of *EGYPTIANS* of all sortes (that were maruelous de-
sirous of him, for the great fame that went abroad of *Agefilaw*) came thither from all partes
to see what manner of man he was. But when they saue no stately trayne about him, but an
olde graybeard layed on the grasse by the sea side, a litle man that looked fimplic of the mar-
ter, and but meanely apparelled in an ill fauored three bare gowne: they fell a laughing at
him, remembering the merie tale, that the mountaines should bring forth, and was deliuered
of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered when they saue men bring him presentes to wel-
come him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geese, and such grosse thinges: and refused
all confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things
to him, to geue them to the *LOTES* his slaues, *Theophrastus* wryeth, that he delighted mar-
uelously in the rushe Papyrus, and liked the garlandes they made of them, for their finenesse
and the handsonnesse, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Ha-
uing spoken at that time with *Tachos*, who was assembling his armie to goe on his iorney: he
was not made chiefeaine generall, as he looked he should haue bene, but was appointed on-
ly Colonell of all the straungers, *Chabrias* Generall of all the armie by sea, and the chiefe of
all the rest was *Tachos* him selfe in person. This at the first grieved *Agefilaw* to the hart, be-
ing driuen whether he would or not, to beare with the vanitie and pride of this *EGYPTIAN*.
So he layed with him into *PHENICE*, against the *PHENICIANS*, imbasing him selfe against
his noble disposition and minde, and gaue him place, vntill he saw time of reuenge. It chaun-
ced that one *Nestanebos* a nephewe of this *Tachos*, hauing the leading of parte of this armie,
rebelled against him, and being chosen king by the *EGYPTIANS*, he sent vnto *Agefilaw*, and
prayed him to come and take his parte. The like he did also vnto *Chabrias*, and prayed him
to ioyne with him, promising great rewardes vnto them both. *Tachos* vnderstanding that, be-
sought them both that they would not forsake him. *Chabrias* for his parte allowed likewise to
intreate *Agefilaw*, and perswade him what he coule, to continue frendshippe with *Tachos*.
Agefilaw answered him, for thee, *Chabrias*, thou comest of thine owne good will; and there-
fore mayest doe what thou thinkest good: but so is it not with me. For I am sent hither a
Captaine by my contrie, to serue the *EGYPTIANS*, and therefore it were no honestie for me
to make warre with them, whome I am sent to serue and aide: were it not that they them
selues which sent me, doe nowe commaunde me the contrary: This answer being made,
he sent certaine of his men to *SPARTA* to accuse *Tachos*, and to commend *Nestanebos*.
Both they also for their partes sent to intreate the counsell of *LACEDÆMONIANS*: the one as be-
ing alwayes their frende and confederate, and the other promising to be their faithfull frende
thenceforth. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* hauing heard the requestes of both, answered them
openly, that *Agefilaw* shoulde consider of this matter: and wrote secretlie to him, that he
should doe what he thought best for the common wealth of *SPARTA*. So *Agefilaw* taking
F with him the mercenary souldiers which he had brought out of *GRÆCE*, went vnto *Nestanebos*,
cloking his departure, that it was for the benefite of his contrie, to bewray a wicked
thing: but in deede taking away the vildard to benefit his contrie, they might by a better name

*Agefilaw de-
rided of the
Egyptians.*

*Agefilaw de-
rided of dain-
ty thinges.*

*Agefilaw for-
sakes Ta-
chos, & goeth
vnto Nestanebos.*

In whom stratagemes take most effect.

The first game of Agesilavus against the Egyptians.

rightly haue rearmed it treason. Howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS placing the chiefeſt point of honor, to conſiſt in the benefit of their contrie: did acknowledge nothing to be iuſtice, but that which they thought might ſerue for the aduancement of the glorie of SPARTA. Tachos ſeeing him ſelfe forſaken thus by his mercenarie ſtraungers, fled. But nowe on the other ſide, there roſe another Kinge in the cite of MENDES, againſt this Neſtanebos, who hauing leauied to the number of a hundred thouſande fightinge men, came to fight with Neſtanebos. But he thinking to encourage Agesilavus, tolde him, that in deede they were a great number of men of all ſortes together, and ſpeciallie men of handie craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, becauſe they knewe not what warre ment. But Agesilavus answered him againe: it is not their number that I feare, but their rudeneſſe and vaſkillfullneſſe, which is hardeſt of all to deceiue. For warlike ſtratagames doe moſt preuaile againſt men that haue greateſt feare and experience: and therefore they foreſee one thing rather then an other. But men of no iudgement nor experience, neither feare daunger, nor haue forecaſt, and therefore doe geue him no more aduantage that ſecketh to deceiue them, then the wraſtler by ſlight is able to ouerthrowe him, whome he can not ſturre nor remoue. Afterwardes the MENDESIAN king him ſelfe ſent vnto Agesilavus, to winne him if he could. Neſtanebos then beganne to be affrayed. For when Agesilavus counſelled him to trye it by battell as ſoone as he could, and not to prolonge this warre againſt ignorant men that had no ſkill to fight, but yet for their ouermultitude, might intreche him rounde about, and preuent him in diuers thinges: then he beganne to feare and ſuſpect him more, and thereupon retyred into a great cite well walled about, and of great ſtrength. Agesilavus beinge offended that he miſtruſted him thus, tooke it inwardlie: but beinge aſhamed to turne againe vnto the third, and alſo to departe without any employe done, he followed him, and encloſed him ſelfe within thoſe walles. The enemies purſuinge him hard, came vnto the cite, and beganne to entreche it rounde, to keepe him in. Then the EGYPTIAN Neſtanebos ſeeing a longe ſiege, determined to geue them battell. Thereto the hyered GRECIANS gaue conſent, as deſiringe no better matche, and the rather alſo for that there was but ſmall ſtore of corne within the cite. But Agesilavus perſwadinge the contrarie, would in no wiſe conſent to it: whereupon the EGYPTIANS thought worſe of him then before, and plainly called him traytor to their kinge. Howbeit he did patientlie beare all their accuſations, expectinge time to performe an employe he intended, which was this. The enemies had cutt a deepe trenche without, to compaſſe them in. When this trenche drew neere to ende, and that both endes lacked not much of meetinge, tarryinge till night came on, he commaunded the GRECIANS to arme, and to put them ſelues in readineſſe: then he came vnto the EGYPTIAN, and ſayed vnto him. Loe here is an excellent occaſion preſented to ſaue thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I ſaw it brought to the perfeccion I looked for, fearing leaſt otherwiſe we ſhoulde haue loſt it. Nowe ſith the enemies them ſelues haue with their owne handes geuen vs the way to ſaue our ſelues by this trenche they haue caſt, the which as muche as is finiſhed thereof dothe hinder their great multitude to helpe them ſelues, and that which is yet left vniſhiſhed dothe geue vs oportunitie to fight with them of euen hande: determine to hewe thy valure, and followinge vs, ſaue thy ſelfe and thy people. For the enemies which we ſhall aſſaile before vs, ſhall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trenche which defendeth vs on our ſide, can no way hurte vs. Neſtanebos hearinge his wordes, wondered at his great wiſedome, and ſo thruſtinge inamonge the GRECIANS, did aſſaile the enemies: the which were ſoone ouerthrowen and put to flight, as many as durſt reſiſt, and make heade againſt them. Agesilavus hauinge wonne Neſtanebos againe to truſt him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with the like ſubtiltie wherewith he had firſt beguiled them, and which they knewe not howe to auoyde. For one while he made as though he fled, and inticed them to followe him: ſo dainely againe he woulde turne this waye and that waye. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a ſtraight fluce, walled about of either ſide, with great broad ditch ſull of runninge water: ſo that when they were euen in the miſt of it, he ſodainely ſtopped their paſſage with the fronte of his battell, which he caſt to the breadthe of the fluce,

and

A and thus made his number of fighting men equall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compaſſe him in behinde, nor flanke him on the ſides. They hauing in this ſorte made ſome ſmall reſiſtaunce, in the ende turned their backs and fled, and left a great number ſlaine in the field: the reſidue after that laſt ouerthrowe forooke their Captaines, and fled ſtraglingly here and there. Thus the affaires of this EGYPTIAN king after that time had good ſucceſſe, and was quietly ſtabliſhed in his kingdom, making much of Agesilavus: and doing him all honor poſſible, prayed him to tarry with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needes haſten home to his contrie, which was in warre with others, knowing that his cite of SPARTA was without money, becauſe they were driuen to geue pay vnto ſtraungers. Thereupon Neſtanebos in theſe tooke his leaue of him very honorably, preſenting him a gift (beſides all other honors he did him) of two hundred and thirſie ſiluer tallentes in readie money, to defraye the charges of the warre in his contrie. Howbeit the ſea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, hauing notwithstanding recovered land with his ſhippes in a deſert place of the coaſt of LYBIA, which was called the hauen of Menelaus, after he was foure ſcore & foure yeare old: of the which he had reigned one and forty yeares king of SPARTA, and thirty yeares thereof and more he was alwayes taken and reputed for the greateſt perſon, and in manner Chiefeſtaine generall of all GRECE, vntill the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing a cuſtome to burie the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their contrie, in the ſame place where they departed: (the bodies of their kinges excepted) the SPARTANS which were at that time about Agesilavus, annoynted his bodie with waxe for lacke of honny, and caried him home to SPARTA in this maner. His ſonne Archidamus ſucceeded him in the kingdom, whoſe iſſue ſucceſſiuely reigned continually after him, vnto the time of Agis (who was the ſiſt king in ſucceſſion after Agesilavus) whom in deede Leonidas put to death, becauſe he ſought to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS auncient diſcipline and forme of life.

The end of the life of Agesilavus.

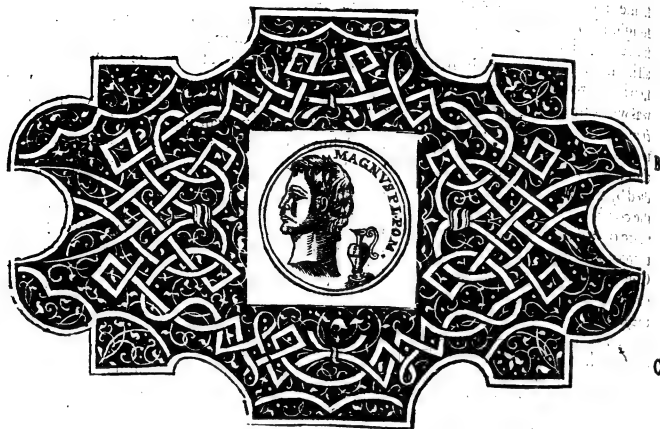
LLL iij

The liberating of king Neſtanebos vnto Agesilavus. The death of Agesilavus.

The raigene of Agesilavus.

Agesilavus being annoynted with waxe for lacke of honny.

THE LIFE OF Pompey.



The father of
Pompey ha-
teth in Rome.

Strabo, the fa-
ther of Pom-
pey.

The Love of
the Romanes
vnto Pom-
pey.

The fauour of
Pompey.

Flora the cur-
tisan loued
Pompey.

THE ROMANES seeme to haue loued Pompey from his childhoode, with the selfe affection that *Fromethem* in the tragedie of *Aeschylus* appeareth to haue borne vnto *Hercules*, after that he was deliuered by him when he sayd,

*So great a hate I bare not to the father,
But that I loue the sonne of him much rather.*

For the ROMANES neuer shewed more bitter hate against any other Captaine, than they did vnto *Strabo Pompeys* father. Truly so long as he liued, they feared his greatnesse obtained by armes, for in deede he was a noble Captaine: but being stricken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare whereon his bodie lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villannie. Contrariwise, neuer any other ROMANE (but Pompey) had the peoples earnest goodwilles so soone, nor that in prosperitie and aduersitie continued lenger constant, then vnto Pompey. One only cause procured the fathers hate, and that was: an vnstable and greedy desire of money. But Pompey his sonne, was for many occasions beloued. As, for temperance of life, aptnesse to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulness of word, and curtesie in conuersation: so that there was neuer man that requested any thing with lesse ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gaue without disdain, and tooke with great honor. Furthermore, being but a childe, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good willes before he spake: for his countenance was sweete, mixed with grauetie, & being come to mans state, there appeared in his iesture and behaviour, a grate & princely maiestie. His heare also stoode a litle vpright, and the cast and soft mouing of his eyes, had a certaine resemblance (as they sayd) of the statues and images of king *Alexander*. And because euerie man gaue him that name, he did not refuse it him selfe: in somuch as there were some which sportingwise did openly call him *Alexander*. Whereupon *Lucius Philippus* a Consul, was not ashamed to say openly in an oration he made in Pompeys fauor, that it was no maruell if he being *Philip*, did loue *Alexander*. It is reported also, that when *Flora* the curtisan waxed old, she much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which she had with Pompey beinge a young man: telling

A telling that after she had layen with him, she could not possiblie rise from him; but she must needs geue him some sweete quippe or pleasant taunte: She woulde tell also howe one of Pompeys familiars and companions called *Geminus*, fell in loue with her, and was a maruelous earnest suitor to obtaine her good will: and that she answered him flatly, she would not, for the loue she bare to Pompey. *Geminus* thereupon brake the matter to Pompey him selfe. Pompey desirous to pleasure him, graunted the request: howbeit *Geminus* after that, would not come neere *Flora*, nor speake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But *Flora* tooke this not curtisan like, for she was sicke a long time for very grieue of minde, and she thought she tooke vpon it. All this notwithstanding, it is sayd that this *Flora* had then such fame for her passing grace and beautie, that *Cecilius Metellus* sieting forth and beautifying the temple of *Cybus* and *Vollux*, with goodly tables and pictures: among the rest, he caused her picture to be liuely drawn for her excellent beawtie. Furthermore Pompey, against his nature, delt very hardly and vncurtisiously with the wife of *Demetrius*, his franchised bondeman (who while he liued was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thousand tallentes) fearing to be taken with her beautie which was verie singularie fayer, least he should be thought in loue with her. Now, though herein he seemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the worst yet could he not thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his wiues, he would let passe and winke at many things, that was against the profit of the common wealth? To proue his sober and temperate diet, and howe he was contented with common meates: a word (they say) he spake when he was verie sicke, and could tast no meate, is specially noted. For, to bring his stomake to him againe, his Phisitician willed him to eate a thrush. So seeking all about to get him one, there was no thrush to be bought for money, for they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not misse of them at *Lucullus* house, for he kept them vp all the yeare through. Why, what then, sayd he: if *Lucullus* ryot were not, should not Pompey liue? Therewithall, letting his Phisitians counsell alone, he made them dresse such meate as was euery where common. But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now Pompey being a young man, and in the felds with his father, that was in armes against *Cinna*: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called *Lucius Terentius*, who being bribed with money, had promised *Cinna* to kill him, and other confederators also had promised to set their Capitaines tent a fire. This conspiracy was reuealed vnto Pompey as he sat at supper, which nothing amated him at all, but he dranke freely, and was merrier with *Terentius* then of custome. So when it was bed time, he stole out of his owne tent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his safetie. *Terentius* thinkinge the howe come to attempt his enterprise, rose with his sword in his hande, and went to Pompeys bed where he was wont to lye, and gaue many a thrust into the matteresse. After he had done that, all the campe straight was in an vpror for the malice they bare vnto their Capitaine, and the souldiers in all hast would needes haue gone and yekled to their enemye, beginning already to ouerthrowe their tentes, and to trusse away bagge and baggage. The Capitaine for feare of this tumult, durst not come out of his tent: notwithstanding Pompey his sonne ranne amongst the mutinous souldiers, and humbly besought them with the teares in his eyes, not to doe their Capitaine this villanie, and in fine threwe him selfe flating to the grounde ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them marche ouer him, if they had such a desire to be gone. The souldiers being ashamed of their follie, returned againe to their lodginge, and changing minde, reconciled them selues with their Capitaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediately after that *Strabo Pompeys* father, was departed out of the worlde, Pompey beinge his heire, was accused for the father, to robbe the common treasure. Howbeit he confessed, and auowed, that it was *Alexander* one of his fathers franchised bondemen that had stolen the most parte of it, and brought him in before the Iudges. Notwithstanding, he was accused him selfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cordes of hunters nettes, and bookes, that were taken at *Asculum*. He confessed the hauing of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had lost them fence; when *Cinna* returned vnto Rome with his souldiers, who breaking into his house by force, spoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before determinate sen-

Flora the cur-
tisan, was pas-
sing fayre.

The tem-
ple of
Pompey in
Rome.

in Rome.

the treason
of *Lucius Ter-
entius* against
Pompey.

Pompey ac-
cused for rob-
bing the com-
mon treasure.

tence, in which time Pompey shewed him selfe of good spirit and vnderstanding, more than A was looked for in one of his yeares: in so much he wanne such fame and fauor by it, that *Antistius* being Prætor at that time, and iudge of his matter, fell into such a liking with him, that secretly he offered him his daughter in marriage. Then that matter being by friends broken to Pompey, he liked of the match, & the parties were secretly assured. This was not so closely conveyed, but the people perceived it, by the care and paines *Antistius* tooke to fauor his matter. In so much, when the Iudges gaue iudgement, and cleared him: all the people together, as if they had bene agreed, cried out with one voyce, *Talassio*, *Talassio*, being the vñall and common cry they vied of olde time at marriages in Rome. This custome by reporte of auncient folke came vp in this manner. At what time the chiefeſt peeres and Lordes of Rome didt with the *SABINES* daughters, which came to Rome to see common ſportes played: there chaunced a fewe rascalls (as hoggeherdes or neatherdes) to carie away a goodly fayre woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cried out in the ſtreets as they went, *Talassio*, as if they would haue ſayd, she is for *Talassio*. This *Talassio* was a young gentleman well known, and beloued of most men: so that such as heard him but named only, did clappe their hands for ioy, & cried out with them, *Talassio*, commending the choyce they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that euer ſince they haue cried this word *Talassio* vnto them that are newly married, because the marriage of that fayre young maid proued fortunate, and happy vnto *Talassio*. And this me thinkes foundeth noerest to the troth of that they reporte of this wedding cry of *Talassio*. Shortly after this iudgement geuen, Pompey married *Antistia*. After that, going vnto *Cinna*s campe, they wrongfully accused him for some what, whereupon he being afraied, secretly stole away. Now when they could not finde him in *Cinna*s campe, there ran straight a rumor abroad, that *Cinna* had put him to death. Thereupon, they that of long time had maliced *Cinna*, did set vpon him for this occasion. But he thinking to saue him selfe by flying, was straight ouertaken by a priuate Capitaine that followed him with his sworde drawn in his hande. *Cinna* seeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and tooke his seale from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. *Tulius*, sayd the Capitaine, I come not to seale any countenanc, but to chastise a villaine and cruell tyranne: and therewithall thrust his sworde thorow him, and slue him presently. *Cinna* being slaine in this sorte, *Carbo* succeeded him, and tooke the government in hande, being a more cruell tyranne than the first. Shortly after came in *Sylla*, D being wished for, and desired of the most parte of the *ROMANES*, for the grieuous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought them selues happy to chaunge Gouernour for their citie was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see Rome recover her lost libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now Pompey at that time was in a place of *ITALIE* called *PICENVM* (nowe the marches of *ANCONA*) where he had certaine inheritance, but much more, great loue and good will of the cities for his fathers sake. He seeing that the nobleſt men of Rome forooke their houses and goodes, to flie from all partes vnto *Sylla*s campe, as vnto a place of safetie: would not goe to him as a fugitive and cast away to saue him selfe, without bringing him some power to increase his armie, but would honorably goe thither with an armie, as he that ment first to doe him selfe pleasure. So he felt the good B will of the *PICENINES*, who willingly tooke his parte, and reiected them that were sent by *Carbo*. Among them there was one *Vindius*, that stepping forth, said: that Pompey which came from schoole the last day, must now in haft be a Capitaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hande. After that time, Pompey being but three and twentie yeare olde, tarying to receive no authoritie from any man, tooke it upon him himselfe, & causing a tribunal to be set vp in the midst of the market place of *AVXTIMVM*, a great populous city: he commaunded the two brethren called the *Venditians* (being the chiefeſt men of the citie, and they that for *Carbo*s sake withſtoode his doings) without delay forthwith to auoide the citie, and so beganne to leaue men, and to appoint Capitaines, sergeants of bandes, Centeniers, and such other officers as appertaine to martiall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that tooke parte with *Carbo*, fled euery man, and all the rest willingly yielded vnto him: whereby

The cause of the cry of *Talassio* at marriages in Rome.

Pompey married *Antistia*.

The death of *Cinna*.

Pompey's first Capitaineſhippe vnder *Sylla*.

Pompey was Chiefestaine of an army at 33. yeares of age. The citie of *Auximum*.

A whereby in shorte space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, carres, and all manner of beastes for cariage. In this sorte he tooke his iorney towards *Sylla*, not in haft, as a man affrayed to be met with by the way, but by small iorneyes, staying still where he might hurt his enemy, causing the cities euery where as he came to reuolt from *Carbo*. Neuerthelesse, three Capitaines of the contrary parte, *Cariina*, *Galina*, and *Brutus*, all three did sette apon Pompey together, not all in a fronte, nor of one ſide, but in three ſeueral places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to haue made him ſure at the first onſet. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting his force together in one place, he first marched against *Brutus*, hauing placed his horsemen (among the which he was him selfe in person) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemy which were *GAVLES*, B comming to geue charge apon him, he ranne one of the chiefeſt among them through with his lance, and slue him. The other *GAVLES* seeing him slaine, turned their backs, and brake their owne footemen: so that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Capitaines fell out among them selues, and some fled one way, some another way, the best they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were disperſed for feare: came all in to Pompey, and yielded them selues. Afterwards *Scipio* the Conſull comming against Pompey to fight with him, when both battells were in maner ready to ioyne: before they came to throwing of their darts, *Scipio*s fouldriers saluted Pompey's men, and went on their ſide. So *Scipio* was driuen to flie. And in fine, *Carbo* him selfe hauing ſent after him diuers troups of horsemen by the river of *Aris*: Pompey made towards them, and did so fiercely assault them, that he draue them into C ſuch places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon, they seeing no way to ſcape, yielded them selues, horse and armor, all to his mercie. *Sylla* all this while heard no newes of these ouerthrowes: wherefore, as loone as he vnderſtoode of it, fearing least Pompey should miscarrie, being enuironned with so many Capitaines of his enemies, he made haft to marche towards him for to aide him. Pompey vnderſtanding of his approche, commaunded his Capitaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their General might see them brauely appointed when he should present the vnto him: for he looked that *Sylla* would doe him great honor, & in deede he did him more honor, then Pompey looked for. For, when *Sylla* ſaw him a farre of comming towards him, and his armie marſhalled in so good order of battell, and such goodly men, that so brauely aduanced them selues, being coragious for the victorie they had obtained of their enemies: he lighted a foote. When Pompey also came to doe his duty to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as Emperour, or ſoueraigne Prince) *Sylla* reſaluted him with the ſelfe name, beyonde all mens expectation present, little thinking that he would haue geuen so honorable a name, vnto so young a man as Pompey, who had not yet bene Senator: conſidering that he him selfe did contende for that title and dignitie, with the faction of *Marius* and *Scipio*. Furthermore, the entertainment that *Sylla* gaue him euery way, was aunſwerable to his first kindnes offered him. For when Pompey came before him, he would riſe and put of his cappe to him, which he did not vnto many of their noble men about him. All this notwithstanding, Pompey gloried nothing the more in him selfe. Wherefore when *Sylla* would straight haue ſent him into *GAVLES*, because *Metellus* that E was there, was thought to haue done no exploye worſhe of so great an armie as he had with him: Pompey answered him againe, that he thought it no reaſon to diſplace an auncient Capitaine that was of greater fame and experience than him selfe. Yet if *Metellus* of him selfe were contented, and would intreate him: that he would willingly goe and helpe him to ende this warre. *Metellus* was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then Pompey entering *GAVLES*, did of him selfe wonderfull exployes, and did so reuiue *Metellus* olde corage and valiantnes to fight, which now beganne to faint, like boyling copper that being poored vpon the colde and hard copper, doth melt and diſſolue it, as fast or faster, then fire it ſelfe. For like as of a wrestler, who hath bene counted very strong, and the chiefeſt in all games, hauing euer borne the price away where he hath wrestled, they neuer recorde among them his childlike victories and wrestlings, as things of no account: euen so I am affrayed to ſpeake of the wonderfull deedes that Pompey did in his childhoode, because they are obſcured, in reſpect of the infinite great warres and battells which he had wonne afterwards. For I am affrayed that whi-

Pompey's first victory vnder *Sylla*.

Pompey's first victory vnder *Sylla*.

Pompey's first victory vnder *Sylla*.

Pompey called Imperator of *Sylla*.

The honor *Sylla* did vnto Pompey.

Pompey went to aide *Metellus* in *Gauls*.

Pompey's full victories of Pompey.

left I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly passe over his chiefest actes and most notable enterprises, which do best declare his naturall disposition and singular wit. Now when *Sylla* had overcome all *ITALIE*, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did reward all his Lieutenants and Captaines that had taken his parte, and did aduance them to honorable place & dignity in the common wealth, frankly granting them all that they requested of him. But for *Pompey*, reuerencing him for his valliantnes, & thinking that he would be a great stay to him in all his warres: he fought by some meanes to allice him to him. *Metella* his wife being of his opinion, they both perswaded *Pompey* to put away his first wife *Antistia*, and to marrie *AEmylia* the daughter of *Metella*, and of her first husband, she which also was an other mans wife, and with childe by her husband. These mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for *Syllas* time, rather then agreeable to *Pompeys* nature and condition: to see *AEmylia*, this new married wife taken from her lawfull husbande, to marrie her great with childe, and shamefully to forsake *Antistia*, who not long before had lost her father, and for respect of her husbande that did put her away. For *Antistius* was murdered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take parte with *Sylla* for his sonne in lawe *Pompeys* sake and her mother voluntarily put her selfe to death, seeinge her daughter receiued such open wrong. By these apparant causes, these vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miserable tragedie, by meanes of the death of *AEmylia*, who shortly after miserably dyed with childe in *Pompeys* house. Then came newes to *Sylla*, that *Perpenna* was gotten into *SICILE*, and that he had made all that llande at his deuotion, as a safe place to receiue all *Syllas* enemies: that *Carbo* also kept the sea thereabouts with a certaine number of shippes: that *Domitius* also was gone into *AFRICK*: and diuers other noble men that were banished, that had scaped his proscription and outlawryes, were all in those partes. Against them was *Pompey* sent with a great armie. Howbeit he no sooner arriued in *SICILE*, but *Perpenna* left him the whole llande, and went his way. There he fauorably delt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miserie, and set them againe at libertie, the *MAMERTINES* only excepted, which dwelt in the citie of *MESSINA*. They despising his tribunall and iurisdiction, alleaged the ancient order & priuilege of the *ROMANES*, let downe in times past amongst them. But *Pompey* answered them in choller: what do ye prattle to vs of your law, that haue our swords by our sides? It seemeth also that *Pompey* delt too cruellie with *Carbo* in his miserie. For such he must needs dye, as there was no remedie but he should: then it had bene better they had killed him when he was taken. For then they would haue imputed it to his malice, that so had commaunded it. But *Pompey* after he was taken, made him to be brought before him that had bene thrise Confull at *ROME* to be openly examined, and he sitting in his chaire of state or tribunall condemned him to dye in presence of them all: to the great offence and misliking of euery one that was present. So *Pompey* bad them take him away, and carie him to execution. When *Carbo* came to the scaffold where he should be executed, and seeinge the sword drawn that should strike of his head: he prayed the executioners to geue him a litle respite and place to vntresse a poynt, for he had a paine in his bellie. *Caius Oppius* also (one of *Iulius Caesars* friends) wryteth, that he delt verie cruellly in like manner with *Quintus Valerius*. For *Pompey*, sayd he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and fewe like vnto him: when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him a side, and walked a fewe turnes about: then when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commaunded his gard to carie him away, and to dispatche him. Howbeit we may not geue too light credit to all that *Oppius* wryteth, speaking of *Iulius Caesars* frendes or foes. For *Pompey* in deede was compelled to make away the greatest personages of *Syllas* enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriously taken: but for the rest, all those that he could secretly suffer to steale away, he was contented to winke at it, and would not vnderstand it: and moreouer did helpe some besides to saue them selues. Nowe *Pompey* was determined to haue taken sharpe reuenge of the citie of the *HIMERIANS*, which had stowly taken the enemies parte. But *Sthenis*, one of the Gouernours of the citie, crauing audience of *Pompey*, tolde him he should doe him wrong and iniustice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that had not offended. *Pompey* then asking him, what he was that durst take vpon him to saue the

Pompey put away his wife Antistia, and married AEmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syllas wife. The death of Antistius.

Pompey sent away Syllas into Sicile.

Carbo must geue place to armes.

The death of Carbo.

The death of Q. Valerius.

A the offence of them all. *Sthenis* answered straight, that it was him selfe that had perswaded his frendes, and compelled his enemies to doe that which they did. *Pompey* being pleased to heare the franke speech & boldnes of this man, first forgaue him the fault he had committed, and consequently all the other *HIMERIANS*. *Pompey* vnderstanding that his souldiers did kill diuers men in the high wayes, he sealed vp all their wordes, & whole scale sooner was broken, he was well fauoredly punished. *Pompey* being busie about these matters in *SICILE*, receiued letters & commission from *Sylla* and the Senate, to departe thence immediately into *AFRICK*, to make warre vpon *Domitius*, with all his power, who had leaued already more men of warre, than *Marius* had, not long before, when he came out of *AFRICK* into *ITALIE*: and had there ouerthrowen all the *ROMANES* doings, being become of a fugitiue outlaw, a cruell tyranne. *Pompey* thereupon hauing speedily put him selfe in readines to take the seas, left *Memmius* his sisters husband Gouernour of *SICILE*: and so him selfe imbarked, & hoysed saile with six score gallies, and eight hundred other shippes or bottomes, to transport their vittells, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatsoeuer. After he was landed with all his fleet, parte at *Vtica*, and parte at *CARTHAGE*: there straight came to him seuen thousand souldiers from the enemies, & yelded the selues, besides seuen whole legions that he brought with him. They say moreover, that at his arriuall, he had a pleasaunt chaunce happened vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his souldiers stumbled on a treasure by chaunce, and got thereby a great masse of money. The residue of the armie hearing that, thought sure that the field where this treasure was found, was full of golde and siluer, which the *CARTHAGINIANS* had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. *Pompey* hereupon, for many dayes after, coulde haue no rule of his souldiers, neither coulde he chooseth but laugh, to see so many thousand men digging the grounde, and turning vp the field: vntill in the end they wearied them selues, and came and prayed him then to lead them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their follie. *Domitius* came to *Pompey* with his army set in battell ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quamyre before him that ran with a swift running streame, verie ill to get ouer: besides that, from the verie breake of day it had poored downe and rained so fast, and was so great a winde withall, that *Domitius* thinking all that day they should not fight, commaunded his people to truffle away, and remoue. *Pompey* on the other side, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, sodainly made his men to march, and passed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order: were maruelously amazed, and in that hurly burly would haue made resistance. But they were neither all together, nor yet euently set in battell ray, and had besides the winde beating the raine full in their faces. So did the storme much hurt vnto the *ROMANES* also, for they coulde not one see another: in somuch as *Pompey* him selfe was in great danger of being killed by one of his owne souldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and he was somewhat long before he answered him. In fine, when he had ouerthrowen his enemies with great slaughter: (for they say, that of twenty thousand of them, there were but three thousand saved) *Pompey* his souldiers saluted him by the name of Imperator. But he answered them, that he would not accept the honor of that name, so long as he saw his enemies campe yet standing: and therefore, if it were so they thought him worthe of that name, that first they should ouerthrow the trenche and forte of the enemies, wherein they had entrenched their campe. The souldiers when they heard him say so, went presently to assault it. There *Pompey* fought bare headed, to auoide the like danger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe by force, and in it slew *Domitius*. After that ouerthrowe, the cities in that contrie came and yelded them selues, some willingly, and others taken by force: as also they tooke king *Parthia*, that had fought for *Domitius*, and his realme was geuen to *Hiempsal*. But *Pompey*, being desirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his armie, went many dayes iorney into the maine lande, and still conquered all where he came, making the power of the *ROMANES* dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that contrie, the which made but small account of them at that time. He sayd moreover, that the wilde beastes of *AFRICK* also should feele the force and good successe of the *ROMANES*: and thereupon he bestowed a fewe dayes in hunting of Lyons and Elephanes. For it is reported, that in fortie dayes space at the

The bridle speache of Sthenis.

Pompey sealed up his souldiers wordes.

Pompey lorney into Africa under Sylla, against Domitius.

Domitius camped by Pompey with his army.

Pompey victory of Domitius.

Domitius slain. Pompey make king Parthia.

Pompey con-
quered at 24
years of age.

The loss of
the soldiers
vnto Pompey.

Pompey cal-
led Magnus,
by Sylla.

The wisdom
of the Ro-
mans: com-
mended for
rewarding
foreign and
home service.
Valerius and
Rullus called
Maximi, in
Rome.

Pompey first
answered vnto
Sylla.

Pompey not
bring Sena-
tors, wither
against the
law.

vttermost, he had overcome his enemies, subdued AFRICK, and had stablished the affairs of the kingdoms of all that contry, being then but foure and twenty yeare old. So when he returned vnto the cite of VTICA, letters were brought from Sylla, willing him to discharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion only, tarying the comming of another Captaine that should be sent to succede him in the gouernment of that contrie. This commaundement, grieved him not a litle, though he made no shewe of it at all: but his souldiers shewed plainly that they were offended. For when Pompey prayed them to departe, they began to geue out broad speeches against Sylla, and told directly that they were not determined (whatsoever became of them) to forsake him, and they would not that he should trust vnto a tyrant. Pompey seeing that he could not perswade them, by any reason to be quiet, rose out of his chayer, and retyre into his tent weeping. But the souldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chayer of state, where he spent a great parte of the day, they intreating him to remaine there & commaund them, and he desiring them to obey Sylla, and leaue their mutinies. But in fine, seeing the importunate to presse him to it, he sware he would kill him selfe, rather then they should compell him: yet they scant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported vnto Sylla, that Pompey was rebelled against him. Sylla when he heard that, sayd to his frendes: well, then I see it is my destiny, in mine olde dayes to fight with children. He went fo, because of Marius the younger, who had done him much mischief, and had besides put him in great danger. But afterwards vnderstanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in Rome were determined to goe and meete Pompey, and to receiue him with all the honor they coule: because he would goe beyond them all in shewe of good will, he went out of his house to meete him; and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to say great, and commaunded all them that were present to geue him that name also. This notwithstanding, some say, that it was in AFRICK this name was first geuen him by a common crye of all his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by Sylla. In dede it is true that Pompey him selfe being sent Proconsul into SPAYNE long time after that, was the last that subscribed all his letters and commissions with the name of Pompey the great: for this name then was so commonly known and accepted, as no man did enuy it. And therefore rightly is the wisdom of the aunient ROMANES, to be both commended & had in admiration: which did not only reward seruice in the field with such honorable names & titles, but ciuill seruice and good gouernment also in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at Rome called Maximi, to say, very great: of the which Valerius was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwixt the people and Senate. The other was Fabius Rullus, for that he put from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchised, who through their riches and fauor had obtained that place. After that, Pompey requiured the honor of triumphe, but Sylla denied it, alleging that none could enter in triumphe into Rome, but Consuls or Prators. Forfish Scipio the first who in SPAYNE had overcome the CARTHAGINIANS, neuer desired this honor of triumphe, being neither Consul nor Prator: much lesse should he stande upon demaund of triumphe into Rome, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and besides, it would purchase him enuy of his honor and greatnes. These reasons did Sylla allege against Pompey, and told him plainly that if he were bent to stand in it, he would resist him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly againe, how men did honor the rising, not the setting of the sunne: meaning thereby, how his owne honor encreased, and Syllaes diminished. Sylla heard him not very perfectly what he sayd, but perceiving by their countenances that stood by, that they wondered at it, he asked what it was he sayd. When it was tolde him, he marvelled at the boldnes of so young a man, and then cried out twise together, let him then triumphe a Gods name. Many being offended therewith, Pompey (as it is reported) to anger them more, would needes be brought in in triumphant charriot drawn with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from those kings and Princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the gate of the city being too narrowe, he was driuen to leaue the Elephants, and was contented to be drawn in with horses. Now his souldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promised them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumphe, he sayd he passed not for it, & that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumphe, then

then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereupon, there was a famous man at that time called, Sempronius, who at the first was one of the chiefe against Pompeys triumphe, who sayd openly, now I know that Pompey in dede is great, & deserveth triumphe. Being euident enough, that if he would, he might then haue easily bene made Senator: he fied not for that, but as they say, sought honor by a straunger meane lesse honorable. For if he had bene made Senator so young, it had not bene so great a matter: but to haue such honor before he was Senator, that was maruelously to be noted. But this wanne him the more fauor and good will still amongst the common people: for they were glad when after his triumphe they saw him in companie amongst the ROMANE Knights. On thother side it spighted Sylla to see him come so fast forward, and to rise to lo great credit: notwithstanding, being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to kepe it to him selfe, vntill that Pompey by force & against Syllaes will, had brought Lepidus to be Consul, by the helpe and good will of the people that furthered his desire. Thereupon Sylla seeing Pompey returning ouerthwart the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honor him, he sayd vnto him: O young man, I see thou art glad of this victory, and so hast thou cause, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to haue had such fauor of the people, as for thy sake to haue made Lepidus Consul (the vilest person of all men) before Catulus the honestest man of the cite. But I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleepe not, and looke well to thy busines, for thou hast aduanced a dangerous enemy to thy selfe. Now the chiefe thing wherein Sylla discouered most his ill will vnto Pompey, was in his last will and testament: for he gaue legacies vnto euery one of his frendes, and some of them he made tutors & ouerseers of his sonne, but he made no mention of Pompey at all. This notwithstanding, Pompey tooke it well enough. And where Lepidus and some other would haue kept Syllaes body from buriall in the field of Mars, and that his funerals should not be openly solemnized: he the contrarywise brought him very honorably and safely to the ground. Shortly after Syllaes death, his wordes of propheticie vnto Pompey concerning Lepidus, proued true. For Lepidus vsurping the authoritie which Sylla had before, not colourable, but openly entered straight in armes, stirring vp againe those of Marius faction, whom Sylla could not be reuenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise againe. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Consul Catulus (whom the best and soundest parte of the people followed) was thought a maruelous honest man, both iust and modest: howbeit, a better Gouernor in peace, then a good man of warre, in so much as time required Pompeys skill and experience. So Pompey stood not doubtfull which way he would dispose him selfe, but tooke parte straight with the nobility and honestest men, & was presently chosen Captaine of their armie against Lepidus: who had already wonne the greatest parte of ITALIE, and with an army vnder the conduct of Brutus, kept GAYLE on this side the mountains, called GALLIA CISALPINA. And for the rest, Pompey easily ouercame it: howbeit he lay a long time before MODONA, besieging of Brutus. In the meane season Lepidus came to Rome, & being hard at the walls demanding the second Consulship, made them affrayed in the city with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all forties. Howbeit this feare was cooled straight, by a letter which Pompey wrote to Rome, aduertising how he had ended this warre without any bloodshed: for Brutus, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeilded him selfe vnto Pompey, who gaue him a certaine number of horsemen that conducted him to a litle towne upon the riuer of Po: where the next day after, Geminus being sent by Pompey, slue him. But hereof Pompey was greatly blamed, for that he had wrytten letters to the Senate from the beginning of the change, how Brutus had put him selfe into his handes: and afterwards wrote letters to the contrary, which burdened him for putting of him to death. This Brutus was father of that Brutus, which afterwards with the helpe of Cassius, slue Iulius Caesar: howbeit he shewed not him selfe so like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did. As we haue declared more at large in his life. Furthermore, Lepidus being driuen to forsake ITALIE, fled into SARDINIA, where he dyed (as it is reported) of a sickness: that he had, not for any sorowe or griefe of his owne affayers, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his hart, knowing thereby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time Sertorius in SPAYNE, who was another maner of warriour then Lepidus, & that kept

Marius Lepidus created Consul.

Sylla fallen from the loze of Pompey.

Lepidus murderd ciuill warre.

Brutus the father, slaine by Pompey.

The death of Lepidus.

The valiant
of Sertorius
in Spain.

Pompey's
army into
Spain
against Sertorius.

Metellus
given to
pleasure.

Sertorius was
the city of
Lauron in the
fight of Pompey.
Pompey slew
Herenius &
Perpenna.
Battel be-
tween Pom-
pey and Ser-
torius.
Sueton fl.

the ROMANES in great awe: for that all the fugitives of the late ciuill warres were fled to him, as from the last defeat of the warres. He had already ouerthrowen many inferior Capitaines, & was now wrestling with *Metellus Pius*, that in his youth had bene a noble fouldier, but now being old, made warres but flowly, and would not coragiously take present occasions offered him, which *Sertorius* by his nimblenes and dexterity tooke out of his hands. For he would euer houer about him, when he thought least of him, like a Capitaine rather of the eues then of fouldiers, and would still lay ambushes in euery corner, and round about him: where the good old man *Metellus* had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heauy armed. Hereupon *Pompey* keeping his army alway together, practised at ROME, that he might be sent into SPAYNE to aide *Metellus*. But *Catulus*, notwithstanding that he commaunded him to disperse his army, *Pompey* still kept them together by colour of new deuises, and was continually about ROME in armes, vntill that by *Lucius Philippus* meanes he had obtained the gouernment of that contry. They say that one of the Senators marueling to heare *Philip* propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: how now *Philip*, dost thou then thinke it meete to send *Pompey* Proconfull (to say, for a Confull) into SPAYNE? No truly sayd *Philip*, not Proconfull only, but pro Confullibus: (to say, for both the Confulls) meaning, that both the Confulls for that yeare were men of no value. Now when *Pompey* was arriued in SPAYNE, men began straight to be caried away, (as the maner is commonly where new Gouernours be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereupon *Sertorius* gaue out prowde and bitter words against *Pompey*, saying in mockery, he would haue no other weapon but rodde to whippe this young boy, if he were not affrayed of this old woman: meaning *Metellus* the old man. But notwithstanding these gallant bragges, he stode better vpon his gard, and went stronger to fight then he did before, being affrayed of *Pompey*. For *Metellus* was very dissolute of life (which no man would haue iudged in him) and was geuen ouer too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in him a maruelous fadaine change both of his pompe & glory which he vied before, as also the cuttinge of of his superfluous expence. That thinge, besides that he did honor *Pompey* greatly by it, wan him also much more the good will of the people, when they saw that he drew him selfe downe to a straighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne disposition he was a graue man, & temperatly geuen for his desires. In this warre fortune chaunged diuinely, as it is commonly seene in warres: but nothing grieued *Pompey* more then *Sertorius* winning of the city of LAVRON. For he thinking to haue shut him in, & had geuen out some glorious wordes of the matter: wondered when he saw him selfe straight compassed in, that he could not sturre out of the campe where he lay, and was driuen besides to see the citie burnt before his face. This notwithstanding, afterwarde at a set battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he slue *Herenius* and *Perpenna*, both notable fouldiers and *Sertorius* Lieutenantes, and with them ten thousand men. This victory so encouraged *Pompey*, that he made hast to fight with *Sertorius* alone, because *Metellus* should haue no parte of the honor of the victory. So they both met by the riuier of Sueton, about sunne set, both fearing *Metellus* comming: the one that he might fight alone, and the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doubtfull in the end of the battell: for either of their wings had the vpper hand. Betwene the two Capitaines, *Sertorius* had the greater honor: for he alone ouercame all them that stode before him. And as for *Pompey*, there was a great man of armes that being a foote, came and set vpon him, and hauing both their swordes in their handes, they both lighted apon their handes, but not both in one forte: for *Pompey*'s hand was but a litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut off. Then *Pompey*'s men fell apon him, all his owne fellows on that side being fled from him: notwithstanding, beyond all hope, he faued him selfe after a straunge sorte, by casting vp his horse among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harness, hauing a caparison of great value: and in the meane time, while they were busie deuising this booty among them, and fighting for it; he escaped their handes. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bandes into the fiele, to confirme the victory, which either of them supposed they had gotten. But *Metellus* came to *Pompey* at that present time, whereupon *Sertorius* went this way, and dispersed his army: for his campe was easly broken, & sodainly gathered againe together. For *Sertorius* would sometime wander the feldes alone, and at another time againe

A he would haue a hundred and fifty thousand fighting men together in the fiele, like a vehement streame that sometime is dried vp, and that sodainly againe is all of a flood: *Pompey* after this battell going to welcome *Metellus*, when they came neere one another, he commaunded his sergeantes and officers to put downe their bundell of rodde and axes which they caried before him, to honor *Metellus* withall, who was a better man than him selfe. But *Metellus* would not suffer them, but shewed him selfe equall with him in that, and in all thinges else, not respecting his seniority, nor that he had bene Confull, & *Pompey* not, sauing when they camped together, *Metellus* gaue the watch word to all the campe. Notwithstanding, commonly they camped a funder, for their enemy that was so flitting from place to place, and was seene in so sundry places in so short time, compelled them to be a funder to foresee the worst, drawing them sodainly from one purpose to another: so that in fine, cutting them off from vittells euery way, spoyling their contry, and keeping the sea side, he draue them both out of the prouinces of their charge which they had in SPAYNE, and did compell them to goe some other where, for lacke of vittells. *Pompey* in the meane time hauing spent the most parte of his goods in this warre, sent to ROME for money to pay his fouldiers, threatening the Senate, that if they sent him no money, he would returne with his armie into ITALIE. *Lucullus* then beinge Confull, though *Pompey*'s enemy, procured they should find him money: for he practised to be sent Capitaine against king *Mithridates*, and therefore was affrayed to geue *Pompey* any occasion to returne, who desired nothing more then to leaue *Sertorius*, to bend his force against *Mithridates*, whose ouerthrow should be more honorable to him, and also lesse dangerous. C In the meane space, *Sertorius* dyed, being betrayed by those whom he thought his frendes, among the which *Perpenna* was the chiefe man, that after *Sertorius* death would needes counterfeate his doings, hauing the same meanes, the same furniture, and the same power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit, and skill to employ them. *Pompey* therefore marching directly towards him, and finding how ignorant *Perpenna* was in his sayfers: he layed a bayte for him of ten cohorts which he sent to praye in the fields, commaunding them to disperse them selves abroad as farre as they could, one from an other. *Perpenna* straight tooke the occasion, and gaue them charge, and had them in chafe. But *Pompey* tarying him at the ford, was ready for him with all his army set in order: he gaue him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all this warre, because the most of the Capitaines were slaine in the field, and *Perpenna* the chiefe D of all taken prisoner, whom he presently put to death. But herein *Pompey* was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor obliuion (as some do burden him) of *Perpenna*'s frendship shewed him in SICILE, but rather deserued praise to haue determined to wisely for benefit of the common wealth. For *Perpenna* hauing in his custody all *Sertorius* wrytings, he shewed letters of the greatest noble men of ROME, (which were desirous of change of gouernment) willing him to returne into ITALIE: *Pompey* vpon sight of these letters, fearing least they would breede greater sedition & sturre in ROME, then that which was already pacified: put *Perpenna* to death as soone as he could, and burnt all his papers and wrytings, nor reading any letter of them. Then *Pompey* remaining in SPAYNE a certaine time, till he had pacified all commocions and tumults, maruelously out of order: he brought his army backe againe into ITALIE, and arrived there when the warre of the bondmen and senfers led by *Spartacus*, was in greatest furie. Vpon his comming therefore, *Craffus* being sent Capitaine against these bondmen, made hast to geue them battell, which he wan, and slue twelue thousand, three hundred of these fugitiue slaues. Notwithstanding, fortune meaning to geue *Pompey* some parte of this honor, fure thousand of these bondmen escaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon, he hauing ouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate that *Craffus* had ouercome the senfers in battell, and that he had pluckt vp this warre by the rootes. The ROMANES receiuing *Pompey*'s letters, were very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of SPAYNE againe, and the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, there was no man, although it were in sporte, that euer gaue any man else the honor, but vnto *Pompey* only. For all this great honor and loue they bare vnto *Pompey*, yet they did suspect him, and were affrayed of him, because he did not disperse his army, that he would follow *Syllas* steppes, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereupon, as many went to meete him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after

The modesty
of Pompey &
Metellus.

Pompey over-
came Perpen-
na, and slue
him.

Pompey burnt
Sertorius let-
ters: the like
also did Lucius
Cesar who he
ouercame
Pompey.

Pompey over-
came the rest
of the bond-
men.

Pompey and
Crassus first
Consulshippe.

The custome
of the Knights
in Rome.

Pompey as a
Knight of
Rome, saith
to be dischar-
ged from the
warres.
Pompey sub-
mits him
selfe in the
Censur.

he had put this suspicion quite out of their heades, telling them that he would discharge his armie after he had triumphed: then his illwillers could blame him for nothing else, but that he was more inclined to the people then to the nobilitie, and that he had a desire to restore the Tribuneshippe of the people, which *Sylla* had put downe, only to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which in deede was true. For the common people at Rome neuer longed for thing more, than they did to see the office of the Tribune sette vp againe. Yea, *Pompey* him selfe thought it the happiest turne that euer came to him, to light in such a time, to doe such an acte. For, had any other man preuented him of that, he could neuer haue founde the like occasion possible to haue requited the peoples good willes vnto him, so much as in that. Now therefore, his seconde triumphe and first Consulshippe being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothing the greater, or better man. And yet was it a shewe and signification of his greatesse, the which *Crassus* (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of all them that at that time delt in matters of state, and made more estimation of him selfe then of *Pompey* and all the rest) neuer durst once demaunde: before he had craued *Pompeys* goodwill. *Pompey* was very glad of his request, and had sought occasion of long time to pleasure him: and thereupon made earnest sute vnto the people for him, assuring them he would as much thanke them for making *Crassus* his colleague and fellowe Consul, as he would, for making him selfe Consul. All this notwithstanding, when they were created Consuls, they were in all things contrarie one to an other, and neuer agreed in any one thing while they were Consuls together. *Crassus* had more authority with the Senate, but *Pompey* had more credit with the people. For he restored them the office of the Tribune, and passed by edit, that the Knights of Rome should haue full power againe to iudge causes ciuill and criminall. It was a pleasant sight also to the people, when he came vnto the Censors in person, to pray that he might be dispent with for goinge to the warres. For it was an auncient custome in Rome, that the Knights of Rome hauinge serued a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, should bring their horse in the middelt of the market place before the two Censors, declaring euery Captaine vnder whome they had serued, in what iorneyes and contries they had bene, and hauinge also deliuered accompt of their good behauior and seruice, then they prayed to be dismissed from the warres. Nowe if it appeared that they had done good seruice, there were they honorable rewarded: or otherwise openly shamed and punished. At that time, *Gellius* and *Lentulus* the two Censors, being honorable sette in their tribunall or iudgement seate, taking viewe of all the Roman Knights that mustered before them, to be seene and examined: they marueled when they sawe *Pompey* comminge at the further end of the market place, hauinge all the markes of a Consul borne before him, and him selfe leading his horse in his hande by the bridle. When *Pompey* came neerer, and that they sawe it was he, he commaunded his sergeantes that carried the axes before him, to make roome for him to passe by the barres with his horse, where the Censors sate. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and reioicing, being verie silent. The Censors them selues also were maruelous glad to see him so obedient to the lawe, and did him great reuerence. In fine, the elder of the Censors, did examine him in this sorte. *Pompey* the great, I pray thee tell me if thou hast serued so long time in the warres, as the lawe doth appoint? Then answered *Pompey* alowde: yes verily that I haue, and vnder no other Captaine then my selfe. The people hearing that answer, made an open shewte for ioy, they were so glad to heare it: and the Censors them selues came from their iudgement seate, and went to accompanie *Pompey* home to his house, to please the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their handes, with great signes of ioy. At the end of their Consulshippe, when mistakinge increased further betwixt *Pompey* and *Crassus*, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time neuer spake in open assembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and tolde the people openly: how *Isister* had appeared to him in the night, and had commaunded him to tell both the Consuls from him, that they should not leaue their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all these wordes *Pompey* sturred not. But *Crassus* first tooke him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the people. My Lordes, I thinke not my selfe dishonored to geue place

Pompey and
Crassus made
friends.

Pompey
pride and
glory.

The begin-
ning of the
pirates warre.

The power &
insulency of
the pirates in
Cilicia.

The pirates
newe a show-
land shippen.

A place to *Pompey*, sith you your selues haue thought him worthis to be called, the great, before he had any heare of his face, and vnto whom you granted the honor of two triumphes before he came to be Senator. When he had sayd his minde, they were made frendest together, and so surrendered vp their office: Now for *Crassus*, he held on his former maner of life which he had begon. *Pompey* as neere as he could gaue ouer to pleade mens causes any more, & began litle and litle to withdraw him selfe from frequenting the market place, and matters of iudgement, comming seldome abroad, & when he did, he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his house, or talke with any man, but he was euer accompanied with a great number, & he reioiced to him selfe, to see that he had alwaies such a traine with him: for that made him to be honored the more, & gaue him greater contentaunce to see him thus courted, thinking it dishonor to him to be familiar with meane persons. For men that rise by armes, are easily despised, when they come to liue like priuate citizens: because they can not facion them selues to be copanions with the common people, (who citizen like vse a common familiaritie together) but looke to be their betters in the city, as they are in the field. Yea and cotrarily, they that do acknowledge themselves to be their inferiors in warres: will thinke fowle scorne if they be not their superiors in peace. And by this meanes when they haue a noble warrior amonge them that followeth publicke causes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battells he hath obtained) they obscure his glory, and make him an vnderling vnto them: whereas they do not otherwise enuy any souldiers, that are contented equally to geue them place and authority, as plainly appeared shortly after by *Pompey* him selfe. By such an occasion, the power of pirates on the sea tooke beginning in the contry of Cilicia, which was not reckoned of at the first, because it was not percieued, untill they grew bold & venturous in king *Mithridates* warres, being hyered to do him seruice. And afterwards the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, one fighting with an other euen at Rome gates, the sea not being looked to all this while: it set them a gogge, and made them go further then euer they did before. For they did not only rob & spoile all marchat venterers by sea, but rifled also all the Ilandes & townes vpon the sea coast: in suchom as then there ioyned with them, men of great wealth and nobility, & of great wisdom also, & entred into their fellowshippe, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had set vp arsenalls or store houises in sundry places, they had sundry hauens and beacons on the land, to geue warning by fire all alongest the sea coast, & those well kept & watcht: moreover, they had great flectes of shippes, ready furnished with excellent good gallions of ores, skilfull pilots & mariners, their shippes of swift saile, & pinnases for discouery, but withall so gloriously set out, that men lesse hated their excesse, then feared their force. For the poores of their gallions were all guilt, the coverings of the same all of purple silke, delighting only to make a glorious show of their pillage. All the sea coast ouer, there was no sight of any thing but musicke, singing, banketing, and rioting, prizes of Captaines, and men of great quality, & ranfomes of a thousand prisoners: & all this was to the shame & dishonor of the Romans. Their ships were about a thousand in number, & they had takē about foure hundred townes. They had spoiled & destroyed many holy temples that had neuer bene touched before. As the temple of the twynes in the Ile of *CLAROS*, the temple of *Samothracia*, the temple of Earth in the city of *HERMION*, & the temple of *Aesculapius* in *EPIDAVRUM*, the temples of *Neptune* in *ISTHMOUS*, *TENARIA*, & *CALABRIA*: & the temples of *Apollo* in *ACTIVM*, in the Ile of *LEYCADES*: the temples of *Iuno* in *SAMOS*, in *ARGOS*, & in *LVCANIA*. They had also many strange sacrifices & certen ceremonies of religion amongst the selues, in the mount Olympus, & among other, the mistery of *Mithres*, which is the sunne: & remaineth yet in being vnto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent partes and injuries they did the Romans vpon the sea, they went a land, and where they found any houises of pleasure vpon the sea coast, they spoiled & destroyed them: & on a time they tooke two Roman Prætors, *Sextilius*, & *Belinus*, being in their purple robes, with their sergeants & officers attending on the, & carried them quite away. An other time, they stole away the daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had receiued honor of triumph) as she went a walking abroad in the fields, & she was redeemed for a great summe of money. But you the greatest spight & mockery they vsed to the Romans, was this. That when they had takē any of them

The pirates
fearing of
the Romans
when they
were taken.

and that he cried he was a citizen of Rome, and named his name: then they made as though they had bene amazed, and affrayed of that they had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighs, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgiue them. The poore prisoner thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled them selves as though they seemed fearefull. For some of them came vnto him, & put shoos on his feet: others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the ROMANE fashion, for feare, (sayd they) least he should be mistaken an other time. When they had played all this pageant, & mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their shippe ladders, and put him on it, & bad him go his way, he should haue no hurt: and if he would not goe of him selfe, then they call him ouer the bord by force, and sent him packing. These rourers and sea pirates had all the sea Mediterraneum at commaundement: in fomuch there durst not a marchant looke out, nor once traffique that sea. And this was the only cause that moued the ROMANES, (fearing scarcity of vitells, and a great dearth) to send Pompey to recouer the signory againe of the sea from these pirates. The first man that moued it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be only Admirall, or General by sea, but should haue absolute power to commaunde all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge was *Gabinus*, Pompey's friend. The summe of this decree gaue him full power and absolute authority of all the sea from *Hercules* pillars, and of the maine land, the space of foure hundred furlong from the sea. (For the ROMANES dominions at that time in few places went further then that: notwithstanding, within that compasse were many great nations & mighty kings.) Furthermore, it gaue him power to choofe of the Senate fiftene Lieutenantes, to geue vnto euery one of them, severall prouinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also to take money out of the treasure, of the General receiueurs of the state, to defray the charges of a flecte of two hundred saile, with full power besides to leaue what men of warre he thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he listed. This law when it had bene read once ouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceede all enuy, but also that it gaue them apparant cause of feare, to geue such absolute power vnto a priuate person. Whereupon, they were all against it but *Cesar*, who fauored the decree, not so much to pleasure Pompey, as the people, whose fauor he sought. The noble men fell maruelously out with Pompey: and at the length one of the Consuls was very hotte with him, and told him he looked to follow *Romulus* steppes, but peraduenture he would come shorthe of that end he made. Therupon the people thought to haue killed him. After that, *Catulus* stode vp to speake against this edict. The people at the first heard him quietly, because he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of enuy, to speake many goodly thinges in the praise of Pompey, and in fine, aduised the people to spare him, and not to venter in such dangerous warres: (one after another) a man of so great accompt, as they ought to make of him. If ye chauce to loose him, sayd he: whom haue you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: your selfe. Then perceiuing that he lost his labor, seeking to turne the people from their determination: he left it there, and sayd no more. *Roscius* rose next after him to speake, but he could haue no audience. When he saw that he could not be heard, he made a signe with his fingers, that they should not geue Pompey alone this authority, but ioynen another with him. The people being offended withall made such an outcrie vpon it, that a crow flying ouer the market place at that instant, was stricken blinde, & fell downe amongst the people. Wherby it appeareth, that fowle falling out of the ayer to the ground, do not fall for that the ayer is broken or peared with any force or fury: but because the very breath of the voice (when it commeth with such a violence, as it maketh a very tempest in the ayer) doth strike & ouercome them. Thus for that day, the assembly brake vp, and nothing past: and at the day appointed when this decree should passe by voyces of the people, Pompey went abroad into the contry. There being aduertised that the decree was past for the confirmation of his charge, he returned againe that night into the citie, because he would auoyde the enuie they would haue borne him to haue fenee them run out of all partes of the city vnto him, to haue waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and sacrificed to the goddes: and audience being geuen him at an open

Gabinus law
for Pompey's
authority a-
gainst the pi-
rates.

At the voyce
of the people,
a crow flying
fell downe.

open

An open assembly, he handled the matter so, that they gaue him many thinges besides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation set downe and appointed at the first decree. For he ordained that the common wealth should arme him five hundred shippes, & they leauied for him fixe score thousand foote men, and fixe thousand horse men, and chose besides foure and twenty Senators, which had euery one of them bene Generalls of armies, and two general Treasurers also. While thinges were thus a preparing, the price of vitells fell by chaunce, which reioyced the people so much, that they stucke not to say, that the name of Pompey only had already ended this warre. This notwithstanding, he deuised all the sea betwene the lands into thirtene regions, and in euery of them he appointed a certaine number of his shippes, and moreouer, one of his Lieutenantes ouer them. Thus hauing dispersed his power all abroad, he brought all the pirates shippes that were in a flecte together, within his daunger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Now for them that had dispersed them selues betimes, or that otherwise could scape his generall chase: they fled all into *CILICIA*, as bees into the beehiue, against whom he would needes go him selfe in person with three score of his best shippes. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had scoored all the *THRASCANE* sea, the coastes of *LYBIA*, *SARDINIA*, *SICILE*, and of *CORNICIA*, of all these theewes which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within forty dayes space, taking infinite paines, both him selfe and his Lieutenants. Now when one of the Consuls called *Piso* did all the best he could to hinder Pompey's preparation, and had discharged his ouer men, for that he enuied Pompey's prosperity: Pompey sent his shippes before to make towards *ITALIE* to arrive at the city of *BRINDVSIVM*. He in the meane time, went through *THRASCANE* to *ROME*, where, so soone as his comming was knowne, all the people ran out to meete him, as if he had bene absent a long time: and that which made the people more ioyfull to see him, was the sodaine change of vitalls vnlooked for, that dayly came to the towne out of all partes. But *Piso* went neere to be deuiued of his Consulshippe: for *Gabinus* had the decree wrytten, and ready to present to the people. But Pompey would not suffer it. So, hauing gently brought all to passe as he desired, he went vnto the city of *BRINDVSIVM*, and there tooke sea, and hoysed saile. Now though his hasty voyage, and shortnesse of time made him passe by many good cities without comming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so passe by the city of *ATHENS*, but landed there, and after he had sacrificed to the goddes, returned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the city, he red two wrytings that were made in his praise, the one within the gate which sayd thus.

The humbler that thou doost thy selfe as man behaue,
The more thou doost deserue the name of god to haue.

And the other wryting was without the gate, which sayd:

We wisht for thee, we wisht for thee,
We wisht for thee, we wisht for thee.

Nowe because Pompey hauing taken certaine of these rourers by sea that kept together, did vnto them gently when they required pardon, and hauing their shippes and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled from his other Capitaines and Lieutenantes, and went and yielded them selues, their wiues and children into his hands. Pompey pardoned all them that came in of them selues, and by that meanes he came to haue knowledge of the rest, and to followe them where they went, whome he tooke in the ende: but knowinge that they deserued no pardon, they hid them selues. Yet the most parte, and the richest of them, had conueyed their wiues, children and goodes, and all other their family vnto some warres, into strong castells and litle townes upon mount *Taurus*: and such men as were able to cary weapon, imbarked, and lay before a city of *CORACESIUM*, where they taried Pompey, and gaue him battell, first by sea, and there were ouercome, and afterwards they were besieged by lande. Howbeit shortly after, they prayed they might be receiued to mercie, and thereupon yielded their bodies, townes, and *F*landes which they had fortified, and were hard to haue taken and worke to haue approached. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirates in lesse then three months driven from the sea whersoever they were. He wanne also a great number of other shippes, besides foure

Pompey's pre-
paration a-
gainst the pi-
rates.

The course
of Pompey
vnto *Piso*.

The victory
of Pompey v-
pon the pirates.

score and tenne gallies armed with copper spurres. And touching the men whom they had taken, (who were in number about twenty thousand persons) he did not only consider whether he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise parte on thother side to let them goe at liberty, to gather force againe, being so great a number of them as in dede they were, and all poore men and souldiers. Therefore, weying with him selfe, that man by nature is not borne a wild or savage beast, but contrarily becommeth a brute beast chaunging nature, when he falleth to vice: and againe is made tame and ciuill in time, chaunging place and manner of life: (as brute beastes that being wilde by nature doe also become gentle and tractable, with gender vlagge by continuance) he determined to draw these pirats from the sea into thupland, and to make them feeke the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine small townes of the CILICIANS, that were scant inhabited, & were very glad of the geuing them land to keepe them with. The city of the SOLTANS also, that not long before had bene destroyed by *Tigranes* the king of ARMENIA, being desirous to replenish that againe, he placed many of them there. He bestowed also in the city of DYMA in the contrie of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great store of very good land. Now therefore his enemies reproued him greatly: and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his best and greatest frendes misliked him. For *Metellus* that gentle person, (a cosen to that *Metellus* which was his colleague, and made warre in SPAYNE with him against *Sertorius*) was sent Prætor into CRETA, before *Pompey* was chosen General against the pirats. This CRETA, next vnto CILICIA, was euen a seconde denne of pirats. *Metellus* finding there a great number of these theues, tooke many of them, and put them to death, euen all that came to his hands. Then, such as had scaped from him, being straightly besieged, sent vnto *Pompey* to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercie: declaring vnto him, that the Ile of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, because all partes of that region from the sea came iust within the cōpassé limited him on the land. *Pompey* pardoning them upon their submission, wrote vnto *Metellus*, & commaunded him to leave of his warre, and therewithall charged all the cities, that they should not obey *Metellus* commaundementes. After that he sent *Lucius Octavius*, one of his Lieutenantes, who entred into the townes *Metellus* besieged, and fought for the pirats. This made *Pompey* not only hared & enuid, but derided also: for that vnder his name he had protected such vile theues, that had neither God nor law, and geuen them his authority to saue their liues, for a litle enuie and emulation he bare vnto *Metellus*. And therefore they rightly reprocue *Achilles*, and say that he shewed not the parte of a wise man, but of a young foole besides him selfe, for desire of glory, making a signe to the GRECIANS, forbidding them to strike at *Hector*, to shend that as *Homer* sayd:

*Least he too late should to the battell runne,
When others had the honor of it wonne.*

But *Pompey*'s fact was worse then this. For he fought for the cōmon enemies of the world, and only to depriue a ROMANE Prætor of triumphe, who had done great good seruice to haue destroyed them. This notwithstanding, *Metellus* left not of his warre for *Pompey*'s letters, but hauing taken the pirats by assault, he put them to death: and afterwards hauing done *Ossius* open shame through his campe, he let him goe. When newes came to ROME, that the pirats warre was brought to good end, & that *Pompey* hauing no other seruice in hand, went visiting the cities vp & downe: one *Manilius* a Tribune of the people put forth an other decree vnto them of this effect. That *Pompey* taking all the army *Lucullus* had, & the prouinces vnder his gouernment, with al BITHYNIA, which *Glabrio* kept: should go make warre vpon the kings *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, keeping in his handes notwithstanding all his iurisdiction and army by sea, in as royall manner as he had it before. In fine, this was euen to make one man Monarch and absolute Prince, of all the ROMANE Empire. For by this second decree, he had all these contries not named in his former commission, added to amplifie his authority, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and ARMENIA, with all the armies and forces with the which he had ouercome those two mighty kings. Then the Senate stuke not so much at the iniurie that was offered vnto *Lucullus*, depriving him of the honor

How men are tamed.

Pompey led fact against *Metellus*.

Achilles dishonored fact.

Pompey appointed *Lucullus* success.

A honor of his doings, to geue it to an other, that should rather succede him in honor of triumphe, then in danger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifest injury, & shewed them selues too vnthankfull: but that which most grieved them, was to see *Pompey*'s power established in a plaine tyranny. Hereupon therefore, one of them perswaded and encouraged another, slowly to withstand this edict, and not to suffer their liberty to be lost in this sorte. Notwithstanding, when the day came that the decree should passe, they were so affrayed to anger the people, that their hartes failed them, & none durst speake against it but *Catulus* only: that earnestly inueyed against the passing of it a long time together, & greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his parte, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they should looke to seeke out some mountaine or high rocke to retire safely vnto, to defend their liberty, as their ancelters had done in old time before them. All this preuailed not, for the decree passed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was *Pompey* in his absence made Lorde almost of all that, which *Sylla* by force of armes and great effusion of blood (hauing made him selfe Lord of ROME) had before in his power. When *Pompey* had receiued letters from ROME, aduertising him what the people had past in his behalfe: some say that at the receite of them (in the presence of his familiar frendes that were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulation) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieved him maruelously to haue such great offices & charge layed vpon him, one in the necke of an other, and burst forth in these wordes. O goddes, shall I neuer see an end of such a worlde of troubles as I haue? Had it not bene better for me to haue bene a meane man borne and vnknowne, then thus continually to be in warre with armor on my backe? What, shall I neuer see the time, that breaking the neckes of spight and enuy against me, I may yet once in my life liue quietly at home in my contrie, with my wife & children? When *Pompey* spake those wordes, his familiar frendes could not abide to see his deepe diffimulation, knowing that besides his naturall ambition and couetous desire to rule, he was glad in his hart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and *Lucullus*: which his deedes forthwith bewrayed. For he presently sent out precepts into euery quarter, commaunding all sortes of souldiers to come to him immediately, & made also all the Princes and kinges within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the contries, altered and chaunged all that *Lucullus* had established before. Furthermore, he did release the penalties enioyned them, and tooke from them also the gifts that *Lucullus* bestowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpose and desire: to make them that honored *Lucullus* know, that he had no further power & authority to doe any thing. *Lucullus* finding him selfe hardly handled by *Pompey*, the friends of either side thought good they should meete & talke together: which came so to passe, for they met in the contrie of GALATIA. And because they both were great Captaines of the ROMANE armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their sergeaunts & officers that caried the bundells of rodde before them, wreathed about with laurell boughs. When they met, *Lucullus* came out of a close & woddy contrie, all couered with greene trees, and *Pompey* on thother side had passed through a great sandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon *Lucullus* sergeaunts seeing the laurell boughes drie and withered away, which *Pompey*'s sergeaunts caried, they gaue them of their greene and fresh boughes to beawise the rodde and axes. This was a plaine token that *Pompey* came to take *Lucullus* honor from him. In troth *Lucullus* had bene Confull before *Pompey*, & so was he also older man then he: yet the dignity of *Pompey* was greater, because he had triumphed twice. At their first meeting, their entertainment & discourse was with great ceremony and curtesie as might be, one highly praising the others deedes, reioycing at eche others good successe: but at parting they fell to hurt wordes together, *Pompey* vpbrayding *Lucullus* auarice, and *Lucullus* *Pompey*'s ambition, so that their frendes had much a doe to parte them. *Lucullus* departing thence, decided the landes in GALATIA, which he had conquered, and bestowed them & other gifts, on such as he thought good. *Pompey* on thother side camping hard by him, specially commaunded the people in euery parte to obey him in nothing whatsoever he did: and besides, he took all his souldiers from him, leauing him only sixteene hundred, which he supposed were such, as for disdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but small seruice. Furthermore, to bleasish the glory

The boldnes of *Catulus* in dissuading *Memius* law.

Pompey's great diffimulation.

Quarrell betwixt *Pompey* and *Lucullus*.

Pompey and *Lucullus* meeting in Galatia.

of his doings, he told every body *Lucullus* had fought with the pompe & shadow only of these A two kinges, and that he had left with all their whole force and power, *Mithridates* being then prepared for warres, with sheldes, swordes, and horfes. *Lucullus* for reuenge on the other side sayd, that *Pompey* went to fight but with a shadow of warre, like a cowardly buffard that prayeth vpon dead bodies, which others haue slaine: & to cut a under the remaine of this warre ended by an other, as he had done before, attributing the honor of the overthrow of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, and *Spartacus*, to him selfe, where in deede *Metellus*, *Craffus*, and *Catulus* did overcome them. And therefore it was no maruell, that he sought the glory and honor to triumphe for the kingdomes of *PONTVS* and *ARMENIA*: sith that through his subtil practises he had obtained triumphe for a fewe slaues and fugitiues. *Lucullus* being now gone his way, *Pompey* sent good garissons vnto all the coastes apen the sea, from the prouince of *PHOENICIA*, vnto the realme of *BOSPHORVS*. That done, he tooke his iorney by land towards *Mithridates*, who had in his campe thirtie thousand footemen, and two thousand horsemen, and yet durst not offer battell, but camped first apen a mountaine of great strength, and hard to get vp on: notwithstanding shortly after, he forsooke it for lacke of water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith *Pompey* tooke it. Who, coniecturing by the nature of the plantes and trees in that place which were very greene, and also by diuers holes he found, that for reason thereabouts should be some springes: he commaunded them to digge welles in euery corner, so that in a very short time all his campe had water enough, and he wondred at *Mithridates*, that he could not finde that out in all the time he lay there. In thend, he went and camped rounde about *Mithridates*, and intrenched him with a wall within his owne campe: who after he had abidden the siege fife and forty dayes, fled away with all the choise of his army, vnknowing to *Pompey*, hauing first slaine all the sicke and impotent persons within his campe. After that, *Pompey* found him an other time by the riuer of *Euphrates*, & went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that *Mithridates* would passe ouer the riuer before he could preuent him in time, he raised his campe againe, & marched away at midnight. About that time, they say, that *Mithridates* sawe that in a dreame, which did prognosticate what should happen. He thought, that hauing the winde in the poope of his shippe, he was vnder saile, in the midst of the sea of *Mare Bosporum*, and that he was maruelous glad of it, and reioyced with them that sailed with him, thinking him selfe certainly past all danger: yet suddenly againe, that all this ioy left him, and that he floted vp and downe the waues of the sea, & apen a litle peece of the shippe that was broken, trusting to the mercy of the windes. As he was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that *Pompey* was come so neere, that there was no shiffe, but they must needs fight to defend their campe. Thereupon, his Captaines straight beganne to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. *Pompey* vnderstanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubt to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compasse them in to keepe them from flying, & then in the morning to set vpon them more easily, his men being the better fouldiers. But *Pompey* olde Captaines were so earnestly in hand with him to perswade him they might fight, that in the ende he was contented they should geue charge. Now it was not so darke but they could somewhat see, for the moone that was very low and vpon her setting, gaue light enough to discern the body of a man: yet because the moone was very low, the shadow which gaue out further farre then their bodies, came almost euen to their very enemies, which did let the that they could not certainly iudge what space of ground was betweene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their darts at the *ROMANES*, but they hurte neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The *ROMANES* perceiuing that, ran apen them with great cries. But the barbarous people durst not abide their charge they were so affrayed, but turned their backs, and ranne away for life, so that they were slaine downe right. Thus were there tenne thousand of the barbarous people slaine and more, and their campe also taken. As for *Mithridates* him selfe, at the beginning of thonsen, he made a lane among the *ROMANES* with eight hundred horsemen, and passed cleane through them. But incontinently his men disperfed apen it, some one way, some an other way, so that he was left alone but with three persons only, wherof *Hysperates* was one of the number, which had euer bene valiant and

*Pompey inter-
posed against
Mithridates.*

*Mithridates
dreams.*

*Pompey over-
throwes Mithri-
dates.*

*Hysperates,
Mithridates,
continues, &c.*

and had a mans hart: whereupon, for that cause *Mithridates* called her *Hysperates*. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of *PERSIA*, and mounted also on a horse after the *PERSIAN* manner, was neuer weary with any long iorney the king made, nor neuer left to waite vpon his person, and to looke to his horse: vntill such time as the king came to a strong castle called *Inora*, where was great store of gold & siluer, and the kinges chiefe treasure. Then *Mithridates* tooke of his richest apparell he had there, & gaue it amongst them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poyson besides to euery one of his frendes to carie about them, because they should not (vnlesse they would them selues) fall into their enemies handes aliue. From thence he thought to take his iorney into *ARMENIA*, vnto king *Tigranes*. Howbeit *Tigranes* sent to let him, and further proclaimed by trumpet, that he would geue a hundred talents to him that could kill him. Thereupon, passing by the head of the riuer of *Euphrates*, he fled through the contry of *CHOLCHIDE*. In the meane time, *Pompey* invaded the contry of *ARMENIA*, at the request of *Tigranes* the younger, who was reuolted against his father, and went to meete with *Pompey* at the riuer of *Araxes*, which hath his beginning almost about the head of *Euphrates*: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into *Mare Caspium*. So they both together marched on further into the contrie, receiuinge such townes as yelld vnto them. But king *Tigranes* (that not long before had bene consumed and destroyed by *Lucullus*) vnderstanding that *Pompey* was of a mylde and gentle nature, he receiued his garissons into his strongest fortres and royall houses, and went him selfe with his frendes and kinsmen to meete *Pompey*, & to yeeld him selfe vnto him. VVhen he came hard to his campe, being a horse backe, there came out two fergeaunts of *Pompeys*, & commaunded him to light and go in a foote, for there was neuer man seene a horse backe within the *ROMANES* campe. *Tigranes* did not only obey them, but further plucked of his sword and gaue it them: and in fine, when he came almost to *Pompey*, taking of his royall hatte fro his head, he would haue layed it at *Pompeys* feete, & falling downe most shamefully on the ground, imbraced him selfe to imbrace *Pompeys* knees. But *Pompey* him selfe preuented him, and taking him by the hande, made him to sit downe by him on the one side of him, and his sonne on the other. Then he sayd vnto them both: as for the other losses you haue sustained heretofore, you must thanke *Lucullus* for them, who hath taken from you, *SYRIA*, *PHOENICIA*, *CILICIA*, *GALATIA*, and *SOPHENA*: but for that you haue left you till my comming, I will let you enioy it, paying to the *ROMANES* a fine of sixe thousand talentes for the iniurie you had done them, prouided also, that your sonne haue the kingdome of *SOPHENA* for his parte. *Tigranes* accepted the condicions of peace. The *ROMANES* then saluted him king. He was so glad thereof, that he promised to geue euery fouldier halfe a Mina, euery Centener tenne Minas, and to euery Colonell of a thousand men a talent. His sonne was very angry withall: inso much as *Pompey* lending for him to come to supper to him, he answered againe, that was not the frendshippe he looked for at *Pompeys* handes, for he should finde many other *ROMANES* that would offer him that curtesie. *Pompey* for his answer, clapped him vp as a prisoner, and kept him to be led in triumphe at *ROME*. Shortly after, *Phraates* king of *PARTHIA* sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* to demaunde this young Prince, that was his sonne in law: and to tell him that the riuer of *Euphrates* must be the ytermost confines of his conquestes. *Pompey* answered againe, that *Tigranes* had more right to his sonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would doe it with iustice. So, leaving *Afranius* in *ARMENIA* to keepe the contrie, *Pompey* passed by other nations which inhabit about mount *Caucasus*, hauing *Mithridates* in chace: of which nations, two of the chiefe and of greatest power, are the *ALBANIANES* and *IBERIANES*. The *IBERIANES* do stretch out vnto mount *Molchiu*, & to the realme of *PONTVS*. The *ALBANIANES* lye towards the East, and *Mare Caspium*. These men first suffered *Pompey* to passe through their contrie, apen his sending to the. But winter hauing stolen apen the *ROMANES* while they were there, & they busily occupied about *Saturnes* feasts: the barbarous people hauing leaued about forty thousand fighting men in one campe together, came & passed ouer the riuer of *Cyrtus*. (This riuer commeth from the mountaines of the *IBERIANES*, and receiuing the riuer of *Araxes* into it, which passeth through *ARMENIA*, disperfeth it selfe into twelue generall mountes, and so falleth into *Mare Caspium*. Some notwithstanding holde opinion, that *Cyrtus* receiue

heretofore called
Hysperates, for his
valiantnes like a man.

Araxes R.

*Tigranes yeeldeth
him selfe
vnto Pompey.*

*Tigranes layd
his dauides
at Pompeys
feet.*

*Tigranes
sente a pri-
soner.*

*Ambassadors
sent from the
king of Par-
thia vnto
Pompey.*

*Albanes,
and
Iberians
make offesce
to Pompey.*

Cyrtus R.

not the riuier of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it selfe, & falleth into the same sea, vnto the mouthes of the other.) Pompey might if he had would haue kept them for conuoying ouer the riuier, yet did he suffer them quietly to passe ouer. When they were all ouer, he went against them, ouercame them in battell, and slue a great number of them in the field. Afterwards he pardoned their kinge, submittinge him selfe vnto Pompey by his Ambassadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went againe the IBERIANS: who were no lesse in number, then the ALBANIANS were at the first, and also better souldiers, and were rebellious bent to doe good seruice vnto Mithridates, and to driue out Pompey. These IBERIANS were neuer subiect to the Empire of the PERSIANS, nor of the MEDES, and escaped also from being subiect to the MACEDONIANS, for that Alexander neuer stayed in the contry of HYRCANIA, whom also Pompey ouercame in a great & bloodie battell, hauing slaine nine thousand in the field, and taken tenne thousand prisoners. From thence he went into the contry of COLOSIA. There Seruilus met him by the riuier of Phasis, with the flecte of shippes with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to followe Mithridates further, who had hidde him selfe amongst a people that were neighbours vnto the straights of BOSPHORVS, and the mountains Maetides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore also, he had newes that the ALBANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be reuenged of them. Thereupon he passed againe ouer the riuier of Cyrrus, with great paine and danger, because the barbarous people had made a strong defence a great way alongest the riuier side, with a marvellous number of great trees, felled and layed a crosse one ouer another. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty passed thorow them, he fell into an euill fauored contry, where he should trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereupon he caused ten thousand goats skinned to be filled with water, and so went forward to meete with his enemies, whom he found by the riuier of Abas, being sixe score thousand footemen, and twelue thousand horsemen, but all (or the most of them) ill armed with wilde beastes skinned. Their Chieftaine was Cosis, the kinges owne brother. He, when the battell was begonne, flew apon Pompey, and threw a dart at him, and hurt him in the flank. Pompey on thother side, ranne him through with his lance on both sides, & slue him starke dead. Some say also, that there were certaine AMAZONS at this battell, which fought of the barbarous peoples side, coming from the mountaines that runne alongest the riuier of Thermodon. For, after the ouerthrowing, the ROMANES spoiling the dead, found targets, and buskinnes of the AMAZONS, but not a body of a woman among them. They also doe inhabit on the side of the mountaine Caucasus, that looketh towardes Mare Hyrcanium, and doe not border vpon the ALBANIANS: but the GELBS, and the LELEGES are betwene them, with whom they company two monethes only euery yeare meeting together, by the riuier of Thermodon, and all the rest of the year, they liue a parte by them selues. After this last battell, Pompey going to inuade the contry HYRCANIA, as farre as Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venomous serpents which he met with, being come within three dayes iorney of it. So he returned backe againe into ARMENIA the lesse, and there receiued presents which were sent vnto him from the kings of the ELYMIANS and the MEDES, and wrote very curteously vnto them againe: howbeit he sent Afranius with parte of his armie against the king of the PARTHIANS, who had inuaded the contry of GORDIENA, and harried and spoiled the king of TIGRANES subiects. Now withstanding, he draue him out, and followed him vnto ARBELITIDA. Furthermore, all the lemmans and concubines of king Mithridates being brought vnto Pompey, he would touch none of them, but sent them all home againe, to their parents and frendes, because the most of them were either the daughters of Princes, or noble men, or Captaines. Notwithstanding, Stratonice that of all the rest of his lemmans, had most credit about Mithridates, vnto whom he had left all the charge of his castell, where the greatest part of his treasure of gold and siluer lay, was a singlers daughter, who as they sayd, was not rich, but an old man. She hauing song one night before Mithridates, being at supper, he fell in fancy with her, that he would needes haue her lye with him the same night, and the old man for her father went home offended, because the king would not so much as geue him one good word. But the next morning when he rose, he marueled to see the tables in his house full of

plate

A plate of gold and siluer, and a great company of seruing men, groomes of chamber & pages; and that they had brought him maruelous riche apparell, & a horse ready as the gates brauely furnished, as the kings familiars did vse when they went abroad into the city: he thought it was done in mockery, to haue made sporte with him, and therefore would haue runne his way, had not the seruing men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that dyed of late, which the king had bestowed on him, and that all this he saw, was but a little portion in respect of the other goods and lands he gaue him. So the old man beleeuing them, the length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and got vp a horse backe, & riding through the streetes, cried, all this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to scorne for it, he told them: masters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crye out, but rather that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so made for ioy. Such was Stratonices birth and parentage, as we haue told you. She did then deliuer this castell into Pompeys hands, and offered him many goodly riche presents: but he would take none of them, other then such as served to adorne the temples of the goddes, and to beawise his triumphe; and left all the rest with Stratonice her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the king of the IBERIANS, hauing sent him a bedstead, a table, and a chayer of cleane golde, praying him to take it as a remembrance from him: he deliuered it ouer vnto the Treasurers custody, to be accountable for it vnto the state. In an other castell called Ceenon, he founde certaine secret letters sent from Mithridates, which pleased him maruelously to reade, because thereby he plainly vnderstoode the kinges nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poisoned (besides many other) Ariarathes his owne sonne, and Alexus the SARDIANIAN, because he had wonne the bell, at the horse race before him. There was also interpreting of dreames; that either him selfe or his wiues had dreamed, and also loue letters betwene Mithridates and him. Theophanes wryteth also, that there was found an oration of Rutilius, in the which he testified and perswaded Mithridates to put all the ROMANES to death that were in ASIA. Howbeit in reason men thinke, that this was a shamefull lye, maliciously deuised by Theophanes, who hated Rutilius, because he was but a counterfeite to him: or peraduenture to gratifie Pompey, whose father Rutilius in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as euer liued. Thence Pompey departed towardes the city of AMISVS. There his ambition brought him to commit such factes, as he him selfe did condemne before in Lucullus: for that his enemy being dyed aliue, he tooke vpon him to establish lawes, to geue gifts, and distribute such honors, as Captaines that had obtained victory were wont to doe, when they had ended all warfare and trouble. For he him selfe (Mithridates being yet the stronger in the realme of BOSPHORVS, and hauing a great puissant army about him) did all that which he reprobued another for, appointing prouinces, and geuing out gifts to euery man according as he deserved: to gratifie the twelve barbarous kinges, with diuers other Princes, Lordes and Captaines, that came to him thither. Wryting also to the king of PARTHIA, he disdained to geue him that title, which others were wont to doe in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kinges. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great desire to winne SYRIA, and to goe through the contry of ARABIA, euen vnto the redde sea, because he might enlarge his conquestes and victories euery way, euen vnto the great sea Oceanum; that compasseth all the whole earth. For in LIBYA, he was the first ROMANE that conquered all to the great sea. On thother side, in SPAIN he enlarged the Empire of ROMES, and brought the confines thereof vnto Mare Atlanticum. And thirdly, hauing lately the ALBANIANS in chafe, he came almost vnto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put him selfe in iorney, intending his circuit vnto the redde sea, specially because he sawe Mithridates so ill to follow, & worse to ouercome by force when he fled, then when he fought any battell: and that made him say, that he would leaue a sharper enemy behinde him, then him selfe: and that he ment, famine. For he appointed souldiers with sufficient number of shippes, to lye in waite for the marchauntes that failed to the contry of BOSPHORVS, to cary their wares, or other marchaundises, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that should attempt it. Then he went forward with the best parte of his army, and in his way, founde the bodies of dead ROMANES which Mithridates had ouerthrowen vnder the leading of Triarius, their Captaine, and were yet vnburiel. So he caused these all to be taken vp, and honorably

NNN

Pompey brought Syria into the forme and government of a province.

Pompey's virtues.

The power & infamy of Demetrius, Pompey's infranchised bondman.

Cato's exile, making against Demetrius, Pompey's infranchised bondman.

Pompey's Theater.

The king of Arabia Petra, submitted him selfe to Pompey.

buried. *Laelius* having forgotten, or otherwise neglected to do it, in my conscience was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him: *Pompey* now having by *Africanus* subdued the ARABIANs, dwelling about mount *Amanus*, went him selfe in person into SYRIA, and made a government and province of it, being won to the ROMANE empire, for that he had a lawfull king: and conquered all IUDIA also, where he took king *Aristobolus*, and builded certaine cities there, and delivred others also from bondage, which by tyrannes were forcibly kept, whom he chastised well enough. Howbeit he spent the most parte of his time, choosing of controuersies, pacifying of contentions and quarrells by arbitrement, which fell out between the free cities, Princes and kinges, and sent of his friends into those places where he could not come him selfe. For on a time when he was chosen arbitrator between the PARTHIANS and the ARMENIANS, touching the title of a contrie which both parties claimed, he sent three commissioners thither to iudge definitively between them both. If *Pompey's* fame and renowne were great, no lesse was his vertue, iustice, and liberality, which in deede did hide many fautes, his frendes and familiars about him did commit. For truly he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punish them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did vie them so well that complained vnto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter, that he made them contented, patiently to beare their courtesies & straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him, whom he loued best, was called *Demetrius*, a bondman infranchised, who otherwise was very discrete in his doings, but being somewhat too bolde of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. *Cato* the Philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good iudgement and of a noble mind, in *Pompey's* absence went to see the city of ANTIOCH. Now for him selfe, his manner was alwayes to goe a foote, & all his frendes besides that did accompany him to honor him, were a horsebacke. He perceiving a farr of, a great sorte of people coming towards him all in white, and of one side of the streete litle children, and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring: at the first he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his sake to honor him, that they made this procession, which he in no wise would haue had done. Thereupon he commaunded his frendes to light from their horses, and to goe a foote with him. But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the maister of the ceremonies that led this procession, having a garland on his head, and a rodde in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them: where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come? *Cato's* frendes laughed to heare this question: then sayd *Cato*, alas poore city, and so passed by it. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* him selfe was cause that *Demetrius* had the lesse ill will borne him, then otherwise he should haue had, because they sawe howe boldly he would vie *Pompey*, and howe well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when *Pompey* oftentimes had bidden some to dinner or suppe, while he was entertaining and welcoming of them, and would rary till they were all come, *Demetrius* would be set at the bord, and presumptuously haue his head couered euen to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIE out of this iorney, he had already purchased the goodliest houses of pleasure and fayrest walkes that were about Rome, and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly called *Demetrius* gardens: though his master *Pompey* was but meanely housed till his third Consulshippe. Howbeit afterwards, he built that famous stately Theater, called *Pompey's* Theater, and joynd vnto it also an other house, as a penthouse to his Theater, farr more sumptuous and stately then the first, and yet no more then needed. In so much as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he marueled, and asked where abouts it was, that *Pompey* dynd & supped. These things are reported thus. Now, the king of the ARABIANs, that dwelt about the castell called Petra, having neuer vntill that time made any accompt of the ROMANES army, was then greatly affrayed of them, and wrote vnto *Pompey*, that he was at his deuotion, to doe what he would commaunde him. *Pompey* thereupon to proue him, whether he meant as he spake, brought his army before this castell of Petra. Howbeit this voyage was not liked of many men, because they iudged it was an occasion found out to leaue following of *Mithridates*, against whom they would haue had him rather haue bent his force, being an authentic enemy to Rome, and that beganne to gather strength againe, and prepared as they heard sayd lead

A great army through SCYTHIA and PANNONIA into ITALIE. But *Pompey* thinking he should sooner minish his power by suffering him to goe on with warres, then that he should otherwise be able to take him flying: would not toyle to follow him in vaine. And for these causes he would needs make warres in other places, and longer time so long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farr from the castell of Petra, & had lodged his campe for that day: as he was riding and managing his horse vpon and downe the campe, postes came flying to him from the realme of Pontus, and brought him good newes, as was easily to be discerned a farr off by the heades of their iauelings, which were wreathed about with laurell boughes: The souldiers perceiving that, flocked straight about him: but *Pompey* would make an ende of his riding first, before he red these letters. Howbeit they crying for him, and being importunate with him, he lighted from his horse, and returned into his campe, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand vpon to speake vnto them, and againe, the souldiers would not tary the making of one after the manner of their campe, which men of warre doe make them selues, with great turnes of earth, laying one of them vpon an other: but for half & earnest desire they had to heare what newes there was in the letters, they layed together a heape of faddells one upon an other, and *Pompey* getting vpon them, tolde howe *Mithridates* was dead, and had killed him selfe with his owne handes, because his sonne *Pharnaces* did rebell against him, and had wonne all that which his father possessed. I writing vnto him, that he kept it for him selfe and the ROMANES. Vpon these newes, all the campe ye may imagine, made wonderfull ioy, and did sacrifice to the goddes, geuing them abakkes, & viene as merry, as if in *Mithridates* person alone, there had dyed an infinite number of their enemies. *Pompey* by this occasion, having brought this warre more easily to passe then he hoped for, departed presently out of ARABIA, and hauing speedily in few dayes passed through the contrie lying by the way, he came at length to the city of ANTIOCH. There he founde great presents that were brought vnto him from *Pharnaces*, and many dead bodies of the kinges bloody, and amongst the rest, *Mithridates* corse, which could not well be discerned by his face, because they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie vp the braine neuertheless, such as desired to see him, knew him by certaine skarres he had in his face. For *Pompey* would in no wise see him: but to auoide enuy, sent him away vnto the city of SYROPE. He would much at the maruelous sumptuous rich apperell and weapons that he wore: The scaberd of his sword (which cost foure hundred talents) was stolen by *Publius*, and sold to *Ariarathes*. Also for a hate of *Mithridates* of wonderfull workmanship, being begged of *Cato* his fosterbrother, was secretly geuen to *Faulsus*, the sonne of *Sylla*, without *Pompey's* priuie. But afterwards when *Pharnaces* vnderstoode of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. *Pompey* having ordered all things and established that province, went on his iorney homewards with great pompe and glory. So, coming vnto MITYLENE, he released the city of all taxes and paymentes for *Theophanes* sake, & was present at a certaine play they yearly make for games, where the Poets report their workes, contending one with an other, hauing at that time no better matter in hande, but *Pompey's* actes and iactes. *Pompey* liked exceeding well the Theater where these playes were made, and drew a modell or platforme of it to make a stately Theater in Rome. As he passed by the city of RUDES, he would nedes heare all the Rethoricians dispute, and gaue euery one of them a talent. *Posidonius* hath written the disposition he made before *Pompey*, against *Hermagoras* the Rethorician, vpon the theame and proposition *Pompey* selfe did geue them, touching the generall question, *Pompey* did the like at ATHENS vnto the Philosophers there. For he gaue towards the reedifying of the city againe, fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into ITALIE, to haue bene very honorably receiued, and longed to be at home, to see his wife and children, thinking also that they long looked for him, as the god that hath the charge geuen him to mingle fortunes prosperity, with some bitter sorow of aduersity, layed a blocke in his way at home in his owne house, to make his returne more sorrowfull. For *Mucia* his wife had in his absence played fillist tables: But *Pompey* being then in farr off, made no account of the reportes nor tales that were tolde him. Howbeit, when he drew neerer into ITALIE, and that he was more attentive to geneare the all reportes he heard: then he sent vnto her to tell her, that he refused her for his wife, why thing nothing to

The value of *Mithridates* scaberd of his sword.

Pompey's virtue out of Asia.

Mucia, the wife of *Pompey*, played with *Pompey* for her husband's wife.

her at that time, neither euer after told the cause why he had forsaken her. Notwithstanding, *A* in *Cicero's* Epistles the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ranne abroad in *ROME*, which troubled them sore, being geuen out that he would bring his armie straight to *ROME*, and make him selfe absolute Lord of all the *ROMANE* Empire. *Craffus* thereupon, either for that he beleued it in deede to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accusation true, and the enuy towardes *Pompey* the greater: conueyed him selfe, his family, and goodes, sodainly out of *ROME*. So *Pompey* when he came into *LYALIE*, called all his souldiers together, and after he had made an oration vnto them, as time & occasion required: he commanded them to feuer them selues, & euery man to repaire home to apply his busines, remebring to mete at *ROME* together, at the day of his triumph. His armie being thus dispersed, & straight reported abroad for newes: a marvelous thing happened vnto him. The cities seeking *Pompey* the great without souldiers, hauing but a small traine about him of his familiar friends onely, went all of the to meete him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquests, but from some journey take for his pleasure. Such was the loue of the people to him, that they accompanied him to *ROME*, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into *LYALIE*: so that if he had bene disposed to haue made any inuouation in the common wealth, he had not needed his armie. In those dayes there was a law, that no man should enter into *ROME* before his triumph: whereupon *Pompey* sent to the Senate, to pray them to deferre the closing of Consuls for a few daies, because he might be present to further *Piso*, who sued for the Consulship that yere. They denied him his request, by *Cato's* meanes that hindered it. *Pompey* marveling to heare of his boldnes & plaine speech, which he onely vsed of all other to defend his iust causes: had a marvelous desire to win him, & to make him his friend. So *Cato* hauing two neeces, *Pompey* desired to marry the one him selfe, & the other for his sonne. But *Cato* mistrusting this desire of *Pompey*, that it was a colour only to win & corrupt him: denied him gladly. His wife & sister on thother side, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliance with *Pompey* the great. About that time it chaunced, that *Pompey* being very desirous to preferre *Afranius* to be Consul, he caused certaine money to be geuen amongst the tribes of the peoples, & the same was deliuered out to some, even in his owne gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the city, euery man spake ill of *Pompey*, that he put the Consulship to sale for money, vnto those that could not delerue it by vertue, sith him selfe only had obtained it by purchase, of many a noble & worthy deede. Then sayd *Cato* to his wife and sister: loe now, we had bene partakers of this fault, to had we matched with *Pompey*. When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to refuse the match, for equity and his honor. But now to his triumph. For the statelines & magnificence thereof, although he had two dayes space to shew it, yet he lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the shewe, that were not seene, which would haue serued to haue set out an other triumph. First there were tables caried, wheron were written the names & titles of all the people, and nations for the which he triumphed, as these that follow. The kingdom of *PONTVS*, *ARMENIA*, *CAPPADOCTIA*, *PAPHLAGONIA*, *MEDIA*, *COLCHIS*, *LIBERIA*, *ALBANIA*, *SYRIA*, *CILICIA*, & *MESOPOTAMIA*; & furthermore, the people that dwell about *PHOENICIA* & *PALÆSTINE*, *IVDEA*, & *ARABIA*; & all the pirates which he had overcome both by sea & by land, in all partes of the world. In all these countries, he tooke about 8 a thousand castles, few lesse then nine hundred townes & cities: of pirates ships eight hundred, & nine & thirte desolate townes left without inhabitants, replenished againe with people by him. Moreover, these tables declared, that the reueneue of the comon wealth of *ROME* before these conquests he made, amounted yerely but to fise thousand *Miriades*: & that from thence forth with the summes he had added vnto the former reueneue, they should now receiue eight thousand & fise hundred *Miriades*: & that he brought presently in ready gold & silver, & in plate & iuells, to put into the common treasury, the value of twenty thousand talents, besides that which had bene distributed already amongst the souldiers: of the which, he that had left for his share, had fiftene hundred *Drachmas*. The prisoners that were led in the shew of this triumph, besides the Captaines of the pirates, were these that follow. The sonne of *Tigranes* king of *ARMENIA*, with his wife & daughter: the wife of king *Tigranes* himselfe, called *Zosime*. *Antiochus* king of *LYALIE*. *Mithridates* sister with fise sonnes of hers, & some Ladies of *SCYTHIA*.

Pompey at his returne out of Asia, discharged his souldiers.

Pompey hauered reueneue to Rome out of Asia, a law for triumphe.

Cato refuseth Pompey's alliance.

Pompey's third triumphe.

The countries conquered by Pompey.

Captiues led in Pompey's third triumphe.

A The ostages also of the *IBERIAN*s and the *ALBANIAN*s, and also of the kings of the *COMMAGENIAN*s: & besides a great number of other markes of triumphes which him selfe or his Lieutenantes had wonne at sundry battells in diuers places. But the greatest honor that euer he wanne, and which neuer other Consul of the *ROMANES* but him selfe obtained, was this: that he made his third triumphe of the three partes of the world. Diuers other *ROMANES* had triumphed thrise before him, howbeit he first triumphed of *AFRICKE*: the seconde time of *EVROPE*: the third time of *ASIA*. So that it appeared by these three triumphes, that he had triumphed in manner of all the lande that is inhabited, being at that time, (as it is reported by them which compare his doings vnto *Alexander* the great) vnder foure and thirty yeares of age, though in troth at that time he were neere forty. O, happy had it bene for him, if he had ben when he had *Alexander's* fortune: for all his life afterwarde, made his prosperitie hateful, or his aduersitie miserable. Employing the honor and authority he had gotten by his valliantnes, fauoring mens vniust causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened his honor, and vnwares brought his greatnes to nothing. For like as when the strongest places of a citie, which receiuing their enemies into them, doe geue them the benefit of their owne strength: euen so, through *Pompey's* power, *Cesar* growing to be great, ouerthrew him in the end with the selfe same meanes he employed, to the ouerthrowe of others. And thus it fortuneed. *Lucullus* at his returne out of *ASIA* (where *Pompey* had vncurtiously vsed him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was also come to *ROME*. For the Senate did counsell and incorage him to deale in thaffaires of the state, seeing him waxe very slow, and geuen too much to his ease & pleasure, by reason of his great wealth he had gotten. So when *Pompey* was come, he beganne to speake against him, and through the friendship and assistance of *Cato*, confirmed all his doings in *ASIA*, which *Pompey* had broken and reiecte. *Pompey* finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driuen to haue recourse vnto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in friendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the most impudent & vilest person was *Clodius*: who receiued him, & made him a praye vnto the people. For he had *Pompey* euer at his elbow, & against his honor caried him vp & downe the market place after him, to speake as occasion serued to confirme any matter or deuise which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompence of his goodwill, he craued of *Pompey* (not as a thing dishonorable, but beneficial for him) that he would forsake *Cicero*, who was his friend, and had done much for him in matters of common wealth. *Pompey* graunted his request. Thereupon *Cicero* being brought in danger of law, and requiring *Pompey's* friendship to helpe him, he shut his dore against them that came to speake in his behalfe, and went out him selfe at an other backe dore. *Cicero* thereupon fearing the treamey of law, willingly forooke *ROME*. At that time, *Julius Cesar* returning home from his Pratorshippe out of *SPAYNE*, beganne to lay such a platte, that presently brought him into great fauor, and afterwarde much increased his power, but otherwise vtterly vndid *Pompey* and the common wealth. Now he was to sue for his first Consulshippe, and considering the enmitie betwext *Pompey* and *Craffus*, if he ioyned with the one, he made thother his enemy: he deuised to make them frendes, a thing seeming of great honestie at the first sight, but yet a pestilent deuise, and as subtil a practise as could be. For the power of the city being before deuided into two partes, (as a shippe euently ballast of eche side) and maintained the common wealth vpright being now brought into one mas power, there was no possibility to wishland it, so that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereupon, *Cato* wisely told them afterwarde, that sayd the ciuill warres betwext *Pompey* and *Cesar* was cause of the destruction of the common wealth: that their enmitie and discord was not the chiefe originall cause of this misery, but rather their frendshippe and agreement. For by their frendshippe, *Cesar* was chosen Consul, who straight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for restoring of the colonies belonging to *ROME*, and for distributing of lands to them that had none, imbalancing the maiesty and dignity of the chiefe Magistrate, and making the Consulshippe in manner no better then the Tribuneship of the people. *Bibulus* his colleague and fellowe Consul, did what he could to resist him, and *Cato* also did aide him to his power: vntill *Cesar* openly brought *Pompey* into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if

Pompey conquered three partes of the world: Africke, Europe, Asia.

Pompey triumphed thrise before the age of forty yeares. The change of Pompey's fortune and honor.

Lucullus becomed of the Senate at his returne out of Asia.

Lucullus ioynd against Pompey, by Cato's assistance. Pompey ioynd with Clodius, Tribune of the people.

Pompey forsooketh his friend Cicero.

Cesar reconciled Pompey and Craffus.

Cesar's law for deniuing of lands: Lex Agraria.

Pompey gave
his consent
for passing his
law Agraria.

Pompey mar-
ried Julia, the
daughter of
Cæsar.

Bibulus the
Consull dris-
men out of the
market place,
by Pompey.
The law A-
graria confir-
med by the
people.
Gauls and Il-
lyria appar-
ent vnto Cæ-
sar.
Piso, and Ca-
binus, Con-
suls.
Cato fore-
warneth the ruine
of the com-
mon wealth,
of C. Pompey.

Clodius the
Tribune sit-
teth vpon
Pompey.

Pompey was
griuously
forned of
Clodius.

he did geue his consent to the decrees which he did set forth. Pompey answered him, he did not. Why then, sayd Cæsar, if any man will by force let the passing of this law by voyces of the people: wilt thou not then come to helpe them? Yes that I will in deede, sayd Pompey. Against them that threaten with the sword, I will bring both sword and target. Pompey in all his life neuer did nor spake thinge that men more miliked, then that which he sayd at that time. His frendes excused him, and sayd it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his deedes afterwards shewed, that he was altogether at Cæsar's commaundement. For not many dayes after, he married Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, which was affianced, or made sure be- fore, vnto *Sernilius Cæpio* when no man thought of it: and to pacifie *Cæpio's* anger, he gaue him his owne daughter in marriage, whome he had also promised before vnto *Fauslus* the sonne of *Sylla*: and Cæsar also married *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piso*. After this, Pompey filling all Rome with souldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Consull *Bibulus* came into the market place accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they sodainly set vpon him, and brake the bundles of rods which his officers caried before him: and some one, whatsoever he was, cast a basket of horse donny on his head. Moreover, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very sore hurt. By this meanes, hauing cleared the market place of all their enemies, they passed the law for diuision of lands, as they would them selues. The people being fished with this baite, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would neuer stick at any matter that they would haue passed. So were all Pompeys matters confirmed, which *Lucullus* was against: and they appointed vnto Cæsar also, the gouernment of the *GAULES* on this side and beyond the Alpes: and *ILLYRIA* for fise yerres space, with foure whole legions. The next year following were appointed Consulls, *Piso* Cæsar's father in law, and *Gabinus* the greatest flatterer Pompey had about him. But now while things stode in these tearmes, *Bibulus* though he were Consull, kept him selfe close in his house for eight monethes space, and only sent out billes, and set them vp on euery post in open places, accusing Pompey and Cæsar. *Cato* on the other side, as if he had been inspired with the spirit of prophecies, tolde openly in the Senate house, what would become of the common wealth and Pompey. *Lucullus* growing old, lay still and tooke his pleasure, & would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was that Pompey sayd: it was more vnseasonable for an old man to followe his pleasure, then to attend matters of the common wealth. Yet him selfe shortly after was so doted of his young wife, that he would follow her vp and downe in the contry, and in his gardens, and leaue all affaires of waight aside. Whereupon *Clodius* being then Tribune of the people, despised Pompey, and beganne to enter into seditious attempts. For when he had driuen *Cicero* out of Rome, and had sent away *Cato* to make warres in *CYPRVS*, and that Cæsar also was occupied in *GAULES*, & finding that the people in like case were at his commaundement, because to flatter them he did what they would haue him: he attempted incontinently to vndo some things that Pompey had established. Amongest other things, he tooke *Tigranes* out of prison, and euer caried him vp and downe with him wheresoever he went, and continually pickt quarrells vnto Pompeys frends, to trye what credit he had. In the end Pompey comming abroad one day into the common assembly, to here how a matter of his was handled: this *Clodius* hauing a company of vacabondes and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be seene from the rest, beganne to aske these questions out alowde. Who is the licentiouslest Capitaine in all this city? What man is he that seeks for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a companie of daunfers or fingers, when he spake and clapped his handes on his gowne, answered him straight alowde to euery question, that it was Pompey. This went to Pompeys harte, that was not wont to heare him selfe so ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kinde of sight: but yet it made him byte the lippe more, when he saw the Senate glad to see him thus shamed and reproued, as a iust reuenge & punishment for his vile betraying and forsaking of *Cicero*. So, great furre and vpror being made vpon this in the market place, and many men sore hurt, and one of *Clodius* bondmen being taken also in the preafe of the people with a sword in his hand, very neere vnto Pompey: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing *Clodius* insolvency & prowde words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as *Clodius* was Tribune, but kept at home

A home still, consulting with his frendes what way he should take, to appease the anger of the Senate against him. Thereupon, one of his frendes called *Culeo*, perfwaded him to put away his wife *Julia*, and vterly to refuse Cæsar's frendshippe, and to stick againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithstanding he was contented to hearken vnto them that gaue him counsell to call *Cicero* home againe, who was *Clodius* mortal enemy, and in great fauor with the Senate. Thereupon, he brought *Cicero's* brother into the market place, to moue the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and diuers were slaine of either side: notwithstanding, he ouercame *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought Pompey againe in fauor with the Senate, and standing with the lawe propounded to geue Pompey authority to cause come to be brought to Rome, he once againe made him haue power both by land and sea ouer all the territories of the ROMANES. For all the hauens, martes & fayres, & all store houses for corne, yea moreouer all the trade of marchandise and tillage, came vnder Pompeys hands. Then *Clodius* accusing him, sayd: that the Senate had not made this law for the death of vittells, but that they made a death of vittells, because the law should passe, to reuue Pompeys power and authority againe, that was almost vnder foote. Other say, that this was a deuil of *Lucullus Spinther* the Consull, who gaue Pompey the greater authority, because he might be sent to put king *Ptolomy* againe into his kingdom. This notwithstanding, *Camidius* the Tribune preferred another law to send Pompey without an army, with twb sergeantes only to cary the axes before him, to bring *Ptolomy* in fauor againe with the ALEXANDRIANS. This law seemed C to not to milke Pompey: but the Senate with honest colour put by this lawe, as being affrayed least Pompeys perion should miscary in so doing. Neuerthelesse, liue papers were found thrown about the market place, and the Senate house, declaring that *Ptolomy* desired Pompey might come to aide him in *Spinthres* stead. *Timagenes* wyrteth notwithstanding, that *Ptolomy* went vnto Rome, & left AEGYPT without any occasion geuen him, at the perswasion of *Theophaues*, who perfwaded him to doe so, because he would geue Pompey occasion to make newe warres. But *Theophaues* craft and fittillie made not this matter so credible, as Pompeys wit and good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambitio was nothing so vile nor ill as that was. So, Pompey hauing now full authority to cause come to be brought to Rome, he sent then his Lieutenantes and frendes abroad, and him selfe in person went into *SICILIE*. Nowe being ready to returne againe, there rose such a storme of winde in the sea, that the mariners were in dout to way their anckers. But him selfe first imbarcked, and commaunded them straight to hoyle sayle, crying out alowde, it is of necessitie I must goe, but not to liue. So, through his boldnes and good spirite, vsing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of marte, and markets with corne, and all the sea besides with shippes: insomuch, the plenty he brought did not only furnishe the city of Rome, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a liuely spring that disperfed it selfe through all ITALIE. About that time, the great conquests that Cæsar made in *GAULES*, did set him aloof. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres farre from Rome, with the BELGANS, SWISSES, and Englishmen: he by secret practise, was in the middelt among the people at Rome, & most against Pompey in the waightiest E affayres of the common wealth. For he had the power of an armie about his person, which he did harden with paines and continuall practise, not with intent to fightonely against the barbarous people: for the battells he had with them, were in manner but as a hunting sporte, by the which he made him selfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the worlde. But furthermore, by the infinite gold & siluer, and the incredible spoiles and treasure which he waued upon the enemies whom he had ouercome: and by sending great presentes also to Rome, to the *Ediles*, *Pretors*, *Consulls*, and their wiues, he purchased him many frendes. Therefore, after he had passed ouer the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of *LYOA*: a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate them selues almost two hundred persons (and amongest them, *Craffus* and Pompey by name) went out of Rome vnto him: Furthermore, there F were seene at Cæsar's gate, fixe score sergeantes caryng axes before *Pretors*, or *Proconsulls*. So Cæsar sent euery one backe againe, either full of money, or good wordes: but with Pompey and *Craffus*, he made a matche, that they two together should liue to be Consulls, and that he

Commission
graw in Pom-
pey for bring-
ing of corne
into Rome.

This refusing
against of
Pompey, king
of AEGYPT
to liue alone.

Great repaire
vnto Cæsar,
wintering at
LYOA.

The violence
of Pompey ob-
serving the
second Con-
sulship.
Pompey and
Crassus seek
Consulships.

Provinces de-
vided unto
Pompey, Ca-
sar, and Cra-
sus.

him selfe would send them good aide to ROME, at the daye of election, to geue their voyces. And if they were thosen, that they should then practise by decree of the people, to haue the gouernmentes of some newe prouinces and armies assigned them: and withall, that they should adorne the gouernment of those prouinces he had, for five yeares more. This pacte being beyrayed and spred abroad through ROME, the honestest sorte miliked much thereof. Whereupon *Marcellinus* at an open assembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would sue for the Consulship at the next election. So, they being vrged by the people to make answer, *Pompey* spake first, and said: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. *Crassus* answered more gently, that he would doe that which should be best for the common wealth. Then *Marcellinus* sharply inueying against *Pompey*, he angrily againe cast him in the teeth, & said, that *Marcellinus* was the rankest churle, and the vnthankfulllest beast in the world: for that of a dumme man he had made him eloquent, and being in maner starued and famished, many a time he had filled his bellie. This notwithstanding, diuers that before were determined to sue for the Consulship, went no further in it, sauing *Lucius Domitius*, whom *Cato* counselled and incouraged not to geue it ouer: for, said he, thou doest not contend for the Consulship, but to defend the common libertie of thy contry against two tyrannes. *Pompey* therefore fearing *Cato's* faction, least that hauing all the Senates good willes, he should drawe also the best parte of the people after him: thought it not good to suffer *Domitius* to come into the market place. To this ende therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first onfet, flue the torchie bearer that caryed the torch before him, and made all the rest flie: amongst whom also *Cato* was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of *Domitius*. *Pompey* and *Crassus* being become Consuls after this sorte, they ordered them selues nothing the more temperately, nor honestly. For first of all, the people being about to choose *Cato* Prætor, *Pompey* being at assembly of the election, perceiving that they would choose him, brake vp the assembly, falsely alleaging that he had noted certaine ill signes, and afterwards, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they chose *Antius* and *Vatinius* Prætors. After that, by *Trebonius* tribune of the people, they published edicts, authorising *Cæsar* charge for five yeares longer, according to the appointment they had made with *Cæsar*. Vnto *Crassus* also they had appointed *SYRIA*, and the warre against the *PARTHIANS*. Vnto *Pompey* in like case, all *AFRICKE*, and both *SPAINES*, with foure Legions besides: of the which, at *Cæsar's* desire, he lent him two legions to help him in his warre in *GAULE*. These things done, *Crassus* departed to his Prouince, at the going out of his Consulship: and *Pompey* remayned at ROME about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many goodly playes to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for learning and musicke, and caused wilde beastes also to be baited and hunted, and killed a five hundred lions. But of all thinges, there was no such fearefull fight and terrible fight, as was betwene the elephantes. This great charge and bowntifull expence, defrayed by *Pompey*, to shew the people pastime and pleasure: made him againe to be very much esteemed of, and beloued amongst the people. But on thother side, he wanne him selfe as much ill will and enuy, in committing the gouernment of his Prouinces and Legions into the hands of his Lieutenants, whilest he him selfe romed vp and downe the pleasaunt places of *ITALY*, with his wife at his pleasure: either bycause he was farre in loue with her, or els for that the loued him so dearely, that he could not finde in his harte to leaue her companie. It was reported of her, (being known of many) that this young lady *Julia* loued her husband more dearly, not for *Pompey's* flourishing age, but for his assured continencie, knowing no other woman but her: besides also, he was no foleme man, but pleasaunt of conuersation, which made women loue him maruelously, vnles we will reprove the curtisan *Flora's* false testimonie. It is certaine, that at an election of the *Ediles*, men rising sodainely in hurly burly, drew their swordes, and many were slaine about *Pompey*: inso much as his clothes being bloudyed, he sent his men home in haste to fetch him ooke to change him. His young wife that was great with child, seeing his clothes bloudie, took such a sight vpon it, that she fell downe in a fownde before them, and they had much a doe to recouer her, and yet she fell straight in labor apon it, and was deliuered. So that they themselves, which blamed him most for his good will he bare vnto *Cæsar*: could not reprove the loue he bare

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vnto his wife. An other time after that, she was great with child againe, whereof she died, and the childe liued not many dayes after the mother. As *Pompey* was about to carrie her into the contrie to be buried, to a house he had there nere vnto the cite of *ASIS*, the people by force took her corse, & cawied it into the field of *MARS*, more for the pittie they took of the young Ladie, then to pleasure either *Cæsar* or *Pompey*: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for *Cæsar's* sake being absent, then for *Pompey's* that was present. But straight when this alliance was broken, which rather couered, then bridled their ambitious desire to rule: there rose a new sturre in ROME immediately, and euery mans month was full of prittle prattle and seditious wordes. Not longe after that also came newes, that *Crassus* was ouerthrowen, and slaine in *PARTHIA*, who was a manifest staye and let to keepe them twofrom ciuill warres, for that they both feared him, & therefore kept them selues in a reasonable sorte together. But when fortune had taken awaie this third champion, who could haue withstood the better of them both that had overcome the other: then might haue bene said of these two which remained, as the comycall Poet said:

See how these Champions purposing eke others force to trie,
Vnto which pointed skin and dusty hands hand vanishing vailantly.

So litle can fortune preuaile against nature, hauing no power to stoppe couetousnes: sith so large and great an Empire, and such a wide contrie besides, could not containe the couetous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read,

Among the gods them selues all things by lot diuided are;
And none of them intrudes him selfe vnto his neighbours share.

Yet they thought not that the Empire of ROME was enough for them, which were but two. But *Pompey* spake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office before he looked for it, and also left it sooner then they thought he would haue done: & that he witnesseth by discharging his armie so soone. Then thinking that *Cæsar* would not discharge his armie, he sought to make him selfe strong against him, by procuring offices of the cite, without any other alteration. Neither would he seeme to mistrust him, but he plainly shewed that he did despise and contemne him. But when he sawe that he could not obtaine the offices of the cite as he would, because the citizehs that made the elections were bribed with money: he then left it without a magistrate, so that there was none either to commaund, or that the people should obey. Hereupon there ranne a brute straight, that there must needs be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was *Lucilius* tribune of the people, who perswaded them to choose *Pompey*. But *Cato* stucke so slowly against it, that the Tribune had like to haue lost his office, even in the market place. But then many of *Pompey's* frendes stepped vp, and excused him, saying: that he neither sought, nor would haue the Dictatorship. Then *Cato* commended him much, and praying him to see good order kept in the common wealth: *Pompey* being ashamed to denie so reasonable a request, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Consuls were chosen, *Domitius*, and *Messala*: but afterwards when the state beganne to change againe, by the death of one of the Consuls, and that diuers were more earnestly bent to haue a Dictator than before, *Cato* fearing it would breake out with furie, determined to geue *Pompey* some office of reasonable authority, to keepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Inso much, *Bibulus* him selfe being chiefe of the Senate, and *Pompey's* enemie, was the first that moued, *Pompey* might be chosen Consul alone: for, said he, by this meanes, either the common wealth shall be ridde of the present trouble, or els it shall be in bondage to an honest man. This opinion was maruelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, *Cato* rising vp, it was thought straight he would haue spoken against him. But silence being made him, he plainly tolde them, that for his owne parte he would not haue bene the first man to haue propounded that was spoken: but since it was spoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, said he, it is better to haue an office to commaund, whatsoeuer he be, rather then none: & that he saw no man fitter to commaund, then *Pompey*, in so trouble some a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that *Pompey* should be chosen sole Consul: and that if he sawe in his discretion he should neede the assistance of an other companion, he might name any whome he thought good, but not

Varianes do-
ming the So-
nate for Pom-
pey's honor.

Cato spake in
Pompey's fa-
uor.

The death
of Julia the
daughter of
Cæsar.

The begin-
ning of the
dissention be-
tween Pom-
pey & Cæsar.

Pompey made
sen Consul.

Pompey married Cornelia,
the daughter
of Scipio.
The virtues
of Cornelia,
the daughter
of Metellus
Scipio.

still two monethes were past. Thus was Pompey made Consul alone by *Salpistius*, regent for *Caesar*. Then Pompey made very freely countenance vnto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honor he had done him; praying him privately to assist him with his counsell in the Consullship. *Cato* answered him, that there was no cause why he should thank him, for he had done nothing for his sake, but for respect of the common wealth only: and for his counsell, if he would aske it, he should privately haue it, if not, yet that he would openly saie that which he thought. Such a man was *Cato* in all his doings. Now Pompey returning into the citie, married *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Metellus Scipio*; not a maiden, but late the widow of *Publius Crassus* the sonne, that was slaine in *PARTHIA*, to whom she was married a maiden. This Ladie had excellent gifts to be belov'd besides her beauty. For he was properly learned; could play on the harpe, was skilfull in musike and geometrie; and tooke great pleasure also in philosophy, and not vainly without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behaviour, without bawling & foolish curiosities, which commonly young women haue, that are induit with such singular gifts. Her father also, was a noble man, both in bloud, and life. Notwithstanding, these vnlike mariages did nothing please former: for *Cornelia* was young enough to haue bene his sonnes wife. Now the best citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the common wealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedie to redresse the same: and that he in the meane time gaue him selfe ouer to merying and feasting, where rather he should haue bene careful of his Consullship, which was disposed upon him against the lawes, for common calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had bene quiet. Furthermore, he sharply proceeded against them, which by bribe and vnlawfull meanes came to office: and hauing made lawes and ordinances for the administration of Iustice otherwise, he delictiously and vprightly in all things, geuing sentence, order, silence and grauitie, to matters of Iudgement, with force of armes, himselfe being present: sauing that when his father in law was also accused among other, he sent for the three hundred & three score Iudges home to his house, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accusor *saw Scipio* accompanied by the Iudges, them selues, returning into the market place: he let fall his sute. This made Pompey againe be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he hauing made a lawe, that no man should praise the offenders, whilst their matter was a hearing: came him selfe and openly praised *Plancius* being accused. Thereupon *Cato* being one of the Iudges, stopped his eares with both his handes, saying: that he might not heare an offendor praised, seeing it was forbidden by lawe. But therefore he was refused for a Iudge, before they gaue sentence. Notwithstanding, *Plancius* was condemned by all the rest of the Iudges, to Pompeys great shame and reproache. Shortly after, *Hyppseus*, one that had bene Consul, being likewise accused, watching Pompey on a time as he came out of his bathe to goe to supper: upon his knees he besought Pompeys fauor and helpe. But he staidly passed by him, and gaue him no other answer, but told him, he marred his supper; and said nothing els to him. This inconstancy was much reprobred in Pompey. Howbeit otherwise he set all things in good order, and chose his father in lawe *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Consullship, for the next monethes. After that, he caused the gouernment of his prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commission to take yearly out of the treasure a thousand talentes to defraye the charges of this warre. *Caesars* friend seeing that, stepped vp for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideration of him, that had likewise great warres for the Empire of *ROME*, saying, that his good seruice deserved, either that they should make him Consul againe, or els that they should prolong his charge and gouernment; so as he might yet peaceably enioye the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to thend that no other successor might reape the frute of his labor. Much stirre and contention being about this matter at *ROME*, Pompey as though for goodwill he ment to excuse the enuie they might haue borne *Caesar*, said that he had receyued letters from him, by the which he requested a successor, and to be discharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should graunt him priuilege to demand the second Consullship, although he were absent. Which *Cato* stoutly withstoode, saying, that he must retorne home as a priuate man, and leauing his armie, should come in person to demand

recom-

A recompence of his contrie. But by cause Pompey made no reply nor answer to the commaund, men suspected straight that he had no great good liking of *Caesar*, and other such, by cause he had sent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him; vnder colour of his warre against the *PARTHANS*. But *Caesar* though he smelt him whither he sent for his souldiers, returned them home with liberal reward. About that time, Pompey fell sicke at *NIZA*, a sicknes dangerous, disease, whereof notwithstanding he recovered againe. The *NUMIDIANS* were at that time, by perswasion of *PRAXAGORAS*, one of the chiefe men of their citie, did sacrifice to the goddess for his recouerie. The like did also their neighbours round about; and his sicknes came so generally through all *ITALY*, that there was no citie or towne (great or small) but made open feast and reioycing for many dayes together. Besides, the infinite number of people was such, that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was no place enough for them all, but the high wayes, citie, townes and ports of the sea, were all full of people, waiting and sacrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recouerie. Diuers also went to meete him, crowned with garlandes, and so did attend on him, casting nosegayes and flowers upon him. Thus was his Iorney the noblest fight that euer was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought also, that this was the chiefe cause of the beginning of the ciuill warres: For he fell into such a pride, and glorious conceit of him selfe, with the exceeding ioy he made to see himselfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings prosper, he grew to bolde in despising of *Caesars* power, as though he stood in no neede of other power or care to withstand him; but that he could overcome him as he would: farre more easely, then he could haue done before. Furthermore, *Appian* thereupon returned from *GALLIA*, that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had lent vnto *Caesar*, reproaching much his doings which he had done there, and going out many scurrilous words against *Caesar*. For he said, that Pompey knew not his owne strength and authorities, that would make him selfe strong, by other power against him: considering that he might overcome him with his owne legions he should bring with him, so soone as they sawe but Pompey in the face, such ill will did *Caesars* owne souldiers beare him, and were maruelous desirous besides to see him selfe. These flattering tales so puffed vp Pompey, and brought him into such a security and trust of him selfe, that he mocked them to come which were affrayed of warres. And to those also which said, that if *Caesar* came to *ROME*, they sawe not how they could resist his power: he smilingly answered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for as one said he as I doe, but stampe with my foote upon the ground of *ITALY*; if that bring men enough out of euery corner, both footemen and horsemen. In the meantime, *Caesar* gathered force still vnto him, and thenceforth drew neerer vnto *ITALY*, and sent for his souldiers daily to *ROME*, to be present at the election of the magistrates; and many of them that were in office, he wanne with money: amongst whom, was *Paulus*, one of the Consuls, whom he wanne of his side, by meanes of a thousand five hundred talentes. And also the Tribune of the people, whom he discharged of an infinite debt he ought; and *Mark Antony* also, who for *Curius* sake, was discharged likewise for parte of the debt which *Curius* ought being also bound as him selfe. Furthermore, it was found that a captain or Centurion sent from *Caesar* being neerer vnto the Senate, vnderstanding that the counsell would not prolong *Caesars* gouernment which he required, clapping his hand vpon the pumell of his sword well said he, this shall geue it him. So, to be shorne, all that was done and said, tended to this end. Notwithstanding, the petitions and requestes that *Curio* made in *Caesars* behalf, seemed somewhat more reasonable for the people: for he requested one of the two, either to make Pompey to put downe his armie; or els to licence *Caesar* to haue his armie as well as he: For, either being both made priuate men, they would fall to agreement of their selues: or els being both of like strength, neither of both would seek any alteration, fearing to be an other, but would continue their selues either of them with their owne. Or otherwise, he that should weaken the one, and strengthen the other, should double his power whom he feared. There vpon wholly replied

the Consul *Marcellus*, calling *Caesar* therse, and said that he should be proclaimed an open enemy to *ROME*, if he did not disperse his armie: if his notwithstanding, in fine *Caesar*, *Antony*, and *Piso*, procured that the Senate should decide this matter. For, said he, all those that would

Pompey fell sicke at *NIZA*.
Great reioycing for the recovery of Pompeys health.

Appian brought Pompeys army backe, and fed his humor.

Pompey proud words.

Paulus the Consul bribed by *Caesar*.
Curius by the Tribune of the people, bribed by *Caesar*.

Antony and *Piso* procured that the Senate should decide this matter.

haue *Cæsar* leaue his army, and *Pompey* to keepe his: let them stand on thone side. Thereupon the most parte of them stood at one side. Then he bad them againe come away from thence, that would haue them both leaue their armies. Then there remained only but two and twentie that stood for *Pompey*: and all the rest went of *Curio's* side. Then *Curio* looking after the ioy of the victorie, went into the market place, and there was receiued of his Tribunes edicion, with shewtes of ioy and clapping of handes, and infinite nosegayes and garlandes of flowers throwen vpon him. *Pompey* was not then present to see the Senators good will towards him: because by the law, such as haue commandement ouer souldiers, can not enter into *ROME*. Notwithstanding, *Marcellus* standing vp, sayd: that he would not stande in hearing of orations and argumentes, when he knew that tenne legions were already passed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes against them: and that he would send a man vnto them, that should defende their contrie well enough. Straight they chaunged apparel at *ROME*, as their manner was in a common calamitie. *Marcellus* then comming through the market place vnto *Pompey*, beinge followed of all the Senate, went to him, and tolde him openly: *Pompey*, I commaund thee to helpe thy contry with that army thou hast already and also to leaue more to aide thee. The like speche did *Lentulus* vnto him, who was appointed one of the Consuls the yere following. Now, when *Pompey* thought to leaue souldiers in *ROME* and to bill them, some would not obey him, a few others went unwillingly with him with heauie hartes, and the most of them cried, peace, peace. *Antony* also, against the Senates minde, red a letter vnto the people sent from *Cæsar* containing certaine offers and reasonable requestes, to draw the common peoples affection towards him. For his request was, that *Pompey* and he should both of them resigne their gouernments, and should dismishe their armies to make all well, referring them selues wholly to the iudgement of the people, and to deliuer vp account vnto them of their doings. *Lentulus* beinge nowe entered into his Consulshippe, did not assemble the Senate. But *Cicero* lately returned out of *CILICIA*, praedict to bring them to agreement, propounding that *Cæsar* should leaue *GAULE*, and all the rest of his armie, reseruing onely two legions and the gouernment of *ILLYRIA*, attending his seconde Consulshippe. *Pompey* liked not this motion. Then *Cæsar's* frendes were contented to graunt that he should haue but one of his legions: But *Lentulus* spake against it, and *Cato* cried out on thother side also, that *Pompey* was deceiued, and they both. So all treatie of peace was cutte of. In the meane time, newes came to *ROME*, that *Cæsar* had wonne *ARMINVM*, a fayet great cite of *ITALIE*, and that he came directly to *ROME* with a great power. But that was not true. For he came but with three hundred horse, and five thousand footemen, and would not tatie for the rest of his armie that was yet on thother side of the mountaines in *GAULE*, but made hast rather to surpris his enemies upon the sodaine, beinge affrayd and in garboyle, not looking for him so soone: rather then to geue them time to be provided, and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the riuers side of *Rubicon*, (which was the utmost confine of the prouince he had in charge towards *ITALIE*) he stayed sodainely, weying with him selfe the great enterprise he tooke in hand. At the last, as men that beinge of a maruelous height from the ground do hedlong throw themselves downe, closing of their eyes, and withdrawing their mindes from the thought of the danger: crying out these wordes only vnto them that were by, in the greeke tongue, *ἀντιστοχὸν αἰεὶ*: in english, let the dyt be cast meaning hereby to put all in hafard, and according to our prouerbe, to set all on fix and futen; he passed ouer with his armie. Now, the newes of his comming beinge carried to *ROME*, they were in such a maruelous feare, as the like was neuer seene. For all the Senate ratine immediatly vnto *Pompey*, and all the other magistrats of the cite fled vnto him also. *Tullius* asking *Pompey* what power he had to resist them, he answered him, sayinge somewhat in his speech: that he had the two legions ready which *Cæsar* sent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which he had leauied, in haf, he should make up the number of thirtie thousand fighting men. Then *Tullius* cryed out openly: ah, thou hast mocked vs *Pompey*: for thereupon gaue order they should send ambassadors vnto *Cæsar*. There was one *Phaonius* in the companie, who otherwise was no ill man, sayinge that he was somewhat to bolde, thinking to countereface *Cæsar's* plaine manner of speech: he bad *Pompey* then

stampe

A stampe his foote upon the ground, & make those souldiers come which he had promised the. *Pompey* gently bare with *Phaonius* mocke. But when *Cato* told him also, what he had prophesied before hand of *Cæsar*, he answered him againe: in deed thou hast prophesied more truly then I, but I haue delte more friendly then he. Then *Cato* thought good that they should make him lieutenant generall of *ROME* with full and absolute power to commaund all, sayinge: that the selfe same men which doe the greatest mischief, know best also how to remedie the same. So he immediatly departed into *SICILE*, hauing the charge and gouernment of that contrie: and also euery one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all *ITALIE* being in armes, no man knew what was best to be done. For they that were out of *ROME*, came flyinge thither from all partes: and those on thother side that were within *ROME*, went out as fast, and forooke the cite in this trouble and disorder. That which might letue beinge willing to obeye, was found very weake: and that on thother side which by dilobedience did hurte, was to stronge and ill to be gouerned by the magistrats, hauing lawe to commaund. For there was no possibilitie to pacifie their feare, neither would they suffer *Pompey* to offer thinges as he would: but euery man followed his owne fancie, euen as he found him selfe greiued, affraid, or in doubt, and in one daie they were in diuers mindes. *Pompey* could heare nothing of certaintie of his enemies. For some, one while would bring him newes one way, and then againe another way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he saw the tumult & confusion to great at *ROME*, as there was no more to pacifie it: he commaunded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behinde, that he would take them for *Cæsar's* frendes, and so at night departed out of the cite. Then the two Consuls fled also, without doing any sacrifice to the goddesses: as they were wont to do before they went to make any warre. So *Pompey*, euen in his greatest trouble and most danger, might thinke him selfe happy to haue euery mans goodwill as he had. For they that diuers misliked the cause of this warre, yet no man hated the captaine: but there were more found that could not forsake *Pompey* for the loue they bare him, then there were that followed him to fight for their libertie. Shortly after *Pompey* was gone out of *ROME*, *Cæsar* was come to *ROME*, who possessing the cite, spake very gently vnto all them he found there, and pacified their feare: sayinge that he threatned *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to put him to death, by cause he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the common wealth. Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter speech also, sayinge: that it was not so hard a thing for him to doe it, as to speake it. Thus hauing put downe *Metellus*, and taken that he needed to serue his turne, he tooke apou him to follow *Pompey*, thinking to drine him out of *ITALIE*, before that his armie he had in *SPAYNE* should come to him: *Pompey* in the meane time, hauing taken the cite of *BRINDVSIVM*, and gotten some shippes together, he made the two Consuls presently imbarke with thirtie ensegnes of footemen, which he sent beyond the sea before vnto *DYRRACHIVM*. And incontinently after that, he sent his father in lawe *Scipio*, and *Cneus* *Pompey* his sonne, into *SYRIA*, to prouide him shippes. Him selfe on thother side, fortified the rampers of the cite, and placed the lightest souldiers he had vpon the walles, and commaunded the *BRINDVSINIANS* not to sturte out of their houses: & further, he cast trenches within the cite, at the ende of the streetes in diuers places, and filled those trenches with sharpe pointed flakes, sauing two streetes onely, which went vnto the haven. Then the third day after, hauing imbarked all the rest of his souldiers at his pleasure, he sodainly liuinge vp a signe into the ayer, to geue them warning which he had left to gard the rampers: they straight ranne to him with speede, and quickly reueyning them into his shippes, he wayed ancker, and boyled saile. *Cæsar* perueying the walles naked without ward, he straight mistrusted that *Pompey* was fled: who hauing after him, had almost runne vpo the sharpe flakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the *BRINDVSINIANS* geuen him warning of them. So he stayed and ranne not ouerthwart the cite, but fetched a compasse about to goe to the haven: where he found that all the shippes were vnder saile, two shippes onely excepted, vpon the which were left a few souldiers. Some thinke that this departure of *Pompey*, was one of the best stratagemes of warre that euer he vfed. Notwithstanding, *Cæsar* maruelled much, that he being in a strong citie, and looking for his armie to come out of *SPAYNE*, and being master of the sea besides, that

ooo

Tullius at
Rome upon
Cæsar's comming.

Pompey for-
sake Rome.

Cæsar entered
Rome when
Pompey fled.

Cæsar follow-
ed Pompey.

Pompey's stra-
tagem at
Brindvsium,
for his flying
thence from
Cæsar.

Pompey for-
sake Italy.

Pompey cha-
stise to geue
Cæsar.

Cicero moueth
reconciliation
betweene Cæ-
sar and Pom-
pey.

Rubicon fl.
Cæsar passed
ouer the riuer
of Rubicon.

Cæsar's say-
ing: let the
dyt be cast.

Phaonius o-
uerbold wordes
vnto Pompey.

Cicero reproved Pompey.

he would euer forsake **Italy**. *Cicero* also reproved him, for that he rather followed *Themiſticles* counsell, the *Pericles*: considering that the troublesome time was rather to be likened vnto *Pericles*, the *Themiſticles* time. Yea *Cæſar* him self shewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken *Numerius* one of *Pompeys* friends, he sent him vnto *Pompey* at **Brundisium**, to offer him reasonable cōditiōs of peace: But *Numerius* followed *Pompey*, & failed away with him. By this meanes, *Cæſar* in three score dayes being lord of all **Italy** without any bloodshed, he was very desirous to follow with speed after *Pompey*. But because he had no ships ready, he let him go, & hastened towards **Spainne**, to ioyne *Pompeys* army there vnto his. Now *Pompey* in the meane space, had gotten a maruelous great power together both by sea & by land. His army by sea was wonderfull. For he had five hundred good shippes of warre, & of galliasses, soyfies, & pinnaces, an infinite number. By land, he had all the flower of the horsemē of **Rome**, and of all **Italy**, to the number of seuen thousand horse, all riche men, of great houses, and valliant minds. But his footemen, they were men of all forts, & raw souldiers vntrained, whom *Pompey* continually exercised, lying at the citie of **Berrone**, not sitting idly, but taking paines, as if he had bene in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpose, to incourage others, seeing *Pompey* being eight and fifty yeare old, fight a foote armed at all peeces, & then a horsebacke, quickly to draw out his sword while his horse was in his full career, and easily to put vp againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with such agilitie to hyr pointe blance, but also with strength to cast it such a way from him, that fewe young men could doe the like. Thither came diuers kinges, princes, and great lordes of contries, and yielded them selues vnto him: and of **Romane** captaines that had borne office, he had of them about him, the number of a whole Senate. Amongst them came vnto him *Labeius* also, who before was *Cæſars* friend, & had alwayes bene with him in his warres in **Gavle**. There came vnto him also, *Brutus*, the sonne of that *Brutus* which was slaine in **Gavle**, a valliant man, and which had neuer spoken vnto *Pompey* until that day, bycause he took him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defender of the libertie of **Rome**. *Cicero* him self also, though he had both written and geuen counsell to the contrarie, thought it a shame to him not to be amongst the number of them that would hazard their liues for defence of their contry. There came vnto him also *Tidius Sextius* euen into **Macedon**, notwithstanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to scorne to see him come, when *Pompey* saw him, he rose & went to meete him, iudging it a good token of their goodwill vnto him, when such olde men as he, chose rather to be with him in daunger, than at home with safety. Hereupon they fate in counsell, and following *Catoes* opinion, decreed that they should put no citizen of **Rome** to death but in battell, and should lacke no citie that was subiect to the Empire of **Rome**: the which made *Pompeys* parte the better liked. For they that had nothing to doe with the warres, either bycause they dwelt farre of, or els for that they were so poore, as otherwise they were not regarded: did yet both in deede and word fauor *Pompeys* parte, thinking him an enemy both to the goddes and men, that withed not *Pompey* victorie. *Cæſar* also shewed him selfe very mercifull & courteous, where he ouercame. For when he had wonne all *Pompeys* armie that was in **Spainne**, he suffered the captaines that were taken to go at libertie, & onely reserved the souldiers. Then comming ouer the **Alpes** againe, he passed through all **Italy**, & came to the citie of **Brundisium** in the winter quarter: and there passing ouer the sea, he went vnto the citie of **Oricum**, & laded there. Now *Cæſar* hauing *Vibius*, one of *Pompeys* familiier friends with him, whom he had takē prisoner: he sent him vnto *Pompey* to pray againe that they might meete, & both of them deseper their armies within three dayes, and being reconciled (giving their faith one to an other) so to retorne into **Italy** like good friends together. *Pompey* thought againe, that these were new deuises to intrappe him. Thereupon he sodainly wet downe to the sea, & tooke all the places of strength by the sea side, safely to lodge his campe in, & all the ports, creekes & harbours for ships to lie in rode: so that what wind so ether blew on the skie, it serued his turne, to bring him either men, vittells, or money. *Cæſar* on the other side was so distressed both by sea & by land, that he was driue to procuer battell, & to assaile *Pompey* euen in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom most times he euer had the better in all skirmishes, sauing once, when he was in daunger to haue lost all his army.

For

Cæſar leaues *Pompey*, and goeth into **Spainne**.

Pompeys power in **Greece**.

Pompey lying at **Berrone**, traineth his souldiers.

Labeius forsakes *Cæſar*, and goeth to *Pompey*.

Cicero followeth *Pompey*.

The clemency of *Cæſar*.

Cæſar coming out of **Spainne**, returned to **Brundisium**.

Pompey sheweth *Cæſar*.

A For *Pompey* had valiantly repulsed his men, and made them flee, and had slaine two thousand of them in the field: but he durst not enter pelmel with them into their campe as they fled. Whereupon *Cæſar* saide to his frendes, that his enemy had wonne the victorie that day, if he had known how to ouercome. This victorie put *Pompeys* men in such courage, that they would needes haue battell. And *Pompey* him selfe also though he wrote letters vnto strange kinges, captaines, and cities of his confederacie, as if he had alreadye wonne all was yet affrayed to fight an other battell, thinking it better by trade of time; and distresse of vittells, to ouercome him. For *Cæſars* men being olde and expert souldiers, and wont euer to haue the victorie when they fought together: he knew they would be lothe to be brought to fight any other kinde of way, to be driuen to often remouing of their campe from place to place, and still to fortifie and intrench them selues, and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hande, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that *Pompey* had before perswaded his men to be quiet, and not to stirre, perceyuing that after this last bickering *Cæſar* being scanted with vittells raised his campe, and departed thence to goe into **Thessaly**, through the contrie of the **ATHAMANIANS**: then he could no more bridle their glorie and courage, which cried, *Cæſar* is fled, let vs follow him. And others, let vs retorne home againe into **Italy**. And others also sent their frendes and seruantes before to **Rome**, to hier them houses neere the market place: intending when they came thither to sue for offices in the common weale. Some others were also that in a iollitie would needes take shippe, and saile into the Ile of **LISSA** or **Corinth** (whom *Pompey* had sent thither) to cary her that good newes, that the warre was ended. Thereupon assembling the counsell, *Afranius* thought it best to winne **Brundisium**, for that was the chiefeſt marke to be shot at in this warre: for whosoer obtayned that, had straight all **SICILE**, **SARDINIA**, **CORSICA**, **SPAYNE**, and **GAVLE** at commandement. Furthermore, that it was a dishonour to *Pompey* (which in reason should touche him aboue all thinges) to suffer their contrie to be in such cruell bondage and subiection vnto slaves and flatterers of tyrantes, offering it selfe as it were into their hands. But *Pompey* neither thought it honorable for him, once againe to flee from *Cæſar*, and to make him follow him, sihe fortune had geuen him oportunitie to haue *Cæſar* in chase: nor lawfull also before the gods, to forsake his father in lawe *Scipio*, and many other also that had bene Consuls, despered abroad in **Greece** and **Thessaly**, which should immediatly fall into *Cæſars* hands, with all their riches and armies they had. Furthermore, he said, that they had care enough for the citie of **Rome**, which drew the warres fardest of from them: so as, they remaining safe & quiet at home, neither hearing nor feeling the misery of warres) might in thend peaceably receive and welcome him home, that remained conqueror. With this determination, he marched forward to follow *Cæſar*, being determined not to geue him battell, but to beseege him, & only to compasse him in full being neere vnto him, and so to cut him off from vittells. There was also an other reason that made him to follow that determination. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech geuen out among the **Romane** knights, that so soone as euer they had ouercome *Cæſar*, they must also bring *Pompey* to be a priuare man againe. Some saye therefore, that *Pompey* would neuer afterwards employ *Cæſar* in any greater matters of weight in all this warre, but when he followed *Cæſar*; he left him captaine of his armie to kepe his carriage by sea; fearing that so soone as *Cæſar* were once ouercome, he would make him straight also resigne his authoritie. *Pompey* following *Cæſar* in this manner, faire and softly, they cryed out upon him, that he made no warre with *Cæſar*, but against his contrie and the Senate, by cause he might be still in authoritie; and that he would neuer leaue to haue them for his seruantes and gard about him, which should rule and command the world. Furthermore, *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, calling him continually *Agamemnon*, and king of kinges: made him much to be enuid: *Rhœmus* also mocked him as much as the other, that spake most boldest: for he went crying vp and downe, my masters, I geue you warning; you are like to eate no **Troycan** figges this yeare. And *Lucius Afranius* also, he that had lost the armie which he had in **Spainne**, and was also suspected for a traitour, seeing *Pompey* then refused to come to battell: I meruaile, said he, that they which accuse me, doe not lustely goe to finde him out; whome they call the marchant and common buyer of prouinces, to fight with him presently. With these

Pompey followeth *Cæſar* into **Thessaly**.

Pompey mocketh his own souldiers.

and many such other lewd speeches, they compelled Pompey in the end (who could not but be ill spoken of, and would not deny his friends any thing) to follow their vaine hopes and desires, and to forsake his owne wife determination: the which thing, no good shippesster, and much lesse a chiefe and soueraine capitaine, ouer so many nations and so great armies, should haue suffered, and consented vnto. Now, he that did alwayes commend the phisitions, that would not follow the sonde desire of the sicke patients: was him selfe constrained to obey the worst parte of his armie, fearing their displeasure, where their life and health stood in hazard. For who would thinke or iudge them to be wise men, and in their wits, who walking vp and downe their campe, did already sue to be Consuls and Prætors? considering that *Spurcius*, *Publius*, & *Scipio*, were at strife together, making friends to be his high bishoppe, (which office *Caesar* had) as if they should haue fought with *Tigranes* king of *ARMENIA*, or with the king of the *PARATHIENS*, which had camped by them, and not with *Caesar* and his armie: who had taken a thousand townes by assaulte, had subdued about three hundred nations, and had wonne infinite battells of the *GERMANES* and *GAVRES*; and was neuer ouercome had also taken a million of men prisoners, and had likewise slaine so many at diuers battells. All this notwithstanding, they of Pompeys side still being importunate of him, & troubling him in this sort: in fine, when they were come into the fields of *PRÆSALIA*, they compelled Pompey to call a counsell. There *Labienus*, generall of the horsemen standing vp, said before them all; that he would not retorne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flee. The like othe all the rest did take. The next night following, Pompey thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honor him, made a maruelous great clapping of their handes: & that he him selfe did set forth the temple of *Venus* the conquerour, with many spoiles. This vision partly put him in good courage, & partly againe made him doubt: for that he was affrayed, by cause *Caesars* familie was descended from this goddesse *Venus*, that his dreame did signifie, that he should haue the honor of the victorie, with the spoiles he should winne of him. Besides all this, there ranne sodaine fearful noyses & tumults in his campe without any apparant cause, that waked all the campe vpon it. At the fourth watche, when the watche is renewed in the morning, there was seene a maruelous great light ouer *Caesars* campe, and they were all at rest. Of that, there came as it were a torch of a burning fire, and fell in Pompeys campe. The which *Caesar* him selfe layed he saw, when he went to see the watche. At the break of the daye, *Caesar* being determined to raise his campe, and to go to the citie of *SCOTVA*, as his souldiers were busie about ouerthrowing of their tentes, & sending away their bagges and baggage before: there came skowtes vnto him, that brought him worde they sawe a great deale of armor and weapon caried to and fro in their enemies campe, and hard a noyse and bustling besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. And these came in other skowtes, that brought word also that their vaward was already set in battell raye. Then *Caesar* said, that the daye was now come they had longed for so fore, and that they should now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of vittells: and thereupon gaue order presently that they should put out the red coates or armes vpon his tent, which was the signe, all the *ROMANES* vsed, to shew that they would fight. The souldiers seeing that out, left their baggage and tentes, and with great shewes of ioye ranne to arme them selues. The captaines of euery band also, bestowed euery man in such place as he should fight; and so they conueyed them selues into battell raye, without any tumulte or disorder, as quietly, as if they should haue entred into a daunce. Pompey him selfe led the right winge of his armie against *Antony*. The middle of the battell he gaue vnto *Stripo* his father in lawe, being right against *Domitius Calpurnius*. The left winge allowas led by *Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the which was garded with men of armes. For all the horsemen were placed on that side, to distresse *Caesar* if they could; that was directly against them: and to ouerthrowe the tenth legion that was so much accounted of, being the valliantest souldiers the enemy had in all his armie, amongst the which *Caesar* did euer vs. to fight in person. *Caesar* then seeing the left winge of his enemies so strong with the gard of the horsemen, and being affrayed of the brightnes of their armor brought forward six ensignes for supply, which he placed hard behind the tenth legion, commaunding them that no man should sturre, lest their enemies should discouer them.

And

And furthermore, when the horsemen of the enemies should come to geue charge vpon them, that then they should runne with speed on the too side of the forme rankes, & not to throw their darts farre from them, as the valliantest souldiers are wont to do, to come to the sword the sooner: but to throw them vpward into their enemies eyes and faces. For, said he, these braue fellows and fine daunfers, will neuer abide to haue their faces marred. And this was *Caesars* deuise at that time. Pompey being a horse backe, rode vp and downe to consider the ordinance of both battells: and perceiving that his enemies stood still in their rankes, looking for the signall of battell, & that his owne battell on thother side waied vp & downe disorderly, as men vnskillfull in warres: he was affrayed they would sic before they were charged. Therupon he straightly commaunded the in the vaward, that they should stedily kepe their racks, and standing close together should defend them selues, receyuing the charge of the enemy. But *Caesar* disliked of that deuise, for thereby, said he, the force of their blowes was lessened & in withholding them fro geuing the charge, he not only tooke away that courage which that instant cariet with him that commeth with furie: but made them more ouer saine hearted, in receyuing the charge of the enemies. In *Caesars* armie, there were about two and twentie thousand fighting men: and in Pompeys armie, somewhat aboute twice as many. Now, when the sword of battell was geuen of either side, and that the trompettes did sounde the alarme, euery man beganne to looke to him selfe. But a few of the chieft of the *ROMANES*, and certaine *GRÆCIANS* that were there also out of the set battell, perceiving the imminent danger, beganne to bethinke them, to what passe the ambition and wilfull contention betwene these two men, had brought the state of *ROME*. For, the weapons of kinsmen, the bandes of brethren, the ensignes all alike, the flower of so many valliant men of one citie, did serue for a notable example, to shew how mans nature prick forward with couetousnes, is quite blinde and without reason. For if they could haue bene contented quietly to haue gouerned that which they had conquered: the greatest, and best part of the world, both by sea and by land, was subiect vnto them. Or otherwise, if they could not haue quenched their vnassatiable desire of vidorie & triumphe, they had occasion of warre enough offered them against the *PARTHIANS* and *GERMANES*. Furthermore, they had enough to do besides to conquer *SCYTHIA*, and the *INDIANS*: & wial, they had had an honest cullet to haue cloked their ambitious desires, if it had bene but to haue brought the barbarous people to a ciuill life. For what horse men of *SCYTHIA*, or arrows of *PARTHIA*, or riches of *INDIANS*, could haue abidden the power of three score & ten thousand *ROMANE* souldiers, & specially being led by two so famous captaines, as Pompey, and *Caesar*? whose names, these strange & faire nations vnderstood, longe before the name of the *ROMANES* so great were their victories, hauing conquered so many wilde & barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one against the other, not regarding their honor, which made them so ambitious: did not spare their owne contry, who had vaill that time remained vnvincible, both in fame and prowes. For, the alliance that was made betwene them, the loue of *Julia*, & marrying with her, was suspected fro the beginning to be but a deceit, & a pledge as it were of a conspiracie made betwene the, for a priuate benefit, more the for any true friendship. Now, when the felldes of *PRÆSALIA* were couered ouer with men, with horse and armor, and that the signall of battell was geuen on either side: the first man of *Caesars* army that aduanced forward to geue charge, was *Caius Crassinius*, captaine of six score and fise men, to performe a great promise which he had made vnto *Caesar*. For *Caesar*, when he came out of his tent in the morning, seeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the successe of this battell. *Crassinius* holding out his right hand vnto him, courageously cryed: Oh *Caesar*, thinke is the victorie; and this daye thou shalt commend me either aliue or dead. Then remembering these wordes, he brake out of the rankes, and many following after him, ranne amongst the middelt of his enemies. Straight they came to the sword, and made great slaughter. But he pressing forward full, one with a thrust ranne him through the mouth, that the sword pointe came through at his necke. Therupon *Crassinius*, *Crassinius* being slaine, the battell was equall. Pompey did not make his left winge marche ouer sodaine, ly, but stayed, and cast his eyes abroade to see what his horsemen would do, the which had already decuded their companies, meaning to compasse in *Caesar*, and to make the small number

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Caesar's conquest.

Labienus, general of Pompey's horsemen.

Pompey's dreame before the battell of Pharsalia.

Pompey's mistis hard in Pompey's campe.

Pompey's army set in battell raye in Pharsalia.

Caesar's order of fight.

Pompey's ordinance of his battell. Caesar mistis. keth Pompey's ordinance.

Battell betweene Caesar and Pompey in Pharsalia.

Caius Crassinius crushes the onset of Caesar's side.

Pompey's horsemen put to flight by Caesar.

Pompey flying in the fields of Pharsalia.

Afinius Pollio reports this battle.

The miserable state of Pompey.

of horsemen which he had before him to gaine backe upon the squadron of his footemen. On the other side, as soone as Caesar had geue the signal of battell, his horsemen retired backe againe, & the fix ensignes which he had placed secretly behinde them, (being three thousand fighting men) ranne sodainely to assaile the enemy vpon the flanke, and when they came neere vnto the horsemen, they threw the pointes of their darts vpwades according to Caesars commaundement, and hyt the younge gentlemen full in their faces. They being vnto the point of fight, & least of all looking for such manner of fight: had not the hartes to defend themselves, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heades, & clapping their handes on their faces, shamefully fled. They being ouerthrowen, Caesars men made no accompt to follow them, but went and gaue charge vpon the battell of footemen, in that place specially where they had no gard of horsemen, whereby they might the easelier be compassed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flanke, and in the vaward also by the tenth legion, perceyuing them selues (contrarie to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies, where they thought to haue encountered them: they could make no longer resistance. They also being likewise driuen to flie, when Pompey saw the dust in the element, & coniectured the flying of his horsemen: what minde he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wittes end, forgetting that he was Pompey the great: for that he went straight into his campe, and spake neuer a word to any man, rightly verifying Homers verses to this effect.

*But mightie Ioue vnto fates aloft in yurie chariot hie,
Strake Aiax vnto so great a feare that Aiax by and by,
Let fall his lethern target made of tough oxe hide (swen folde,
And ran away, not looking backe, for all he vvas so bold.*

In this estate Pompey entred into his tent, and fate him downe there a great while, and spake neuer a worde: vntill such time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his campe. And then, he said no more: but what, euen into our campe? and so rising vp, he put a gowne on his backe, euen fit for his misfortune, and secretly stole out of the campe. The other legions also fled: and great slaughter was made of the tent keepers, and their seruantes that garded the campe. For Afinius Pollio writeth (who was at that battell on Caesars side) that there were slaine only but six thousand souldiers. Howbeit at the taking of this campe, Caesars souldiers then found plainly the madnes & vanitie of Pompeys men. For, all their tentes and pavilions were full of nosegayes and garlandes of mirtle, & their couches all couered with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, and men prepared ready to do sacrifices for ioye, rather then to arme them selues to fight. Thus went they to battell, caried away with this vaine & foolish hope. When Pompey was gone a litle way fro his campe, he forooke his horse, hauing a very few with him: & perceyuing that no man pursued him, he went a foote faire & softly, his head full of such thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of hislike calling might haue, who for foure & thirty yeeres space together, was wont continually to cary victorie away, and beganne then euen in his last cast, to proue what it was to flie, and to be overcome: and who thought then with him selfe, how in one howers space he had lost the honor and riches, which he had gotten in so many foughten feildes and battels, whereby he was not longe before followed and obeyed of so many thousand men of warre, of so many horsemen, and of such a great flete of shippes on the sea, and then to goe as he did in such poore estate, and with so small a traine, that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the citie of LARISSA, and contraiuing to hide vnto the vallie of Tempe: there being a thirke, he fell downe of his bellic, and dranke of the riuer. Then rising vp againe, he went his way thence, and came to the sea side, and tooke a fishers cottage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the daye, he went into a litle bote vpon the riuer, and tooke the free men with him that were about him: and as for the slaues, he sent them backe againe, and did counsell them boldly to goe to Caesar, and not to be affrayed. Thus rowing vp and downe the shore side, in this litle bote, he spied a great shippe of burden in the maine sea, riding at anchor, which was ready to waye anchor, and to saile awaye. The master of the shippe was a ROMANE, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him

by

Peticius dreame of Pompey.

Pompey's baskets in Peticius shippe a Roman.

Pompey arriveth in the Ile of Lesbos, as the citie of Mytilene.

The seizure of Cornelia, for Pompey's entertainment.

The meeting of Pompey and his wife Cornelia. The words of Cornelia vnto Pompey.

Pompey answers vnto Cornelia.

Pompey receiveth Cratippus the Philosopher, about divine providence.

A by sight very well. He was called Peticius, who had dreamed the night before, that he saw Pompey speake vnto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in poverty and in misery. So he had tolde this dreame vnto the mariners which sailed with him (as is commonly vsed), especially when they dreame of such weighty matters, and being at last withal hand at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that tolde him, he saw a litle bote of the riuer rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shooke their clokes at them, & held out their hands. Thereupon Peticius standing vp, knew Pompey straight, euen in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his bore, and gaue him his hand, calling him Pompey by his name, mistaking (seeing him in that estate) what misfortune had happened to him. Therupon, not looking to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishap, he receiued him into his shippe, and all those he would haue with him: and then hoisted saile. With Pompey there were both the Lemnli, & Faonius. Shortly after also, they perceiued king Deiotarus comming from the riuer to them, that beckened and made signes to receiue them: which they did. At supper time, the master of the shippe, made ready such meate as he had aboard. Faonius seeing Pompey for lacke of men to waite on him, washing of him selfe: ran vnto him, washed him, and annointed him, and afterwarde continued still to waite vpon him, and to doe such seruice about him, as seruantes do to their masters, euen to washing of his feete, & making ready of his supper. VVhen a simple man saw him, that could no skill of seruice, he sayd:

Good gods, how every thing becommeth noble men!

C Pompey passing then by the citie of AMPHIPOLIS, coasted from thence into the Ile of Lesbos, to goe fetch his wife Cornelia and his sonne, being then in the city of MYTILENE. There hauing cast out his anker, and riding at rode, he put a messenger on the shore & sent him into the citie to his wife: not according to her expectation, who was still put in good hope by continuall letters and newes brought vnto her, that the warre, was ended and determined by the city of D Y R R A C H I V M. This messenger now finding her in this hope, had not the hart so much as to salute her, but letting her vnderstand rather by his teares then wordes, the great misfortune Pompey had: tolde her, the must dispatch quickly, if she would see Pompey with one shippe only, and none of his, but borrowed. The young Lady hearing these newes, fell downe in a fount before him, and neither spake nor stured of long time: but after she was come to D herselfe, remembering that it was no time to weepe and lament, she went with speede through the city vnto the sea side. There Pompey meeting her, tooke her in his armes, & embraced her. But she sinking vnder him, fell downe, and sayd: Our alas, woe worth my hard fortune, nor thine (good husband) that I see thee now brought to one poore shippe, who before thou marriedst thy vnfortunate Cornelia, wert wont to saile these seas with five hundred shippes. Alas, why art thou come to see me, and why diddest thou not leaue me to cursed fate and my wicked destiny: fith my selfe is cause of all this thy euill? Alas, how happy a woman had I bene, if I had bene dead, before I heard of the death of my first husband Publius Crassus, whom the wretched PARTHIANS slew? And how wife a woman had I bene, (if according to my determination) I had killed my selfe immediately after him: where now I lue to bring yet this misfortune vnto

E Pompey the great! It is reported that Cornelia spake these words, and that Pompey also answered her in this manner. Peraduenture, Cornelia mine, thou hast knowen a better fortune, which hath also deceiued thee, because the hath continued longer with me then her manner is. But since we are borne men, we must patiently beare these troubles, and proue fortune againe. For it is no impossible matter for vs againe to come into prosperitie out of this present miserie, as to fall out of late prosperitie into present calamitie. When Cornelia heard him say so, she sent backe into the city for her stuffe and family. The MYTILENIANS also came openly to salute Pompey, and prayed him to come into the city, and to refresh him selfe: but Pompey would not, & gaue them counsell to obey the conqueror, & not to feare any thing, for Caesar was a iust man, and of a courteous nature. Then Pompey turning vnto Cratippus the Philosopher, who came among the citizens also to see him: made his complaint vnto him, and reasoned a litle with him about diuine providence. Cratippus courteously yielded vnto him, putting him still in better hope, saying least he would haue grown too hot and troubleosome, if he would haue holden him hard

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to it. For *Pompey* at the length might haue asked him, what prouidence of the gods there had bene in his doings? And *Cratippus* might haue answered him, that for the ill government of the common wealth at *Rome*, it was of necessity that it should fall into the hands of a foueraigne Prince. Peradventure *Cratippus* might then haue asked him: how, and whereby *Pompey* wouldst thou make vs beleue, if thou haddest ouercome *Cæsar*, that thou wouldst haue had thy good fortune better then he? But for diuine matters, referre them to the goddess as it pleaseth them. *Pompey* taking his wife and friends with him, hoisted saile, and landed no where, but compelled to take freshe acates and water. The first city he came vnto, was *ATTALIA* in the contry of *PAMPHYLIA*. Thither came to him certaine gallies out of *CILICIA*, & many souldiers also, inso much he had a three score Senators of *ROME* againe in his company. Then, understanding that his army by sea was yet whole, and that *Cæsar* had gathered together a great number of his souldiers after the ouerthrowe, whome he had transported with him into *AFRICK*: he lamented, and complained vnto his friends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, & not suffred him to helpe him selfe with his other force wherein he was the stronger, and that he kept not still neere vnto his army by sea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet presently haue prepared to his power ready by sea, to haue resisted his enemy. To confesse a troth, *Pompey* committed not so great a fault in all this warre, neither did *Cæsar* put forth a better deuise, then to make his enemy fight farre from his armie by sea. Thus *Pompey* being driuen to attempt somewhat according to his small abilitie, he sent Ambassadors vnto the cities. To others, he went him selfe in person alio to require money, wherewith he manned and armed some ships. This notwithstanding, fearing the sodaine approach of his enemy, leaue he should preuent him before he could put any reasonable force in readines for to resist him: he bethought him selfe what place he might best retire vnto for his most safetie. When he had considered of it, he thought that there was neuer a prouince of the *ROMANS* that could saue and defend them. And for other straunge realmes, he thought *PARTHIA* about all other, was the best place to receiue them into at that present, hauing so smal power as they had; and that was better able to helpe & aide them with more power then they. Other of his counsell were of minde to go into *AFRICK*, vnto king *Iuba*. But *Theophanes* *LESBIAN* said, he thought it a great folly, to leaue *ÆGYPT* which was but three dayes failing from thence, and king *Ptolomy*, (being but lately comen to mans state, and bound vnto *Pompey* for the late friendshippe and honor his father found of him) and to goe put him selfe into the hands of the *PARTHANS*, the vilest, and vnfaithfullest nation in the world, and not to proue the modesty of a *ROMANE*, that had bene his father in law, whose prosperity if he could haue endured, he might haue bene the chiefest man: and now to put him selfe to *Asfaxes* good will, who could not away with *Crassus* when he liued. Further, he thought it an ill parte also, for him to go cary his young wife of the noble house of *Scipio*, amongst the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for the to vse what villany and infoleny they list to any. For, admit the haue no villany offered her by them: yet is it an vndecent thing, to thinke she might haue bene dishonored, they hauing her in their power to doe it. There was no perswasion (as they say) but this only that turned *Pompey* vnto *Euphrates*: for it seemeth that *Pompeys* counsell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into *ÆGYPT*, he departed out of *CYPRVS* in a gally of *SELEVCIA* with his wife *Cornelia*. The residue of his traine imbarke also, some into gallies, & others into marchauntes shippes of great burden, and so safely passed the sea without daunger. When *Pompey* heard newes that king *Ptolomy* was in the cite of *PELSVSIVM* with his armie, making warre against his sister: he went thither, and sent a messenger before vnto the king, to aduertise him of his arriuall, and to intreate him to receiue him. King *Ptolomy* was then but a young man, inso much as one *Pothinus* gouerned all the whole realme vnder him. He assembled a counsell of the chiefest and wisest men of the court, who had such credit and authoritie as it pleased him to geue them. They being assembled, he commaunded euery man in the kings name to say his minde touching the receiuing of *Pompey*, whether the king should receiue him or not. It was a miserable thinge to see *Pothinus*, an eunuche of the kinges, and *Theodotus* of *CHIO*, an hyered schoolemaster to teache the young king rethoricke, and *Achillas* of *ÆGYPTIAN* to consult among them selues what they should doe with *Pompey* the great. These were the

Pompey arrives with his Attalia, in the contry of Pamphylia.

Pompey: great error, and Cæsar's crafty device.

Theophanes Lesbian persuaded Pompey to flie into Ægypt.

Pompey arrives in Ægypt, & goeth to Ptolemaeus. Pothinus an eunuche, and gouernor of the chamber to king Ptolomy, with all Ægypt.

A die chiefest counsellors of all his eunuches, and of those that had brought him up. Nowe did *Pompey* ride at ancker vpon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this counsell: in the which the opinions of other were diuers, for they would not haue receiued him: the other also, that he should be receiued. But the Rethorician *Theodotus*, to shew his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, sayd he, if we receiue him, we shall haue *Cæsar* our enemy, and *Pompey* our Lord: and if they do deny him on the other side, *Pompey* will blame them for refusing of him, and *Cæsar* for not keeping of him. Therefore, this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him: for thereby, they should winne the good will of the one, and not feare the displeasure of the other: and some say moreouer, that he added this mocke withall: a dead man bites not. They being determined of this among them selues, he gave *Achillas* commaund to doe it. He taking with him *Septimius* (who had charge aforetime vnder *Pompey*) and *Salinius* an other Centurion also, with three or foure souldiers besides, they made towards *Pompeys* gallye, about whom were at that time, the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely show and maner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which *Theophanes* had put them in, seeing to few men come to them in a siter bote, they began then to mistrust the small accompt that was made of them, & counsellled *Pompey* to returne backe, and to launce againe into the sea, being out of the daunger of the hatching of a flare. In the meane time, the siter bote drew neere, and *Septimius* rose, and saluted *Pompey* in the *ROMAN* tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as fountaine Capitaine: and *Salinius* also spake to him in the Greeke tongue, and bad him come into his bote, because that by the shore side, there was a great deale of muddie and sande bankes; so that his gally should haue no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a farrte of diuers of the kings gallies which were arming with all speede possible, & all the shore besides full of souldiers. Thus, though *Pompey* & his company would haue altered their mindes, they could not haue told how to haue escaped: & furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted the, then they had geuen him the other occasion to haue executed his cruelty. So taking his leaue of his wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before his end, he commaunded two Centurions to go down before him into the *ÆGYPTIAN* bote, and *Philp* one of his slaves enfranchised, with an other slave called *Seynes*. When *Achillas* reached out his hande to receiue him into his bote, he turned him to his wife, and so done, and sayd these verses of *Sophocles* vnto them:

The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage be.

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when he left his owne gally, & went into the *ÆGYPTIAN* bote. The lande being a great way off from his gally, when he saw neuer a man in the bote speake friendly vnto him, beholding *Septimius*, he said vnto him: me thinks my friend I should know thee, for that thou hast serued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor shewed him any curtesie. *Pompey* seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hande, in the which he had wrytten an oration that he ment to make vnto king *Ptolomy*, & beganne to read it. When they came neere the shore, *Cornelia* with her seruants and friends about her, stode vp in her shippe in great feare, to see what should become of *Pompey*. So, she hoped well, when the saw many of the kings people on the shore, comming towards *Pompey* at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as *Pompey* tooke *Philp* his hande to arise more easily, *Septimius* came first behinde him and thrust him through with his sword. Next vnto him also, *Salinius* and *Achillas* drew out their swords in like manner. *Pompey* then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands, and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gaue him, only fighting a litle. Thus being nine and fifty yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. That they rode at ancker in their shippes, when they saw him murdered, gaue such a fearful crye, that it was hard to the shore: the wailing vp their ankers with spede, they hoysed saile, and departed their way, hauing winde at will that blew a lusty gale, as soone as they had gotten the maine sea. The *ÆGYPTIAN*s which prepared to rowe after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and vnpossible to be ouertaken: they let them goe.

The deliberation of the Ægyptians for the receiuing of Pompey.

Theodotus persuaded them to kill Pompey. A dead man bites not. Achillas appointed to kill Pompey.

How Pompey was received into Ægypt.

Pompey the great, cruelly slain as he landed. The malice and patience of Pompey at his death.

Then hauing striken of *Pompeys* heade, they threwe his body ouer borde, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him. *Philip* his infranchised bondman remained by it, vntill such time as the *ÆGYPTIANS* had scene it their bellies full. Then hauing washed his body with falk water, and wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift to lay it in: he sought vpon the sands, & found at the length a peece of an old fishers bone, enough to serue to burne his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As he was busie gathering the broken peeces of this bone together, thither came vnto him an old *ROMANE*, whom his youth had serued, vnder *Pompey*, and sayd vnto him: O friend, what art thou that preparrest the funeralls of *Pompey* the great? *Philip* answered, that he was a bondman of his infranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany thee in so deuout a deede, that I may not altogether repent me to haue dwelt so long in a strangers contrie, where I haue abidden such miserie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good happe, with mine owne hands to touche *Pompeys* body, and to helpe to bury the only and most famous Captaine of the *ROMANS*. The next day after, *Lucius Lentulus* not knowing what had passed, comming out of *CYRVS*, sailed by the shore side, and perceived a fire made for funeralls, and *Philip* standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But straight fetching a great sigh, as he sayd he, perhappes it is *Pompey* the great. Then he landed a litle, and was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of *Pompey* the great. Not longe after, *Cæsar* also came into *Ægypt*, that was in great warres, where *Pompeys* head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it: and abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murderer. Then taking his ringe wherewith he sealed his letters, whereupon was grauen a Lyon holding a sword: he burst out a weeping. *Achilles* and *Pothinus* he put to death. King *Ptolemy* him self also, being ouerthrowen in battell by the riuer of Nilus, vanished away, and was neuer heard of after. *Theodotus* the Rethoritian escaped *Cæsars* hands, & wandred vp & downe *Ægypt* in great misery, despised of euery man: Afterwards, *Marcus Brutus* (who slue *Cæsar*) coming quering *ASTA*, met with him by chance, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly deuise, at the length slue him. The ashes of *Pompeys* bodie were afterwards brought vnto his wife *Corneelia*, who buried them in a towne of hers by the ciue of *ALBA*.

The funeralls
of Pompey.

Lucius Lentulus slaine.
Cæsar arriveth in Ægypt.
Pompey ring.
The murderer of Pompey put to death.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Pompey* with *Agessilaus*.



Now that we haue declared vnto you, the liues of *Agessilaus* and *Pompey*: let vs compare their maners and condicions together, which are these. First, *Pompey* came to his honor and greatnesse, by his integritie and so aduanced him selfe: and was a great aide vnto *Sylla*, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid those tyrans out of *ITALIE*, who held it in bondage. But *Agessilaus* viurped the kingdom of *LACEDÆMON*, against the law of gods and men, condemning *Leotychides* for a bastard, whom his brother auowed to be his lawfull sonne: and condemned besides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of a lame king. Furthermore, *Pompey* did honor *Sylla* while he liued, and when he was dead, gaue his body honorable buriall in despite of *Lepidus*: and married his daughter vnto *Panstus*, the sonne of *Sylla*. *Agessilaus* contrarily did dishonor *Lysander*, upon light occasion: but *Pompey* had done no lesse for *Sylla*, than *Sylla* had done for him. *Lysander* on thother side, had made *Agessilaus* king of *LACEDÆMON*, and Lieutenant generall of all *GREECE*. Thirdly, the iniuries that *Pompey* did vnto the common weale, were done of necessitie, to please *Cæsar* and *Scipio*, both of them his fathers in law. *Agessilaus* also, to satisfie his sonnes loue, faued *Sphodrias* life that had deserved death, for the mischief he had done the *ATHENIANS*: and he willingly also tooke parte with *Phobidas*, not secretly, but openly, because he had broken the peace made with the *THEBANS*. To conclude, what hurt *Pompey* did vnto the *ROMANS*, either through ignorance, or to pleasure his friends: the same did *Agessilaus* vnto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, through anger & selfe wil, in renewing warre with the *BOEOTIANS*, upon a full peace concluded. If we shall reckon of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faultes they committed: *Pompeys* fortune vnto the *ROMANS* was vnlooked for. But *Agessilaus* would not suffer the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to auoyd the lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For, though *Leotychides* had bene pronounced a bastard ten thousand times, yet had not the race of the *Euryontides* failed, but they could haue found another lawfull king among them, that should haue gone vpright: had not *Lysander*, fauoring *Agessilaus*, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. On thother side againe for matters of gouernment, there was neuer such an excellent deuise found out, as was done by *Agessilaus*: to helpe the feare and daunger the *LACEDÆMONIANS* were in, for those that fled at the battell of *LEVCTRES*, when he counselled them to let the law sleepe for that day. Neither can any man matche *Pompeys* with the like: who, to shew his friends what power he was of, did breake the lawes which him selfe had made. For *Agessilaus* being driuen of necessity to abolish the law, to saue the life of his citizens, found such a deuise that the law was not hurtfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it should doe hurt. I must needs commend this for a great vertue and ciuility in *Agessilaus*, who so soone as he

How Pompey
and Agessilaus
came to their
greatnesse.

The faultes of
Agessilaus and
Pompey.

received the Scytala (or scrowle of parchment from the Ephori) returned into his contrie, and left the warre of Asia. He did not as Pompey, who made him selfe great to the benefit of the common wealth, and for the common wealths sake, did forsake such honor and so great authority, as neuer Capitaine before him, but Alexander the great, had the like in those partes. But now to other matter. Touching their battells and employes in warres, the multitude of victories and triumphes that Pompey obtained, and the great armies that he led: Xenophon him selfe if he were alive, could not compare Agesilavus victories vnto his: although for the singular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had liberie graunted him, to wryte and speake of Agesilavus what he thought good. Me thinks also, there was great difference betwext Pompey and Agesilavus, in their equitie and clemencie towards their enemies. For, whilst Agesilavus went about to conquer THEBES, and utterly to raze and destroy the cite of MESSINA, the one being an auncient cite of his contrie, and the other the capitall cite of BOBOTIA: he had almost lost his owne cite of SPARTA, for at the least he lost the commaundement and rule he had ouer the rest of GREECE. The other contrarily gaue cities vnto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and manner of life: and when it was in his choyse to lead Tigranes king of ARMENIA in triumphe at ROME, he chose rather to make him a confederat of the ROMANES, saying, that he preferred perpetual honor before one dayes glorie. But since it is reason we should geue the first place and honor of the discipline of warres, vnto a Capitaine of the greatest skill and experience in warres: the LACEDÆMONIAN then leaue the ROMANE farre behind. For first of all Agesilavus neuer forsooke his cite, though it was besieged with three score and ten thousand men, and that there were very fewe within the same to defende it, the which also a litle before had bene ouerthrowen at the battell of LEVCTRES. And Pompey on the other side, hearinge that he had with fife thousand foote men onely had taken a towne in ITALIE: fled from ROME in great feare. And therein he can not be excused of one of these two: either that he fled cowardly for so few men, or else that he had a false imagination of more. For he conveyed his wife and children away, but he left all the rest without defence, and fled: where in deede he should either haue overcome, valliantly fighting for defense of his contrie, or else haue receiued the conditions of peace which the conquerors should haue offered him. For, he was a citizen and allied vnto him. For he that thought it an vntollerable thing to prolong the rearme of his gouernment, or to graunt him a second Consulshippe: did now geue him oportunitie, suffering him to take the city of ROME, to say vnto Metellus the Tribune, & the rest, that they were all his prisoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefest point of an excellent Capitaine, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth him selfe the stronger, and also to keepe him selfe from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker: Agesilavus excelling in that, did euer keepe him selfe inuincible. Cæsar also had great skill therein, to keepe him selfe from daunger being the weaker, and againe could tell howe to compell Pompey to hazard battell, to his vtter destruction by lande, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made him selfe Lorde of the treasure, vitells, and also of the sea, which his enemies had in their handes, without fighting. That which they alleage in his excuse, is that which most doth condemne him, specially for so great and skilfull a Capitaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young Generall of an armie may easily be brought from his wife and safe counsell, with rumor and tumult of a few fearefull men, that should perswade him it were a shame and dishonor for him if he did otherwise: yet were this no straunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for Pompey the great, whose campe the ROMANES called their contrie, and his tent the Senate, and called all the Prators and Consuls that gouerned at ROME, rebells and traitors to the common wealth of ROME: who could excuse him (who was neuer scene commaunded by other then him selfe, but had bene alwayes chiefe Capitaine and Generall in any warre he made, and euer had the vpper hand) but that he was drawn on by the scoffes of Faonius, and Domitius, to hazard battell, to endanger the whole Empire and liberty of ROME, only for feare they should call him king Agamemnon? Who, if he had so much regarded present infamie, he should haue fought from the beginning for defense of the cite of ROME, and not to haue taken example of Themistocles policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a shame as he did, to lye in THE-

SALT

A SALIN a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fieldes of Pharfalia for a Theater, or close campe, of necessitie to fight which of them should haue the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Heralde to summon him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he must answer to his name, and come and fight, or else to loofe the honor of the crowne vnto another. But there were infinite other fieldes and townes (and as a man would say the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by sea gaue him choyse to conquer if he would rather haue followed the steppes of Fabius Maximus, of Marius, of Lucullus, or of Agesilavus him selfe: who did patiently abide no lesse tumultes within the cite selfe of SPARTA, when the THEBANS went to summon him to come out to fight, for all the rest of his contrie. And in ÆGYPT also, he did abide many false accusations against him, where with the king him selfe did burden him, praying him alwayes to haue a litle patience. In fine, hauing followed the best counsell which he had determined with him selfe from the beginning, he saued the ÆGYPTIANS against their willes: and furthermore, he did not only keepe the cite of SPARTA from so great a daunger, but did also set vp tokens of triumphe in the same against the THEBANS, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the slaughter, and besides that, gaue his citizens occasion to obtaine victorie afterwards. Hereupon Agesilavus was highly praised of them, whose liues he had saued against their willes. And Pompey contrarily was blamed by them felues, through whom he had offended: yet some say, that he was deceived by his father in law Scipio. For he meaning to keepe the most parte of the money to him selfe which he had brought out of ASIA, did hasten and perswade Pompey to geue battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had bene true, a worthie Capitaine should not so lightly haue bene brought into error, vpon a false account, to hazard him selfe to loofe all. Thus may we see what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their iorneyes into ÆGYPT, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with small honor, for moneys sake to serue the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make warre with the GREGIANS.

Lastly, in that which we accuse the ÆGYPTIANS for Pompeys sake: for the like matter doe they againe accuse Agesilavus. For, the one was cruelly put to death, & betrayed by them whom he trusted: & Agesilavus forsooke them which trusted him, and went to the enemies, hauing brought aide to fight against them.

The end of Pompeys life.

PPP

Things done by Agesilavus and Pompey in warre.

Agesilavus lost the figure of the Lacedæmonian.

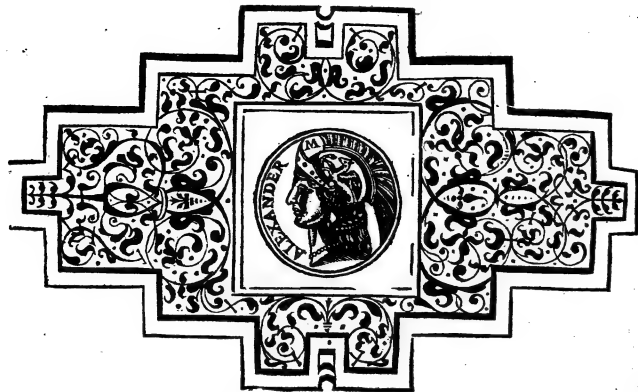
Pompey fault to forsake Rome.

A speciall point of a skilfull Capitaine.

Agesilavus considerer then Pompey.

Pompey flying into Ægypt is excused.

THE LIFE OF

Alexander the great.

Having determined in this volume to write the life of king *Alexander*, & of *Iulius Caesar*, that ouercame *Pompey*: hauing to speake of many things, I will vse none other preface, but only desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare al things at large, but briefly touch diuers, chiefly in those their noblest acts & most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write histories, but only liues. For, the noblest deedes doe not alwayes shew mens vertues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sporte makes mens naturall dispositions and maners appeare more plaine, then the famous

battells wonne, wherein are slaine tenne thousande men, or the great armies, or cities wonne by siege or assault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other partes of the bodie, do take the resemblaunces of the face and fauor of the countenance, in the which consisteth the iudgement of their maners & disposition: euen so they must geue vs leaue to seeke out the signes and tokens of the minde only, and thereby shewe the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to wryte the warres, battells, and other great things they did. It is certaine that *Alexander* was descended from *Hercules* by *Carynus*, and that of his mothers side, he came of the blood of the *AEacides* by *Neoptolemus*. They say also, that king *Philip* his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother *Olympias*, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Ile of *SAMOTHRACIA*, where they were both receiued into the misterie and fraternity of the house of the religious: and that afterwards, he did aske her in mariage of her brother *Arymbas*, with whose consent they were married together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that dispersed it selfe all about into diuers flames. King *Philip* her husband also, shortly after he was married, dreamed that he did seale his wiues belly, and that the seale wherewith he sealed, left behinde the printe of a Lyon. Certaine wifards and soothlayers, tolde *Philip* that this dreame gaue him warning to looke straightly to his wife. But *Aristander* *TELMESIAN* answered againe, that it signified his wife was conceiued with childe, for that they doe not seale a vessel that hath nothing in it: and that she was with childe with a boy, which shoulde haue a

Lions

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

723

A Lions hart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay a sleepe in her bed, there was seene a serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefe cause (as some presuppose) that *Withdrew* *Philips* loue and kindnes from her, and caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he was wont to doe: either for that he feared some charme or enchantment, or else for that he thought him selfe vnmeet for her company, supposing her to be beloued of some god. Some do also report this after an other sort: as in this maner. That the women in those parts of long time, haue bene commonly posselt with the spirite of *Orpheus*, and the diuine fury of *Bacchus*, whereupon they are called *Clodones*, & *Mimallones* (as much as warlike, & fierce) and doe many things like vnto the women of *EDONIA*, and *THRACIA*, dwelling about the mountaine *Æmus*. Hereby it appeareth, that this word *Threskeuin* (signifying in the Greeke tongue, too superstitiously geuen to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For *Olympias* aboute other womē, louing to be inspired with such diuine madnes & fury: did celebrate their solemne sacrifices with a certaine horrible & barbarous maner. For in these daunces to *Bacchus*, she carried a great number of tame snakes about her, the which gliding upon the lute wherewith the women were dressed in those ceremonies, & winding the selues about the lide iaulings they had in their hands, & the garlands about their heads: thereby they made men the more afraid of them. Whereupon *Philip* after this dreame, sent *Ghoro* *MEGALOPOLITAN* vnto the oracle of *Apollo* at *DELPHES*, to inquire what it signified. Answer was geuen him, that he should do sacrifice vnto *Iupiter Hammon*, & honor him aboue all gods: & that he had lost one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber dore, saw the god in forme of a snake C ly by his wife. Furthermore, *Olympias* (as *Erato* *Sthenes* writeth) bidding her sonne farewell whē he went to conquer *ASIA*, after she had secretly tolde him alone, by whom he was begotten: she prayed him to be valliant, & to shew himselfe worthy his sonne, that begat him. Others tel also, that she was angry with this report, saying: will *Alexander* neuer leaue to make me suspected of *Iuno*? So it is, that *Alexander* was borne on the sixt day of the moneth of *Hecatombæon*, (in english, Iune) which the *MACEDONIANS* call *Lous*. On the very same day, the temple of *Diana* in the city of *EPHESVS* was burnt, as *Hegeſias* *MAGNESIAN* doth witness, whose crye & exclamation was so terrible & cold, that it was enough to haue quenched that fire. It is not to be wondered at, that *Diana* suffered her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, busie about *Alexanders* birth. But this is true, that all the priests, magitians and soothlayers, which were at that time in *EPHESVS*, iudging that this did prognosticate some maruelous great misfortune to come, like men bestraught of their wits, they ran vp & downe the city, smiting of their faces, & crying that some great plague & mischief was borne that day vnto *ASIA*. Shortly after that king *Philip* had wonne the city of *POTIDEA*, three messengers came to him the same day that brought him great newes. The first, that *Parmenio* had wonne a notable battell of the *ILYRIANS*; the second, that his horse only wan the bell & price at the Olympian games; & the third, that his wife had brought him a sonne called *Alexander*. *Philip* being maruelous glad to heare these newes, the soothlayers did make his ioy yet greater: assuring him that his sonne which was borne with three victories all together, should be inuincible. Now for his stature & personage, the statues and images made of him by *Lyſippus* doe best declare it, for that he would be E drawn of no man but him only. Diuers of his successors & friends did afterwards counterfeate his image, but that excellent workman *Lyſippus* only, of all other the chiefeſt, hath perfectly drawn and resembled *Alexanders* maner of holding his necke, somewhat hanging downe towards the left side, & also the swete looke & cast of his eyes. But when *Apelles* painted *Alexander*, holding lightning in his hand, he did not shew his fresh colour, but made him somewhat blacke and swarther, then his face in deede was: for naturally he had a very fayre white colour; mingled al with red, which chiefly appeared in his face & in his breast. I remember I red also in the cōmentaries of *Aristoxenus*, that his skin had a maruelous good fauor, & that his breath was very swete, inſomuch that his body had so swete a smell of it selfe, that all the apparell he wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a passing delightful fauor, as if it had bene perfumed. F And the cause hereof peraduenture might be, the very temperature & constitution of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For *Theophrastus* is of opinion, that the swete fauor commeth by means of the heate that dryeth vp the moisture of the bodie. By which reason

PPP ij

The face sheweth mens maners and condicions.

The parentage of Alexander. Olympias the wife of Philip king of Macedon.

Olympias dreame.

King Philip dreame.

The birth of Alexander: The temple of Diana burnt as Ephesus.

Wonderfull thing! scene at the birth of Alexander.

Alexander stature and personage.

Alexander body had a maruelous swete fauor.

also it appeareth, that the drie & hot countries parched with heate of the sunne, are those that
 deliuer vnto vs the best spices: bicause that the sunne drieth vp the moylture of the outward
 parts, as a matter of corruption. This natural heate that *Alexander* had, made him (as it appea-
 reth) to be giuen to drinke, & to be hasty. Euen from his childhood they saw that he was giuen
 to be chaff. For though otherwise he was very hot & hasty, yet was he hardly moued with lust
 or pleasure of the body, & would moderately vse it. But on thother side, the ambition & desire
 he had of honor, shewed a certaine graemes of minde & noble courage, passing his yeares. For
 he was not (as his father *Philip*) desirous of all kind of glory: who like a Rethoritian had a desire
 to vtter his eloquence, & stamped in his coynes, the victories he had wonne at the Olympian
 games, by the swift running of his horse & coches. For when he was asked one day (bicause he
 was swift of foote) whether he would assay to run for victory at the Olympian games: I could
 be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speake generally, he mistlied all such
 contention for games. For it seemeth that he vtterly mistlied all wrestling & other exercise for
 prife, where men did vse all their strength: but otherwise he him self made certen festiual daies
 & games of prife, for common stage plaiers, musitians, & singers, & for the very Poets also. He
 delighted also in hunting of diuers kinds of beastes, and playing at the staffe. Ambassadors be-
 ing sent on a time from the king of *PERSIA*, whilst his father was in some iorney out of his
 realme: *Alexander* familiarly entertaining of them, so wan them with his courteous entertain-
 ment, (for that he vsed no childish questions vnto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but
 what distance it was from one place to an other, & which way they went into the high contries
 of *ASIA*, & of the king of *PERSIA* him self, how he was towards his enemies, & what power
 he had) that he did rauish them with delight to heare him, in so much that they made no more
 account of *Philips* eloquence & sharpe wit, in respect of his sonnes courage, & noble minde, nor
 attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken some
 famous city, or had won some great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would say to
 his playfellows, sirs, my father will haue all, I shall haue nothing left me to conquer with you,
 that shalbe ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but only in valian-
 nes & honor, thought, that the greater conquests & realmes his father should leaue him, the
 lesse he should haue to do for himselfe. And therefore, seeing that his fathers dominions & Em-
 pire increased dayly more and more, perceiving all occasion taken from him to do any great
 attempt: he desired no riches nor pleasure, but warres & battells, & aspired to a signory where
 he might win honor. He had diuers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him
 vp as schoolemasters, gouernors, & groomes of his chamber to attend vpon him: and among
 those, *Leonides* was the chiefeest man that had the gouernment & charge of him, a man of a
 euere disposition, & a kinsman also vnto the Queene *Olympias*. He mistlied to be called a
 master or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, wherupō the others called him *Alexander*
 gouernor, bicause he was a noble man, & allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his
 schoolemaster, was *Lysimachus*, an *ACARNANIAN* borne, who had no other manner of ciuility
 in him, sauing that he called him selfe *Phoenix*, *Alexander Achilles*, & *Philip Peleus*: & therefore he
 was well thought of, and was the seconde person next vnto *Leonides*. At what time *Philonius*
 the *THESSALIAN* had brought *Eucelph* the horse to sell vnto king *Philip*, asking thirteene talens, &
 they went into the field to ryde him. The horse was found so rough & churlish that the ryders
 said he would neuer do seruice, for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any
 of the gentlemen vses about king *Philip*, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon, *Philip* be-
 ing affrayed, commaunded them to cary him away as a wild beast, & altogether vnprofitable
 the which they had done, had not *Alexander* that stood by said, O gods, what a horse do they
 turne away, for lacke of skil & hart to handle him. *Philip* heard what he said, but held his peace.
Alexander oft repeating his wordes, seeming to be fory that they should send backe the horse
 againe: why, said *Philip*, doest thou control them that haue more experience than thou, & that
 know better then thou how to handle a horse? *Alexander* answered, & yet me thinkes I should
 handle him better than all they haue done. But if thou canst not, no more the they, replied *Philip*:
 what wilt thou forset for thy folly? I am cōtent (y *Alexander*) to ieopard the price of the horse.
 euery man laughed to heare his aunswere: and the wager was layed betwene them. Then ran
 Alexander

Alexander
 couered ho-
 nor.

The noble
 minde of *Alexander*.

Leonides the
 gouernor of
Alexander.

Eucelph *Alexander*
 horse.

Alexander to the horse, and tooke him by the bridle: & turned him towards the sunne. It
 seemed that he had marked (as I suppose) how madde the horse was to see his owne shadow,
 which was euer before him in his eye, as he sturred to & fro. Then *Alexander* speaking gendly
 to the horse, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his fury & snoring:
 softly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any daun-
 ger, and holding the reines of the bridle hard, without striking or stirring the horse, made him
 to be gentle enough. Then when he sawe that the furie of the horse was past, and that he be-
 ganne to galloppe, he put him to his full career, and layed on spurres and voyce a good. *Philip*
 at the first with feare beholding his sonnes agility, least he should take some hurt, laid neuer a
 word: but when he saw him redly turne the horse at the end of his career, in a brauery for that
 he had done, all the lookers on gaue a shouete for ioy. The father on thother side (as they say)
 fell a weeping for ioy. And when *Alexander* was lighted from the horse, he sayd vnto him kis-
 sing his head: O sonne, thou must needs haue a realme that is meete for thee, for *MACEDON*
 will not hold thee. Furthermore, considering that of nature he was not to be won by extea-
 mity, & that by gentle meanes and perswasion he could make him do what he would: he euer
 sought rather to perswade then cōmaund him in any thing he had to do. Now *Philip* putting
 no great affaice in his schoolemasters of musicke & humanity, for the instruction & education
 of his sonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of
 greater learning than their capacities would reache vnto: and that as *Sophocles* sayth,

He needed many reynes, and many bits at once:

C Heseut for *Aristotle* (the greatest Philosopher in his time, & best learned) to teach his sonne,
 vnto whom he gaue honorable stipend. For *Philip* hauing won & takē before, the city of *STAGYRA*, where
Aristotle was borne: for his sake he built it againe, & replenished it with inhabitants
 which fled away, or otherwise were in bondage. He appointed them for a schoole house and
 dwelling place, the pleasant house that is by the city of *MISIA*. In that place are yet seene seats
 of stone which *Aristotle* caused to be made, & clofe walks to walke in the shadow. It is thought
 also, that *Alexander* did not only learne of *Aristotle*, moral philosophy & humanity, but also he
 heard of him other more secret, hard, & graue doctrine, which *Aristotles* schollers do pro-
 perly call *Acroamata*, or *Epoptica*, meaning things speculative, which requireth the masters teach-
 ing to vnderstand the, or els are kept from cōmon knowledge: which sciences, they did not
 cōmonly teach. *Alexander* being passed into *ASIA*, & hearing that *Aristotle* had put out certen
 bookes of that matter: for the honors sake of philosophy, he wrote a letter vnto him, somewhat
 too plaine, & of this effect. *Alexander*, vnto *Aristotle* greeting. Thou hast not done well to put
 forth the *Acroamatical* sciences. For wherin that we excell other, if those things which thou
 hast secretly taught vs, be made cōmon to all: I do thee to vnderstand, that I had rather excell
 other in excellency of knowledge, then in greatnes of power. Farewel. Wherunto *Aristotle* to
 pacifie this his ambitious humor, wrote vnto him againe, that these bookes were published, &
 not published. For to say truly, in al his treatises which be called *μετὰ φυσικὰ* there is no plain
 instruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himselfe, nor yet to be taught by a-
 ny other, then *Aristotle* him selfe, or his schollers. So that it is written as a memorial for them
 that haue bene entred & brought vp in the *Peripateticke* sect & doctrine. It seemeth also, that
 it was *Aristotle* aboue all other, that made *Alexander* take delight to study phisick. For *Alexander*
 did not only like the knowledge of speculation, but would exercise practise also, & help his
 frends when they were sicke: & made besides certaine remedies, & rules to lue by: as appea-
 reth by his letters he wrote, that of his owne nature he was much geue to his booke, & desired
 to read much. He learned also the *Iliaides* of *Homer*, of *Aristotles* correction, which they call
μετὰ διορθου: the corrected, as hauing passed vnder the rule: & laid it euery night vnder his beds
 head with his dagger, calling it (as *Onesivrates* writeth) the institution of martiall discipline.
 And when he was in the high contries of *ASIA*, where he could not readily come by other
 bookes, he wrote vnto *Harpalus* to send them to him. *Harpalus* sent him the histories of *Phili-*
stus, with diuers tragedies of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Aeschylus*: and certaine hymnes of *Tel-*
lestus and *Philoxenus*. *Alexander* did reuerence *Aristotle* at the first, as his father, and so he
 teamed him: bicause from his natural father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to lue.

PPP iij

The agility of
Alexander in
 taming the
 wildest of Ba-
 caphal the
 horse.

Philip pro-
 phetic of
 his sonne
Alexander.

Aristotle, was
Alexander
Schoolemaster.
Aristotle
 borne in the
 city of *Stagira*.

An Epistle of
Alexander
 vnto *Aristotle*.

Alexander
 the great pra-
 ctised phi-
 sicke.
 Some thinke
 that this place
 should be me-
 of the riches
 cesser, that
 was found a-
 mong king
Darius mells,
 in the which
Alexander
 would know all
Homer works
 kept.

But afterwards he suspected him somewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he so friendly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceived that he did not beare him the good will he was wont to doe. This notwithstanding, he left not that zeale and desire he had to the studie of Philosophie, which he had learned from his youth, and still continued with him. For he shewed diuers testimonies thereof. As, the honor he did vnto *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher. The fittie talentes which he sent vnto *Xenocrates*, *Dandamis*, and *Calanus*: of whom he made great account. When king *Philip* made warre with the *BIZANTINES*, *Alexander* being but sixteen years olde, was left his Lieutenaut in *MACEDON*, with the custodie and charge of his great feale: at what time he also subdued the *MEDARIANS* which had rebelled against him, and hauing wonne their citie by assault, he draue out the barbarous people, and made a Colonie of it of sundrie nations, and called it *ALEXANDROPOLIS*, to say, the citie of *Alexander*. He was with his father at the battell of *CHERONEA* against the *GRECIANS*, where it was reported, that it was he that gaue charge first of all upon the holie bande of the *THEBANS*. Furthermore, there was an old oke scene in my time, which the contry men commonly call *Alexanders* oke, because his tent or paullion was fastned to it: and not farre from thence is the channell house, where those *MACEDONIANS* were buried that were slaine at the battell. For these causes, his father *Philip* loued him very deere, and was glad to heare the *MACEDONIANS* call *Alexander* king, & him selfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reason of *Philippes* new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and strife amongst the women: for the mischiefe of dissention & gealozy of women, doth separate the hartes of kings one from another, whereof was chiefest cause, the sharpenes of *Olympias*, who being a gealous woman, fretting, and of a reuenging minde, did incenle *Alexander* against his father. But the chiefest cause that prouoked *Alexander*, was *Attalus* at the marriage of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* married a maiden, falling in fancie with her when him selfe was past marriage. This was the matter: *Attalus* being vncle vnto this *Cleopatra*, fell droncke at the marriage, and hauing in his cuppes, he perswaded the *MACEDONIANS* that were at the feast, to pray to the goddess, that they might haue a lawfull heire of *Philippe* and *Cleopatra*, to succede him in the kingdome of *MACEDON*. *Alexander* being in a rage therewith threw a cuppe at his head, and sayd vnto him: why, traytor, what am I: dost thou take me for a bastard? *Philip* seeing that, rose from the board, and drew out his sword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choller and wine, he fell downe on the grounde. Then *Alexander* mocking him, *Joe*, sayd he, to the *MACEDONIANS*, here is the man that prepared to go out of *EVROPS* into *ASIA*, and stepping onely from one bedde to another, ye see him layed alongest on the ground. After this great insolvency, he tooke his mother *Olympias* away with him, and carying her into his contrie of *EPYRVS*, he left her there, and him selfe afterwards went into *ILLYRIA*. In the meane time, *Demetrius* *CORINTHIAN*, a friend of king *Philippes*, and very familiar with him, came to see him. *Philip* when he had curteously welcommed him, asked him how the *GRECIANS* did agree together. Truly, O king, quod he, it importes you much to inquire of the agreement of the *GRECIANS*, when your owne court is so full of quarrell & contention. These words nipped *Philip* in such sorte, & caused him to know his fault, that through *Demetrius* meanes, whom he sent to perswade *Alexander* to returne, *Alexander* was made to come backe againe. Now when *Pexodorus*, a Prince of *CARIA* (desiring for necessities sake, to enter in league and friendship with *Philip*) offered his eldest daughter in marriage vnto *Alexander* king *Philippes* sonne, & had sent *Aristocritus* Ambassador into *MACEDON* for that purpose: the friends of *Alexander* & his mother, began againe to inuigile him with new reports and suspitions, how *Philip* by this great marriage would aduance *Arideus* to his vtter vndoing, and leaue him his heire in the kingdome. *Alexander* being nettled therewith sent one *Thestalus* a plaier of tragedies into *CARIA* to *Pexodorus*: to perswade him to leaue *Arideus*, that was a bastard & a foole: & rather to make alliance with *Alexander*. This offer pleased *Pexodorus* far better, to haue *Alexander* his sonne in law, than *Arideus*. *Philip* vnderstanding this, went himself into *Alexanders* chabert, taking *Philotas* with him (the sonne of *Parmenion*) one of his familiars, & bitterly tooke vp *Alexander*, telling him that he had a base mind, & was unworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would cast himselfe away, marrying the daughter of a *CARIAN*, that was a slaue & subiect

Alexander
sitteth
fast.

The city
of
Alexander
polis.

The quarrell
of *Philip* with
Olympias and
Alexander.

Alexander
mocketh *Philip*
his father.

Arideus king
Philippes be-
lieued, begotten
of a common
seruant, *Phili-*
ma.

A of a barbarous king. Therupon he wrote letters vnto *CORINTH*, that they should send *Thestalus* boild vnto him. And furthermore, he banished out of *MACEDON*, *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius*, & *Pholomy*, his sonnes companions: whom *Alexander* afterwards called home againe, & placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, *Pausanias* sustaining villany by the counsell and commaundement of *Attalus* & *Cleopatra*, crauing iustice of *Philip*, and finding no amends: he conuerted all his anger against him, and for hispight flue him him selfe. Of this murder, most men accused *Quene Olympias*, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, hauing iust cause of anger, to kill him. And *Alexander* also went not cleare from suspicion of this murder. For some say, that *Pausanias* after this villanie was done him, complained vnto *Alexander*, and told him how he had bene abused: who recited these verses to him of *Euripides*, in the tragedie of *Medea*, where she said in anger, that she would be reuenged:

Both of the bridegroome and the bride,
And of the father in lawe.

Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent searche to be made, and all them to be severely punished that were of the conspiracie: and was angrie also that his mother *Olympias* had cruelly slaine *Cleopatra*. So he came to be king of *MACEDON* at twenty yeares of age, and found his realme greatly enuyed & hated of dangerous enemies, and euery way full of danger. For, the barbarous nations that were neere neighbours vnto *MACEDON*, could not abide the bondage of straungers, but desired to haue their naturall kinges. Neither had *Philip* time enough to bridle and pacifie *GREECE*, which he had conquered by force of armes: but hauing *Calide* altered the gouernementes, had through his insolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long bene acquainted to obey. Therupon *Alexanders* counsell of *MACEDON*, being afraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that *Alexander* should vtterly forsake the affaires of *GREECE*, and not to follow them with extremitie, but that he should seeke to winne the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedy these new sturres. But he farre otherwise determined to stablsh his safety by corage and magnanimitie: perswading him selfe, that if they saw him stowpe and yeld at the beginning, how litle so euer it were, euery one would be upon him. Therupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them sodainly with his armie, by the riuier of *DANVBY*, where in a great battell he ouerthrew *Syrmus*, king of the *TRIBALLIANS*. Furthermore, hauing intelligence that the *THEBANS* were reuolted, and that the *ATHENIANS* also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towards the streight of *Thermopiles*, saying that he would make *Demosthenes* the Orator see (who in his oratiōs, whilest he was in *ILLYRIA*, & in the contry of the *TRIBALLIANS*, called him child) that he was grown a stripling passing through *THESSALY*, & should finde him a man before the walles of *ATHENS*. When he came with his armie vnto the gates of *THEBES*, he was willing to geue them of the citie occasion to repent them: and therefore onely demanded *Phanix* and *Prothytes*, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trompet, pardon and safetie vnto all them that would yeld vnto him. The *THEBANS* on thother side, demanded of him *Philotas*, & *Antipater*, two of his chiefest seruantes, & made the crier proclaime in the citie, that all such as would defend the libertie of *GREECE*, should ioyne with them. Then did *Alexander* leaue the *MACEDONIANS* at libertie to make warre with all crueltie. Then the *THEBANS* fought with greater corage and desire then they were able, considering that their enemies were many against one. And on thother side also, when the garrison of the *MACEDONIANS* which were within the castell of *CADMIA*, made a fallie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the reterward: then they being enuironned of all sides, were slaine in manner euery one of them, their citie taken, destroyed, & raised euen to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of *GREECE* afraid by example of this great calamitie and miserie of the *THEBANS*, to thend none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rise against him. He would cloke this crueltie of his vnder the complaints of his confederates, the *PHOCIANS* and *PLATYBIANS*: who complaining to him of the injuries the *THEBANS* had offered, could not denie them iustice. Notwithstanding, excepting the priests, and the religious, and all such as were frendes vnto any of the Lords of *MACEDON*,

Philip king
of *MACEDON*
slaine by *Pau-*
sanias.

The begin-
ning of *Alexander*
travelling.

Alexander ou-
erthrew *Syr-*
mus king of
the *Triballi-*
ans.

Thebes was
and raised by
Alexander.

all the frendes and hinfmen of the poet *Pindarus*, and all thofe that had diffided them which A were the rebels: he fold all the reft of the citie of *T H E B E S* for flauces, which amounted to the number of thirtie thoufand perfones, befides them that were flaine at the battell, which were fix thoufand moe. Now amongft the other miferies & calamities of the poore citie of *T H E B E S*, there were certaine *T H R A C I A N* fouldiers, who hauing fpoyled and defaced the houfe of *Timoclea*, a vertuous ladie and of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them: and their captaine hauing rauifhed her by force, asked her, whether ſhe had any where hidden any gold or filuer. The ladie told him, he had. Then leading him into her garden, ſhe brought him vnto a well: where ſhe ſaid he had caft all her iuells and precious things, when ſhe heard the citie was taken. The barbarous *T H R A C I A N* ſtooped to looke into the well: the ſtanding behind him, thruſt him in, and then threw ſtones enow on him, & fo killed him. The fouldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, & fo caried her vnto *Alexander*. When *Alexander* ſaw her countenance, & marked her gate: he ſuppoſed her at the firſt to be ſome great lady, ſhe followed the fouldiers with ſuch a maieltie & boldnes. *Alexander* the asking her what ſhe was: ſhe answered, that ſhe was the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, who fought a battell with king *Philip* before the citie of *C H E R O N E A*, where being generall he was ſlaine, valiantly fighting for the defence of the libertie of *G R E E C E*. *Alexander* wondering at her noble anſwere and couragious dede, commaunded no man ſhould touche her nor her children, & fo freely let her goe whether ſhe would. He made league alſo with the *A T H E N I A N S*, though they were very ſorry for their miſerable fortune. For the day of the ſolemne feaſt of their miſeries being come, they left it off, mourning for the *T H E B A N S*: courteouſly entreteining all thoſe, that flying from *C T H E B E S* came to them for ſuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was paſt him, following therein the nature of Lyons: or bycauſe that after ſo great an example of cruelty, he would ſhew a ſingular clemency againe: he did not only pardon the *A T H E N I A N S* of all faultes committed, but did alſo counſell them to looke wifely to their doings, for their citie one daie ſhould commaund all *G R E E C E*, if he chaunced to die. Men report, that certenly he oftentimes repented him that he had delt ſo cruelly with the *T H E B A N S*, and the grieſe he tooke upon it was cauſe that he afterwards ſhewed him ſelfe more mercifull vnto diuers others. Afterwards alſo he did blame the furie of *Bacchus*, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill *Clitus* at the table being droncke, and the *M A C E D O N I A N S* alſo to reſuſe him to goe any further to conquer the *I N D I A N S*, which was an impfection of his enterpriſe, and a miniſhing alſo of *D* his honor. Befides, there was neuer *T H E B A N* afterwards, that had eſcaped the furie of his victorie, and did make any petition to him, but he had his fute. Thus was the ſtate of *T H E B E S* as you haue heard. Then the *G R E C I A N S* hauing aſſembled a generall counſell of all the ſtates of *G R E E C E* within the ſtraights of *Peloponneſus*: there it was determined that they would make warre with the *P E R S I A N S*. Whereupon they choſe *Alexander* generall for all *G R E E C E*. Then diuers men coming to viſite *Alexander*, aſwell philoſophers, as gouernours of ſtates, to congratulate with him for his electiõ, he looked that *Diogenes Simopian* (who dwelt at *C O R I N T H*) would likewiſe come as the reſt had done: but when he ſaw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept ſtill in the ſuburbes of *C O R I N T H*, at a place called *C R A N I V M*, he went him ſelfe vnto him, and found him layed all along in the ſunne. When *Diogenes* ſaw ſo many coming *E* towards him, he ſate vp a litle, and looked full upon *Alexander*. *Alexander* courteouſly ſpake vnto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thing. Yea ſaid he, that I do: that thou ſtand out of my ſunne a litle. *Alexander* was ſo well pleaſed with this anſwere, and maruelled ſo much at the great boldnes of this man, to ſe how ſmall account he made of him: that when he went his way from him, *Alexanders* familiars laughing at *Diogenes*, & mocking him, he told them: maſters ſay what you liſt, truly if I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. *Alexander* being deſirous to heare what the oracle of *Apollo Delphian* would ſay vnto him touching the ſucceſſe of his iorney into *A S I A*: he went vnto the citie of *D E L P H E S*. It chaunced ſo, that he came thither in the dayes which they call vnfortunate, on which dayes no man vſed to aſke *Apollo* any thing. This notwithstanding, he ſent firſt vnto the Nunne which pronounced the oracles, *F* to pray her to come to him. But the reſufed to come, alleaging the cuſtome which forbade her to goe. Thereupon, *Alexander* went thither him ſelfe in perſon, and brought her out by force

*A noble act
of Timoclea,
a noble woman
of Thebes.*

Alexander
chosen gene-
rall of all
Grace.

Alexanders
talks with Dio
genes.

A into the temple. She feelds then that he would not be deuyed, but wold needes haue his will
told him. My nyone, for that kee, thou art inuincible. *Alexander* hearing that, said he de-
fied vpon other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Andwardes with he was euen
ready to go on with his voyage, he had diuers signes and tokens from the gods: and amongst
other, an image of the Poet *Orpheus* made of cyprus, in the city of *Myra*, in the thirtieth dayes
did swaue maruelously. Many men fearing that signe, *Antiochus* the boorth brother had *Alexan-
der* be of good cheere, and hope well, for he should obtaine noble victories that should neuer
be forgotten, the which should make the Poets and musiciens swaue to write and singe them.
Then, for his armie which he led with him, they that do led downe the Iordan numberd say that
they were thirtie thousand foote men, and foure thousand horsemen, and they that saye more
do write foure & thirtie thousand foote men, and foure thousand horsemen. *Strabon* writ-
teth, that *Alexander* had no more but three score and tenne talents to paie his builders with
and *Duris* writteth, that he had no more prouision of vittells, then for thirtie dayes only. And
Omniscius sayeth moreover, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now notwithstanding
that he beganne this warre with so small ability to mainteine it, he would neuer take shippes before
he vnderstood the state of his frendes, to know what abilitie they had to goe with him; and
before he had geuen vnto some landes, and vnto other a towne, and to others againe, the cus-
tome of some haen. Thus by his bountie hauing in manner spent almost the reuenues of the
crown of *MACEDON*, *Perdiccas* asked him: my Lord, what will you keepe for your selfe? hope,
sayd he. Then, *o Perdiccas* againe, we will also haue some parte, since we goe with you: and
so refused the reuenue which the king had geuen him for his pencion. Many others did also
the like. But such as were contented to take his liberaltie, or would aske him any thing, he
gaue them very frankly, and in such liberaltie spent all the reuenue he had. With this defier
& determination, he went on to the fraight of *HELLESPONT*, & going to the cite of *ILLYM*,
he did sacrifice vnto *Diana*, and made funerall effusions vnto the demy goddess (to wit, vnto
the princes which died in the warre of *TROYA*, whose bodies where buried there) and specially
vnto *Achilles*, whose graue he annotated with oyle, and ranne naked round about it with his
familiers, according to the ancient custome of funerals. Then he couered it with nosegayes
and flowers, saying, that *Achilles* was happy, who while he liued had a faithfull frend, and after
his death an excellent herauld to singe his praise. When he had done, & went vp and downe
the cite to see all the monuments and notable things there: one asked him, if he would fee
Paris harpe. He answered againe, he would very faine fee *Achilles* harpe, who played & sung
apon it all the famous actes done by valliant men in former times. In the meane time, *Darius*
king of *PERSSIA*, hauing leauied a great armie, sent his capitaines and leutenants to tary *Alexander*
at the riuer of *GRANICVS*. There was *Alexander* to fight of necessity, being the onely
barre to stoppe his entrie into *ASIA*. Moreover, the capitaines of his counsell about him, were
afraid of the depth of this riuer, and of the height of the bancke on thother side, which was ve-
rie high and steepe, & could not be wonne without fighting. And some said also, that he should
haue speciall care of the ancient regard of the moneth: by cause the kings of *MACEDON* did
neuer vie to put their armie into the field in the moneth of *Dafon*, which is Iunie. For that,
said *Alexander*, we will remedy foone: let them call it the second moneth, *Artemisium*, which is
Maye. Furthermore *Parmenis* was of opinion, that he should not medle the first day, by cause
it was very late. *Alexander* made answer againe, that *HELLESPONT* would blush for shame,
if he were now afraid to passe ouer the riuer, since he had already commien ouer an arme of
the sea. Therupon he him selfe first entred the riuer with thirtie guidons of horsemen, and
marched forwardes against an infinite number of arrowes which the enemies shot at him; as
he was comming vp the other bancke, which was very high and steepe, and worst of all, full
of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receiue him in battell raye, thru-
sting his men downe into the riuer, which was very deepe, and ranne fo swift, that it almost
caried them downe the streame: in fomuch that men thought him more rash than wife, to
leade his men with such daunger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would
needes ouer, & in thend with great a doo recovered the other side, specially by cause the earth
slidde away by reason of the mudd. So when he was ouer, he was driuen to fight belme on
F

upon another, because his enemies did set vpon the first that were passed ouer, before they could put them selues into battell raze, with great cries, keeping their horses very close together, and fought first with their darts, and afterwards came to the sword when their darts were broken. Then many of them set vpon him alone, for he was easily to be knowne about the rest by his shield & the hinder part of his helmet, about the which there hong from thone side to thother, a maruelous faire white plume. *Alexander* had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon *Rofaces* & *Spithridates*, both two chiefe captaynes of the *PERSIANS*, setting upon *Alexander* at once, he left the one, and riding straight to *Rofaces*, who was excellently armed, he gaue him such a blow with his lance, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword. But so soone as they two had closed together, *Spithridates* coming at toe side of him, raised him selfe vpon his stirrappes and gaue *Alexander* with all his might such a blow of his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creast of his helmet, and one of the sides of his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very heare of his head. And as he was lifting vp his hand to strike *Alexander* againe, great *Climus* preuenting him, thrust him through with a partisan, and at the very same instant, *Rofaces* also fell dead from his horse with a wound which *Alexander* gaue him with his sword. Now whilest the horsemen fought with such furie, the squadron of the battell of footemen of the *MACEDONIANS* had passed the riuier, and both the battells beganne to march one against the other. The *PERSIANS* slucke not manfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backs and fled, sauing the *GRACIANS* which tooke paie of king *Darius*: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of *Alexander*. But *Alexander* setting vpon them, more of will then discretion, had his horse killed vnder him, being thrust through the flankes with a sword. This was not *Bucephalus*, but an other horse he had. All his men that were slaine or hurt at this battell, were hurte amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slaine at this first battell, twenty thousand footemen of these barbarous people, & two thousand five hundred horsemen. Of *Alexanders* side, *Aristobolus* writeth, that there were slaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footemen. *Alexander* to honor their vallianties, caused euery one of their images to be made in bras by *Lysippus*. And because he would make the *GRACIANS* partakers of this victorie, he sent vnto the *ATHENIANS* three hundred of their targettes, which he had wonne at the battell, and generally vpon all the other spoiles, he put this honorable inscription. *Alexander the sonne of Philip, and the D Gracians, excepting the Lacedemonians, haue vronne this spoile upon the barbarous Asians.* As for plate of gold or siluer, also purple sikkes, or other such precious ware which he gat amongst the *PERSIANS*: he sent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This first victorie of *Alexander*, brought such a sodaine change amongst the barbarous people in *Alexanders* behalfe, that the cite selfe of *SARDIS*, the chiefe cite of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the lowe contries and coastes upon the sea, they yeelded straight vnto him, sauing the cities of *HALICARNASSVS* and *MILETVM*, which did still resist him: howbeit at length he tooke the by force. When he had also conquered all thereabouts, he stood in doubt afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a maruelous desire, wholly to follow *Darius* wherefoeuer he were, and to venter all at a battell. An other time againe, he thought it better first to occupy him selfe in conquering of these lowe contries, & to make him selfe strong with the money and riches he should finde among them, that he might afterwards be the better able to follow him. In the contrie of *LYDIA* neere vnto the cite *XANTHVM*, they lay there is a springe that brake of it selfe, and ouerflowing the bankes about it, cast out a little table of copper from the bottome, vpon the which were graued certen carrectes in olde letters, which said: that the kingdom of the *PERSIANS* should be destroyed by the *GRACIANS*. This did further so encourage *Alexander*, that he made haft to cleere all the sea coast, euen as farre as *CILICIA* and *PHOENICIA*. But the wonderfull good successe he had, runninge alongest all the coast of *PAMPHILIA*, gaue diuers historiographers occasion to set forth his doings with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the worlde, that the furies of the sea, which vnto all other was extreame rough, and many times would swell ouer the toppes of the high rocks vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that *Ma-*

Battell between Alexander and Darius at the river of Granicus.

Climus saved Alexander.

Alexanders victory of the Persians at Granicum.

Alexander him selfe in a comedie of his doth witnesse this wonderfull happyness of *Alexander*, when merily he sayeth:

O great Alexander, how great is thy state?
For thou with thy selfe mayst thus iustly debate.
If any man lying I list for too call,
He commeth and humbly before me doth fall.
And if through the sources my iorney doe lye,
The waves giue me vna, and the Sea becomes drye.

Yet *Alexander* him selfe simply writeth in his epistles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passed a place called the ladder, and that to passe thence, he tooke shippe in the cite of *PHASELIDIS*. There he remained many dayes, and when he saw the image of *Theodestes* *PHASELITAN*, standing in the market place: he went in a daunce thither one euening after supper, and cast flowers and garlandes upon his image, honoring the memorie of the dead, though it seemed but in sport, for that he was his companion when he lyued, by means of *Aristotle* and his philosophie. After that he ouercame also the *PERSIANS*, who thought to haue resisted him, and conquered all *PHRYGIA* besides. There in the cite of *GORDIVS*, which is said to be the ancient seate of king *Midus*: he saw the charret that is so much spok of, which is bound with the bark of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a trothe, of the barbarous people, that they beleued it as a prophie: that whosoever could vndoe the bande of that bark, was certainly ordeyned to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that *Alexander* prouing one vnto that bande, and finding no endes to vndoe it by, they were so many folde wreathed one within the other: he drew out his sword, and cut the knot in the midst. So that then many endes appeared. But *Aristobolus* writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret and so seuered them a fonder. Departing thence, he conquered the *PAPLAGONIANS* & *CAPPADOCIANS*, and vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, that was *Darius* generall of his army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand *Alexander*: whereupon he was the bolder to goe on with his determination to leade his army into the high contries of *ASIA*. Then did king *Darius* him selfe come against *Alexander*, hauing leaued a great power at *SUSA*, of six hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dreame, the which his wifards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. *Darius* dreamed that he saw all the armie of the *MACEDONIANS* on a fire, and *Alexander* seruing of him in the selfe same attier that he him selfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predecessor: and that when he came into the temple of *Belus*, he sodainly vanished from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did signifie vnto him, that the *MACEDONIANS* should haue noble successe in their doings, & that *Alexander* should conquer all *ASIA*, euen as king *Darius* had done, when he was but *Agandes* vnto the king: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honor. This furthermore made him bolde also, when he saw that *Alexander* remained a good while in *CILICIA*, supposing it had bene for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sicknes he had, the which some say he got, by extreme paines and trauell, & others also, because he washed him selfe in the riuier of *Cydus*, which was cold as life. Howfoeuer it came, there was none of the other phisicians that durst vndertake to cure him, thinking his disease vncurable, and no medicines to preuaile that they could giue him, and fearing also that the *MACEDONIANS* would laie it to their charge, if *Alexander* miscaried. But *Philip* *ACARNANIAN*, considering his master was very ill, and bearing him selfe of his loue and good will towards him, thought he should not doe that became him, if he did not proue (seeing him in extremitie and danger of life) the utmost remedies of phisicke, what daunger so euer he put him selfe into: and therefore tooke vpon him to minister phisicke vnto *Alexander*, and perswaded him to drinke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, & goe to the warres. In the meane time, *Parmenio* wrote him a letter from the campe, aduertising him, that he should beware of *Philip* his phisitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by *Darius*, with large promises of great riches, that he would geue him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his master. *Alexander* when he had redde this letter, layed it vnder his beddes

The memorie of Theodestes honored by Alexander.

The cite of Gordius in Phrygia where king Midas kept.

Darius armie and dreame.

Alexanders sickness in Cilicia. Cydnus fl.

The wonder-
full waie of
Alexander in
his phisician.

Darius con-
tremeth A-
myntas pref-
erable counsell.

Battell be-
tweene Alex-
ander and Da-
rius in Cilicia.

Alexanders
victory of Da-
rius in Cil-
icia.

head, and made none of his neereft familiars acquainted therewith. When the howe came that he should take his medicine, *Philip* came into his chamber with other of the kings familiars, & brought a cup in his hand with the pocion he should drinke. *Alexander* then gaue him the letter, & withall, cheerefully tooke the cup of him, shewing no manner of feare or mistrust of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the fight, how one reading the letter, and thother drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one upon another, howbeit not both with like cheerefull countenance. For *Alexander* looked merily upon him, plainly shewing the trust he had in his phisician *Philip*, and how much he loued him: and the phisician alfo beheld *Alexander*, like a man perplexed & amazed, to be so fallily accused, & straight lift vp his handes to heauen, calling the goddes to witnesse that he was innocent, and then came to *Alexanders* bed side, and prayed him to be of good cheere, and boldly to doe as he would aduise him. The medicine beginning to worke, ouercame the diseafe, and draue for the time, to the lowest partes of his body, all his natural strength and powers: in fomuch as his speach failed him, and he fell into such a weaknes, and almost swooning, that his pulse did scarce beate, and his senses were welneere taken from him. But that being past, *Philip* in few dayes recovered him againe. Now, when *Alexander* had gotten some strength, he shewed him selfe openly vnto the *Macedonians*: for they would not be pacified, nor perswaded of his health, vntill they had seene him. In king *Darius* campe, there was one *Amyntas* a *Macedonian*, & banisht out of his contrie, who knew *Alexanders* disposition very well. He finding that *Darius* ment to meete with *Alexander* within the straights and vallies of the mountaines: besought him to tarie rather where he was, being a plaine open contrie round about him, considering that he had a great hoste of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for his aduantage to meete with him in the open field. *Darius* answered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. *Amyntas* replied, for that, O king, I prae you feare not: for I warrant you upon my life he will come to you, yea and is now on wards on his way comming towards you. All these perswasions of *Amyntas* could not turne *Darius* from making his campe to marche towards *Cilicia*. At the selfe same time also, *Alexander* went towards *Syria* to meete with him. But it chaunced one night, that the one of them missed of the other, and when day was come, they both returned backe againe: *Alexander* being glad of this happe, & making hast to meete with his enemy within the straights. *Darius* also seeking to winne *Alexanders* lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of the straites: beganne then to find the fault & error committed, for that he had shut him selfe vp in the straights, (holden in on the one side with the mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the riuer of *Pindarus* that ranne betwene both) and that he was driuen to disperse his armie into diuers companies, in a stonie and ill fauored contrie, ill for horsemen to trauell, being on the contrarie side a great aduantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footemen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gaue *Alexander* the field as he would wite it to fight for his aduantage: so could he tell excellently well how to set his men in battell raye to winne the victorie. For albeit that *Alexander* had the lesse number by many then his enemy, yet he had such policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be entronned: For he did put out the right winge of his battell a great deale further, then he did his left winge, and fighting him selfe in the left winge in the foremost ranckes, he made all the barbarous people flie that stood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thighe with a blow of a sword. *Chares* writeth, that *Darius* selfe did hurte him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding *Alexander* selfe writing of this battell vnto *Antipater* sayeth, that in deede he was hurte on the thighe with a sword, howbeit it did put him in no danger: but he writeth not that *Darius* did hurte him. Thus hauing wonne a famous victory, and slaine about a hundred and tenne thousand of his enemies, he could not yet take *Darius*, bycause he fled, hauing still foure or fure forlonges vantage before him: howbeit he tooke his charriot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he returned from the chafe, & found the *Macedonians* sacking & spoiling all the rest of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches (although they had left the most parte of their cariage behind them in the cite of *Damas*, to come lighter to the battell) but yet referred for him selfe all king *Darius* tent,

A tent, which was full of a great number of officers, of riche moueables, and of gold and siluer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting of his armor, he entred into the bathie and sayed: come on, lette vs goe and walthe of the sweate of the battell in *Darius* owne bathie. Naye, replied one of his familiars againe, in *Alexanders* bathie: for the gooddes of the vanquished are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bathie, and sawe the basons and yewers, the boxes, and vyolles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetely, that it was like a parradise: then going out of his bathie, and comming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bedde, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familiars and said: this was a king in deede, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to goe to his supper, and was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongst other Ladies taken prisoners, king *Darius* mother and his wife, and two of his daughters vnmarrid: who hauing seene his chariot and bowe, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of their selues thinking *Darius* had bene slaine. *Alexander* pawed a good while and gaue no aunswere, pitying more their misfortune, then reioycing at his owne goodhappe. Then he presently sent one *Leontatus* vnto them, to let them vnderstand, that *Darius* was a hue, and that they should not neede to be afraid of *Alexander*, for he did not fight with *Darius*, but for his kingdome only: and as for them, that they should haue at his handes all that they had of *Darius* before, when he had his whole kingdome in his handes. As these wordes pleased the captiue Ladies, so the deedes that followed, made them finde his clemencie to be no lesse. For first he suffered them to burie as many of the *Persian* Lordes as they would, euen of them that had bene slaine in the battell, and to take as much filkes of the spoiles, iuelles, and ornaments, as they thought good to honor their funerall with: & also did lessen no parte of their honor, nor of the number of their officers and seruantes, nor of any iorte of their estate which they had before, but did allowe them also greater pencions, then they had before. But about all, the princelyest grace, and most noble fauor that *Alexander* shewed vnto these captiue princesses, which had alwayes liued in honorable fame and chastitie, was this: That they neuer heard worde, or so much as any suspicion that should make them afraied to be dishonored or deflowred: but were priuately among them selues vniuisited or repayed vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in some close *Monasterie*: although *Darius* wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as *Darius* also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. *Alexander* thinking it more princely for a kinge, as I suppose to conquer him selfe, then to ouercome his enemies: did neither touche them nor any other, maide or wife, before he married them, *Barsine* onely excepted, who being left *Memmons* widow (generall of kinge *Darius* by sea) was taken by the cite of *Damas*. She being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good entertainment (being the daughter of *Artabazus*, who came of a kinges daughter) *Alexander* was bolde with her by *Parmenios* procurement, (as *Aristobolus* writeth) who intised him to embrace the companie of so excellent a woman, and passing faire besides. Furthermore, beholding the other *Persian* Ladies besides which were prisoners, what goodly faire women they weré: he spake it pleasauntly, that the Ladies of *Persia* made mens eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beaute of his continencie, before their sweete faire faces: he passed by without any sparke of affection towards them, more then if they had bene images of stone without life. To confirme this, *Philoxenus* whom he had left his lieutenaunt in the lowe contries upon the sea coast, wrote vnto him on a time, that one *Theodorus* a marchaunt of *Tarentum*, had to sell two goodly young boies, maruelous faire: and therefore that he sent vnto him to knowe his pleasure, if he would bye them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out alowde: O, my frendes, what villany hath euer *Philoxenus* scene in me, that he should deuise (hauing nothing to doe there) to purchase me such infamie? whereupon he wrote vnto him from the campe, with reprochfull wordes, that he should send that vile *Tarentin* marchaunt *Theodorus* and his marchaundise to the Deuill. He sharply punished also one *Agnon*, that wrote vnto him he would bye a young boye called *Grobylus* (who for beautie bore the onely,

Darius mother, wife, and two daughters, taken by *Alexander*.

The clemency of *Alexander* vnto the captiue Ladies.

The chastitie of *Alexander*.

Alexanders pleasant speech of womens beautie.

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name in CORINTHES, and bring him to him. Another time also, when he heard that *Darius* and *Timotheus* MACEDONIANS, vnder *Parmenioes* charge, had deflowered two of the fouldiers wiues that were strangers, and waged of him: he wrote vnto *Parmenio* to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them giltye of the rape, that then he should put them both to death, as brute beastes borne to destroie mankind. And in that letter he wrote thus of him selfe. For my selfe, said he, I haue neither seene, nor desired to see *Darius* wife: neither haue I suffred any speach of her beawtie before me. Moreouer he said, that he did vnderstand that he was mortall by these two thinges: to wit, sleepe, and lust: for, from the weakenes of our nature proceedeth sleepe and sensualitye. He was also no greedy gutte, but temperate in eating, as he shewed by many proofes: but chiefly in that he saide vnto the princeesse *Ada*, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of *CARTA*. For when (for the loue she bare him) she daily sent him sundrie delicate dishes of meate, tartes, and marchpaines, and besides the meate it selfe, the pastlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: he answered that he could not tell what to doe with them, for he had better cookes than those appointed him by his gouernour *Leonidas*, to witte: for his diner, to rise before daye; and to marche by night: and for his supper, to cate litle at diner. And my gouernour, said he, would oftentimes open the chestres where my bedding and apparell lay, to see if my mother had put any fine knacks or conceits among them. Furthermore, he was lesse geuen to wine, then men would haue iudged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber than he was, by cause he fate longe at the bourde, rather to talke then drinke. For euer when he dranke, he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leysure. For hauing matters to doe, there was neither feaste, bancket, plaie, marriage, nor any pastime that could staie him: as they had done other captaynes. The which appeareth plainly by the shortenes of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deedes he did, in that litle time he liued. When he had leysure, after he was vp in the morning, first of all he would doe sacrifice to the goddes, and then would goe to diner, passing awaie all the rest of the daye, in hunting, writing some thinge, taking vp some quarrell betwene fouldiers, or els in studying. If he went any iourney of no hastie busines, he would exercise him selfe by the waie as he went, shooting in his bowe, or learning to get vp or out of his charre sodenly, as it ranne. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunte the foxe, or ketch birds, as appeareth in his booke of remembraunces for euery daie. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and nointe him selfe: and would aske his pantelers and caruers if his supper were ready. He would euer suppleare, and was very curious to see, that euery man at his bourde was a like serued, and would sit longe at the table, by cause he euer loued to talke, as we haue told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a prince and gracious to waite apon, and as pleasaunt, as any king that euer was. For he lacked no grace nor comelines to adorne a prince, sauing that he would be somethinge ouerbusse in glorying in his owne deedes, much like vnto a bragging fouldier: neither was he contented him selfe to please his owne humour that waie, but would also suffer his familiars to loothe him euen to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durst saye lesse of the praises which they gaue him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in daunger. After supper, he would washe him selfe againe, and sleepe vntill noone the next daye following, and oftentimes all daye longe. For him selfe, he was nothing curious of dainty dishes: for when any did send him rare frutes, or fishe, from the countries neere the sea side, he would fend them abroad vnto his frendes, and seldom kepe any thinge for him selfe. His table notwithstanding was alwayes very honorably serued, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquestes: till it came to the summe of tenne thousand drachmas a daye. But there he stayed, and would not excede that summe, and moreouer commaunded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend about that summe. After this battell of *ISSVS*, he sent vnto the cite of *DAMAS*, to take all the gold and siluer, the cariage, and all the women and children of the *PERSIANS* which were left there, where the men of armes of the *THESSALIANS* spedde them full well. For therefore

Alexander
temperate in
eating.

How *Leonidas*
brought up
Alexander.

Alexander
life when he
was as lei-
sure.

Alexander a
pleasaunt
prince as any
could be.

As did he fend them thither, by cause he sawe that they had fought valliantly at the daye of the battell: and so were the reite of his armie also well stored with money. There the *MACEDONIANS* hauing tasted first of the golde, siluer, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by cent doe follow the tracke of beastes, euen so were they greedy to follow after the goodes of the *PERSIANS*. First *Alexander* thought it best to winne all the sea coaste. Thether came the kinges of *CYPRVS*, and *PHOENICIA*, and deliuered vp to him the whole lland & all *PHOENICIA*, sauing onely the cite of *TYRE*. That cite he besieged seuen moneths together by lande, with great bulwarkes and diuers engines of batterie, and by sea, with two hundred gallies. During this sege, *Alexander* dreamed one night, that *Hercules* held out his hand vnto him ouer the walles of the cite, and called him by his name: and there were diuers *TYRIANS* also that dreamed in likewise, that *Apollo* told them that he would goe vnto *Alexander*, by cause he was not pleased with their doings in the cite. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderfull bignes) with grat chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the base, as if he had bene a traitour that would haue yielded him selfe vnto their enemies, and called him *Alexandrine*, as much as fauouring *Alexander*. *Alexander* had there also another dreame. For he dreamed that he sawe a *Satyre* a farre of sporting with him, and when he thought to haue commen neere to haue taken him, he still escaped from him: vntill at the length, after he had runne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his handes. The footesayers being asked what this dreame should signifie, answered probably, by deuiding *Satyrs* into two, and then it is *Σατυρ*: which signifieth, the cite of *TYRE* shalbe thine. And they doo yet shew vnto this daie, the fontaine where *Alexander* thought he sawe the *Satyre*. Continuing this sege, he went to make warre with the *ARABIANS*, that dwell apon the mountaine *Antiliban*, where he was in great daunger of being cast away, onely by cause he heard his tutor *Lysimachus* that followed him, saye boldly, that he was not inferior, nor older than the *Phoenix*. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horses, and went vp a foote: and *Alexander* was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leaue his tutor *Lysimachus* behind him (who was so very that he could goe no further) but by cause it was darke night, & for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came behind to encourage his tutor, and in maner to carie him. By this meanes, vnwares, he was farre from his armie with very few men about him, and benighted besides: moreouer it was very colde, and the waie was very ill. At the length, perceyuing diuers fire: which the enemies had made, some in one place, and some in another, trusting to his valliantnes, hauing alwayes provided remedie in extremitie, when the *MACEDONIANS* were distressed, him selfe euer putting to his owne hand: he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that laye by the fire side, he snatched awaye a fire brand, and ranne with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were so afraid, that they ranne their waye as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and sette vpon him, he flue them euery man, and so laye there that night, him selfe and his men without daunger. Thus *Chares* reporteth this matter. Now for the sege of *TYRE*, that fell out thus. *Alexander* caused the most parte of his armie to take rest, being ouerharried: and wearyed with so many battelles as they had fought: and sent a few of his men onely to geue assault vnto the cite, to kepe the *TYRIANS* occupied, that they should take no rest. One daye the footeslayer *Aristander* sacrificing vnto the goddes, hauing considered of the signes of the intralles of the beastes: did assure them that were present, that the cite should be taken by the later ende of the moneth. Euery bodie laughed to heare him: for that daye was the very last daye of the moneth. *Alexander* seeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to saie to it, seeking euer to bringe those tokens to effect, which the footeslayers did prognosticate: commaunded them that they should not reckon that daye the thirde day, but the seuen and twentie, and immediatly vpon it, made the trompet sounde the allarme, & geue a hotter assault to the walles, then he had thought to haue done before. They fought valliantly on both sides, in so much as they that were left in the campe, could not kepe in, but must needs runne to thassaile to helpe their companions. The *TYRIANS* seeing thassaile so hot on euery side, their hartes began to faile them, and by this meanes was the cite taken the selfe same day.

Alexander
besieged the
cite of *TYRE*.
Alexander
dreamt as the
cite of *TYRE*.

Alexander
scid dreamt
against as
TYRE.

Alexander
journey against
the *ARABIANS*.
Antiliban
mount.

The courage
and agilitie
of *Alexander*.

The cite of
TYRE besieged,
and taken by
Alexander.

Alexander
tooke the citie
of Gaza.

An other time also, when *Alexander* was before *GAZA*, the chiefe citie of *SYRIA*, there fell a clodde of earth vpon his shoulder, out of the which there flew a bird into the ayer. The bird lightinge apon one of the engines of his battrie, was caught with the nettes made of finewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines. *Aristander* did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding that he should yet take the towne. And in deede so it came to passe. When he sent great presentes of spoiles which he wanne at the sacke of this citie, vnto his mother *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and diuers others of his frendes among other thinges, he sent vnto *Leonidas* his gouernour, five hundred talentes waight of frankensence, and a hundred talentes waight of myrrer: remembering the hope he put him in to when he was a childe. For, as *Alexander* was vpon a daye sacrificyng vnto the goddes, he tooke both his handes full of frankensence to cast into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his gouernour *Leonidas* saw him, he said thus vnto him: When thou hast conquered the contrie where these sweete thinges grow, then beliberal of thy perfume: but now, spare that litle thou hast at this present. *Alexander* calling to minde at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this sorte: we do send thee plenty of frankensence & myrrer, because thou shouldest no more be a niggard vnto the goddes. There was brought vnto him a litle coffer also, which was thought to be the preciouslest thinge and the richest, that was gotten of all the spoiles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of *Darius*. When he saw it, he asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thinge to be put into it. Some said one thinge, some said an other thinge: but he said, he would put the *Iliades* of *Homer* into it; as the worthiest thinge. This is confirmed by the best historiographers. Now if that which the *ALEXANDRIANS* report vpon *Heraclides* wordes, be true: then it appeareth that he did prostitute him selfe much by *Homer* in this iorney. For it is reported that when he had conquered *EGYPT*, he determined to builde a great citie, and to replenish it with a great number of *GRÆCIANS*, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to inclose a certain ground, which he had chosen by thaduise of his engineers and workemasters: the night before he had a maruelous dreame, that he sawe an olde man standing before him, full of white heares, with an honorable preface, and comming towards him said these verbes.

The building
of the citie of
Alexandria.

Alexander
dreame in
EGYPT.

The Ile of
Pharos.

Within the forming sea there lyes a certain land, right
Against the shore of Egypt, which of ancient *Pharos* hight.
As soone as he rose the next morning, he went to see this Ile of *PHAROS*, the which at that time was a litle about the mouth of the riuer of *Nylus*, called *Canoia*, howbeit it is now ioyned vnto firme lande, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meetest place that could be, to builde the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great bartoe of earth, broade enough, that separeteth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on thother, the which doeth ioyn hard to a great bauen. Then he said that *Homer* was wonderfull in all his thinges, but that amongst others, he was an excellent Architecture: and commaunded, that straight they should cast the platforme of the citie, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalker, nor white earth there to marke withall, wherefore they were driuen to take meale, and with that did marke out vpon the earth being blacke, by the compasse of the towne that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equal partes, either of them resembled the skirtes and faction of the *MACEDONIAN* cloke. *Alexander* liked this draught passingly well. But there rose apon the sodaine out of the riuer or lake, such an infinite multitude of great fowle of all sortes, that they couered the element as it had bene a clowde, and lighting within this circuite, did eate vp all the meale, and left not a crumme. *Alexander* liked not these signes. Notwithstanding, his soothsayers bad him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a signe that he should builde a citie there, so pleinsfull of all thinges, that he should mainteine all sortes of people. Then he commaunded them, vnto whom he had geuen the charge of the building, that they should goe forward with their worke, and he him selfe in the meane time, tooke his iorney to goe visite the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. The iorney was long, and there were many troubles by the waie, but two dangers above all the rest most speciall. The first, lacke of water, by cause they had to trauell many dayes

A wonder.

Alexander
journey vnto
the citie of
Hammon.

A dayes iorney through a great desert. The second was, the daunger of the rising of the southe winde by the waie, to blow the sand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew vp whole hilles of sand, which flew fittie thousand men of *Cambyses* armie. Euery man in *Alexanders* traine did know these daungers very well: howbeit it was hard to dissuade *Alexander* from any thing which he had a desire vnto. For, fortune fauoring him in all his attempes, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble courage besides, made him inuincible in all thinges he tooke in hand, in so much as he did not only compell his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, in stead of these former daungers, spoken of, he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the goddes, by the oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certain sorte, they haue beleued the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that fell from the element did keepe him from feare of the first daunger, and did quenche their thirst, and moistened the drieres of the sand in such sorte, that there came a sweete freshe ayer from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to shew them the waie, and that they wandred vp and downe, they could not tell where: there came crows vnto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behinde. But *Callisthenes* writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crows, they brought them againe into the right waie which had lost their waie. Thus *Alexander* in thend, hauing passed through this wilderness, he came vnto the temple he sought for: where, the prophet or chiefe priest saluted him from the god *Hammun*, as from his father. Then *Alexander* asked him, if any of the murderers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The priest answered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then *Alexander* againe rehearsing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conspired the death of *Philip* his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to be king ouer all the world. The god answered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of *Philip* was fully reuenged. Then did *Alexander* offer great presentes vnto the god, and gaue money large to the priests, & ministers of the temple. This is that the most parte of writers doe declare, touching *Alexanders* demaund, and the oracles geuen him. Yet did *Alexander* him selfe write vnto his mother; that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would onely impart vnto her, at his retorne into *MACEDON*. Others saie also, that the prophet meaning to salute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would haue said vnto him, *O Paision*, as much as deere sonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, by cause the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the latter ende, saying, *O Pai dios*, to wit, O sonne of *Iupiter*: and that *Alexander* was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon there ranne a rumor straight among his men, that *Iupiter* had called him his sonne. It is said also, that he heard *Plammon* the philosopher in *EGYPT*, and that he liked his wordes very well, when he saide that god was king of all mortall men: For (quoth he) he that commaundeth all things, must needs be god. But *Alexander* selfe spake better, and like a philosopher, when he said: That god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the best sorte for him selfe. To conclude, he shewed him selfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly beleued that he had bene begotten of some god: but vnto the *GRÆCIANS* he spake more modestly of diuine generation. For in a letter he wrote vnto the *ATHENIANS* touching the citie of *SAMOS*, he said: I gaue ye not that noble free citie, but it was geuen you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord & father: meaning *Philip*. Afterwards also being stricken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My frendes said he, This blood which is spilt, is mans blood, and not as *Homer* said,

Cambyses
army slain by
sandhilles.

Crows guided
Alexander
in his iorney.

The saying of
Plammon the
philosopher of
the providence
of God.

Alexander
saith god
head is him
selfe.

No such as from the immortal gods doth flow.
And one day also in a maruelous great thunder, when euery man was afraid, *Anaxarchus* the Rethorician being present, said vnto him: O thou sonne of *Iupiter*, wilt thou doe as much? no said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my frends, as thou wouldest haue me: disdaining the seruice of filthe to my borde, by cause thou seest not princes heades serued in.

Alexander
made plays
and feasts.

Darius first
Amab, Tadmor
vnto Alexan-
der.

Statira, king
Darius wife,
died in trauell
of child.

Tireus repoy-
nto Darius of
Statiraes bur-
iall.

Darius talke
with Tircus
the Eunuch,

And the report goeth also, that *Alexander* vpon a time sending a litle fische vnto *Hephestion* *Anaxarchus* should saye as it were in mockery, that they which about others seeke for haue with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either small pleasure in the world, or els as little as others haue. By these proofes and reasons alleged, we maie thinke that *Alexander* had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of him selfe, to thinke that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to kepe other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceiued of his godhead. Retorning out of *PHOENICIA* into *EGYPT*, he made many sacrifices, feastes, and processions in honor of the goddess, fondry daunces, Tragedies, and such like pastimes goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which stirred euery one to exceede the other. For the kings of the *CYPR*ANS were the setters of them forth, as at *ATHENS* they draw by lot a citizen of euery tribe of the people, to defraie the charges of these pastimes. These kings were very earnest who should doe best, but specially *Nicocreon*, king of *SALAMINA* in *CYPR*US: and *Pasiteras*, Lord of the citie of *SOLES*. For it fell to their lot to furnish two of the excellentest plaiers, *Pasiteras* furnished *Athenodorus*, and *Nicocreon* *Theffalus*: whom *Alexander* loued singularly well, though he made no shew of it, vntill that *Athenodorus* was declared victor, by the iudges deputed to geue sentence. For when he went from the plaies, he told them he did like the iudges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would haue bene contented to haue geuen the one halfe of his realme, not to haue seene *Theffalus* ouercome. *Athenodorus* being condemned vpon a time by the *ATHENIANS*, by cause he was not in *ATHENS* at the feastes of *Bacchus*, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaid, and a fine fet of his head for his absence: he besought *Alexander* to write vnto them in his behalfe, that they would releafe his penalty. *Alexander* would not so doe, but sent thither his money whereof he was condemned, and paid it for him of his owne purse. Also when *Lycos* *SCARPHIAN*, an excellent stage player had pleased *Alexander* well, and did soite in a verse in his comedy, concerning a petition of tenne talents: *Alexander* laughing at it, gaue it him: *Darius* at that time wrote vnto *Alexander*, and vnto certain of his frendes also, to pray him to take tenne thousand tallentes for the ransome of all those prisoners he had in his handes, and for all the countries, landes and signories on this side the ruer of *Euphrates*, and one of his daughters also in marriage, that from thence forth he might be his kinsman and frend. *Alexander* imparted this to his counsell. Amongest them *Parmenio* said vnto him: if I were *Alexander*, he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I in deede, *Alexander* againe; if I were *Parmenio*. In fine, he wrote againe vnto *Darius*, that if he would submit him selfe, he would vse him courteously: if not, that then he would presently marche towardes him. But he repented him afterwarde, when king *Darius* wife was dead with childe: For without dissimulation it greeued him much, that he had lost for noble an occasion to shew his courtiesie and clemencie. This notwithstanding, he gaue her body honorable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongest the Eunuches of the queenes chamber, there was one *Tircus* taken prisoner, among the women: who stealing out of *Alexander*'s campe, taking his horse backe, rode vnto *Darius* to bring him newes of the death of his wife. Then *Darius* beating of his head, & weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: O goddes! what wretched happe haue the *PERSIANS*? that haue not onely had the wife and sister of their king taken prisoners euen in his life time, but now that she is dead also in trauell of childe, she hath bene deprived of princely buriall? Then spake the Eunuch to him, and said: For her buriall, most gracious king, & for all due honor that might be wished her, *PERSIA* hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene *Statira* your wife whilest she liued prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any parte or ior of their honor they were wont to haue before, sauing onely to see the light of your honour, the which, god *Orontes* did graunt to restore againe (if it be his will) vnto your maiestie: neither was there any honore wanting at her death (to set forth her stately funeralles) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your enemies: For *Alexander* is as mercifull in victorie, as he is valliant in battell. *Darius* hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in minde for very grieife: tooke the Eunuche aside into the secretest place of his tent, and said vnto him. If thou be not, with the misfortune of the *PERSIANS*, become a *MACEDONIAN*, but dost in thy hart

A hat acknowledge *Darius*, for thy soueraine Lord and master: I pray thee, and do also conuine thee, by the reuerence thou bearest vnto this bright light of the sunne, and so the right hande of the king, that thou doe tell me truly. Are these the least euils which I lament in *Statira*, her imprisonment and death? And did she not in her life make vs more miserable by her dishonor, than if we had dishonorably fallen into the hands of a cruell enemy? For, what honest communication I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince haue with his enemies wife a prisoner: hauing done her so much honor as he hath done? *Darius* going on with these speeches, *Tircus* the eunuch fell downe on his knees, & besought him not to say so, neither to blemish the vertue of *Alexander* in that sort, nor yet so to dishonor his sister and wife deceased, and thereby also to deprive him selfe of the great comfort he could wish to haue in this calamitie, which was, to be ouercome by an enemy that had greater vertues than a man could possibly haue: but rather that he should wonder at *Alexander*'s vertue, who had shewed him selfe chaster to the Ladies, than valliant against the *PERSIANS*. And therewithall, the eunuch confirmed the great honesty, chastity, and noble minde of *Alexander*, by many great and deepe othes. Then *Darius* comming out among his frendes againe, holding vp his handes vnto the heauens, made this prayer vnto the gods. O heavenly gods, creators of men, & protectors of kings and realmes: first, I beseech you graunt me, that restoring the *PERSIANS* againe to their former good state, I may leaue the realme vnto my successors, with that glorie and fame I received of my predecessors: that obtaining victory, I may vie *Alexander* with that great honor and curtesie, which he hath in my misery shewed vnto those I loued best in the world. Or Coderwise, if the time appointed be come, that the kingdom of *PERSIA* must needs haue end, either through diuine reuenge, or by naturall change of earthly things: Then, good goddes, yet graunt, that none but *Alexander* after me, may sit in *Cyrus* throne. *Darius*'s writers do agree, that these things came euen thus to passe. Now *Alexander* hauing conquered all *ASIA* on this side the ruer of *Euphrates*, he went to meete with *Darius*, that came downe with ten hundred thousand fighting men. It was told him by some of his frendes to make him laugh, that the slaues of his army had deuised them selues in two parts, and had chosen them a Generall of either parte, naming the one *Alexander*, and the other *Darius*: and that at the first, they beganne to skirmish only with cloddes of earth, and afterwarde with fistes, but at the last, they grew so hot, that they came to plaine stones and staues, so that they could not be parted. *Alexander* hearing that, would needs haue the two Generalls fight hand to hand one with the other: and *Alexander* selfe did arme him that was called *Alexander*, & *Philotas* the other which was called *Darius*. All the army thereupon was gathered together to see this combat betweene the, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to come. The fight was sharp betweene them, but in the end, he that was called *Alexander* ouercame the other: and *Alexander* to reward him, gaue him twelue villages, with priuiledge to goe after the *PERSIAN* maner. This it is written by *Erastosthenes*. The great battell that *Alexander* fought with *Darius*, was not (as many writers report) at *Arbeles*, but at *Gaufameles*, which signifieth in the *PERSIAN* tongue, the house of the cammell. For some one of the ancient kings of *PERSIA* that had escaped from the hands of his enemies, flying vpon a drumbledary cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the reuenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipse of the moone, in the month called *Boedromion* (now *August*) but the time that the feast of the misteries was celebrated at *ATHENS*. The eleventh night after that, both their armies being in sight of the other, *Darius* kept his men in battell ray, and went him selfe by torch light viewing his bandes and companies. *Alexander* on thother side whilest his *MACEDONIAN* souldiers slept, was before his tent with *Aristander* the Soothsayer, and made certain secret ceremonies and sacrifices vnto *Apollo*. The ancient Captaines of the *MACEDONIANS*, specially *Parmenio*, seeing all the vallie betweene the ruer of *Niphates*, and the mountaines of the *GORDIENS*, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadful noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their campe with the sound thereof: they were amazed, and consulted, that in one day it was in manner vnpossible to fight a battell with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vnto *Alexander* after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsell him to geue battell by night,

The temeritie
of Alexander
chastity.

Darius praynt
vnto the gods,

Statira, wife
of Darius, being
drubbed, and
fighting men
against Alex-
ander, at the
ruler of Euphrates.

The magnanimity of Alexander.

bicaufe the darkenes thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the fight of A their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable answer: I will not steale victorie, &c. This answer seemed very fonde and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasaunt, being neere so great danger. Howbeit others thinke that it was a present noble corage, and a deepe consideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby to geue *Darius* no manner of occasion (if he were ouercomen) to take hart againe, and to proue another battell, accusing the darkenes of the night as cause of his ouerthrow: as he had done at the first conflikt, imputing his ouerthrowe to the mountaines, the straights, and the sea. For, sayd he, *Darius* will neuer leaue to make warres with vs for lacke of men, nor munition, but using so large a realme as he hath, & such a world of people besides: but then he will no more hafard battell, when his hart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army at noone dayes ouerthrowen by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layed him downe to sleepe, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to doe before: inso much as the Lordes and Princes of his campe comming to waite upon him at his vprising, marueled when they found him so founde a sleepe, and therefore of them felues they commaunded the souldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiuing that time came fast upon them, *Parmenio* went into *Alexander's* chamber, and comming to his beddes side, called him twice or thrise by his name, till at the last he waked him, and asked him how it chaunced that he slept so long, like one that had already ouercome, & that did not thinke he should fight as great and dangerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, sayd *Alexander*, laughing on him: doest thou not thinke we haue already ouercomen, being troubled no more with running after *Darius* vp and downe a contrie vtterly destroyed, as we should otherwise haue bene compelled to haue done, if he would not haue comen to battell, and destroyed the contrie before vs? Now *Alexander* did not only thinke him selfe before the battell, but euen at the very instant of battell, a noble man of corage, and of great iudgement. For *Parmenio* leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the *BACTRIANS* gaue such a fierce onlie vpon the *MACEDONIANS*, that they made them geue backe: and *Maceum* also, king *Darius* Lieutenant, sent certaine troupes of horsemen out of their battell, to geue charge vpon them that were left in the campe to garde the cariage. *Parmenio* being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediately to aduertise *Alexander*, that all their campe and cariage would be lost, if he did not fend presently to aide the rereward. When these newes came to *Alexander* from *Parmenio*, he had already geuen the signall of battell vnto his men for to geue charge. Whereupon he answered the messenger that brought him these newes, that he should tell *Parmenio* he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wanne the battell, they should not only saue their owne cariage, but also winne the cariage of their enemies: & if it were their chaunce to lose it, then that they should not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their slaues, but only to thinke to dye honorably, valiantly fighting for his life. Hauing sent this message vnto *Parmenio*, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armor for his body, he had put on before in his tent, which was, a *SICILIAN* cassocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many foldes of canvas with oyle holes, which was gotten among the spoyle at the battell of *Issus*. His head peece was as bright as silver, made by *Theophilus* the armorer: his collar fute like to the same, all set full of pretious stones, and he had a sword by his side, maruelous light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the *CITIZIANS* had geuen him, vpon of sumptuous workman ship, farre aboue all the rest he ware. It was of the workman ship of *Heliicon*, the which the *RHODIANS* gaue him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did set his men in battell ray, or made any motion vnto them, or did ryde alongest the bands to take view of them: he alwayes vsed to ryde vpon an other horse to spare *Bucephalus*, because he was then somewhat olde: notwithstanding, when he ment in deede to fight, then *Bucephalus* was brought vnto him, and as soone as he was gotten vp on his backe, the trompet sounded, & he gaue charge. Then, after he had made long exhortations to incorage the men of armes of the *THESSALIANS*, and the other *GRECIANS* also, and when they had all promised him they would stick to him like men, and prayed him

The army of Alexander.

A to lead them, and geue charge vpon the enemies: he tooke his lance in his left hande, and holding vp his right hande vnto heauen, besought the goddes (as *Callisthenes* writeth) that it were true, he was begotten of *Iupiter*, that it would please them that day to helpe him, and to encourage the *GRECIANS*. The Soothlayer *Aristander* was then a horsebacke hard by *Alexander*, apparelled all in white, & a crowne of gold on his head, who shewed *Alexander* when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This maruelously encouraged all the army that saw it, and with this ioi, the men of armes of *Alexander's* side, encouraging one another, did set spurs to their horse to charge upon the enemies. The battell of the footemen of the *PERSIANS*, beganne a litle to geue way, and before the foremost could come to geue them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs, and fled. The chafe was great, *Alexander* driving them that fled vpon the middell of their owne battell, where *Darius* selfe was in person. He spied him a farre of ouer the foremost rankes in the middell of his battell, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a chariot of warre, compassed in rounde with great troupes of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinance to receiue the enemy. But when they saw *Alexander* at hand with so grimme a looke, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their rankes there fell such a feare among them, that the most parte disperfed them selues. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiantest men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one upon another, they did let them that the enemies could not so well follow *Darius*. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and horses by the legges to hinder them. *Darius*. Then seeing nothing but terror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bandes which he had set before him for safegard, came backe vpon him, so as he could not deuise how to turne his chariot forward nor backward, the wheelles were so hindered and stayed with the heapes of dead bodies, and that the horse also being set upon and hidde in manner in this conflikt, fell leaping and plunging for feare, so that the charrettiere could no longer guide nor driue them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had foale, and so saued him selfe flying apon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not *Parmenio* once againe sent vnto *Alexander* to pray him to come and aide him: bicaufe there was yet a great Squadron whole together that made no countenance to flee. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused *Parmenio* that day to haue delibed so slackely and cowardly, either bicaufe his age had taken his corage from him, or else for that he enuid *Alexander's* greatnes and prosperity, who against his will became ouer great as *Callisthenes* sayd. In fine, *Alexander* was angry with the second message, and yet told not his men truly the cause why, but faining that he would haue them leaue killing, and bicaufe also night came on: he caused the trompet sound retreat, and so went towards his army, whom he thought to be in distresse. Notwithstanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had geuen the enemies the ouerthrowe, and that they fled euery way for life. The battell hauing this successe, euery man thought that the kingdom of the *PERSIANS* was vtterly ouerthrowen, and that *Alexander* likewise was become only king of all *ASIA*: whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices vnto the goddes, and gaue great riches, houses, lands and possessions vnto his frendes and familiars. Furthermore, to shewe his liberalitie also vnto the *GRECIANS*, he wrote vnto them, that he would haue all tyrannies suppressed through out all *GREECE*, and that all the *GRECIANS* should liue at libertie vnder their owne lawes. Particularly also he wrote vnto the *PLATONIANS*, that he would reedifie their citie againe, bicaufe their predecessors in time past, had geuen their contrie vnto the *GRECIANS*, to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the common libertie of all *GREECE*. He sent also into *EGYPT* vnto the *GROTONIANS*, parte of the spoyle, to honor the memory of the valiantest, and goodwill of *Phaylus* their citizen, who in the time of the warres with the *MEDES*, (when all the *GRECIANS* that dwelt in *ITALIE* had forsaken their naturall contrie men of *GREECE* it selfe, bicaufe they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a shippe of his vnto *SALAMINA*, which he armed and set forth at his owne charges; bicaufe he would be at the battell and partake also of the common daunger with the *GRECIANS*: such honor did *Alexander* beare vnto prowe, that he loued to reward & remember the worthy deedes of men. Then *Alexander* marching with his army into the contry of *BACTRIA*, they all yielded straight vnto

An Eagle flew ouer Alexanders head, when he went to fight with Darius.

The flying of Darius.

Alexanders third victory of Darius and liberalitie to all men.

him. When he came into the contrie of the ECBATANIANS, he marueled when he saw opening of the earth, out of the which there came continuall sparkes of fire as out of a well: & that hard by also the earth spued out continually a kinde of *maund or chalkie clay somewhat liquid, of such abundance, as it seemed like a lake. This maund or chalie is like vnto a kinde of lyme or clay, but it is so easie to be sette a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnes only of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is set afire, & doth also set the ayer a fire which is betwene both. The barbarous people of that contrie, being desirous to shewe Alexander the nature of that Naptha, scattered the streete that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being thut in, they fired it at one of the endes, and the first droppes taking fire, in the twinkling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the streete to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. Alexander being in bath at that time, and waited apon by a page called *Stewen*: (a hard fauor ed boy, but yet that had an excellent sweete voyce to sing) one *Athenophanes* an A THENIAN, that alwayes pointed & bathed the king, & much delighted him with his pleasaunt conceites, asked him if he would see the trial of this Naptha apon *Stewen*: for if the fire tooke and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderfull force, and was vnquencheable. The page was contented to haue it proued apon him. But so soone as they had layed it on him, and did but touche it only, it tooke straight of such a flame, and so fired his body, that Alexander him selfe was in a maruelous perplexitie withall. And lure had it not bene by good happe, that there were many by ready with vessells full of water to put into the bath, it had bene vnpossible to haue saued the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet so he escaped narrowly, and besides was sicke long after. Now some apply this Naptha vnto the fable of *Medea*, saying that therewith she rubbed the crowne and lawne she gaue vnto the daughter of *Creon* at her marriage, so much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could cast fire of them selues, neither did the fire light by chaunce. But by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certaine aptnes to receiue more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride fate. For the beames which the fire calteth out, haue ouer some bodies no other force, but to heet and lighten them. But such as haue an oily drie humor, and thereby a simpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire: it easly enflameth and setteth a fire, by the forcible impressiō of his beames. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause of this naturall force of Naptha,* or whether this liquid substance and moyst humor that taketh fire D so easily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceiue fire. For this contrie of B A B Y L O N is very hot, inso much as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it vp againe, as if the earth by vehement inflammation had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extreamest heate of the sommer, doe sleepe there, vpon great leather budgets filled full of fresh water. *Harpalus*, whom Alexander left there his Lieutenaut & Gouvernor of that contrie, desiring to set forth and beautifie the gardens of the kings pallace & walkes of the fame, with all manner of plantes of G R E E C E: he brought all the rest to good passe, sauing Iuie only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer dyed, because the heate and temper of the earth killed it, and the Iuie of it selfe liketh fresh ayer and a cold ground. This digression is somewhat from the matter, but peraduenture the reader will not thinke it troublesome, howe hard soeuer he E finde it, so it be not our tedious. Alexander hauing wonne the city of S V S A, he found within the castell foure thousand talantes in ready coyne, gold and siluer, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable, amongst the which (it is sayd) he found to the value of fise thousand talantes weight of * purple HERMIONA like which they had safe locked vp & kept the secret of two hundred yeres faue ten, and yet the colour kept as freshe as if it had bene newly made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it, with blacke nie, in silkes which before had bene dyed redde, and with white oyle in white silkes. For, there are silkes leene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. But writeth furthermore, that the kinges of P E R S I A made water to be brought from the riuer of Nylus and Ister (otherwise called Danubie) which they did locke vp with their other treasure F for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, and to shew that they were Lordes of the world. The wayes to enter into P E R S I A being very hard of passage, and in manner vnpassable,

(both

A (both for the illness of the wayes, as also for the gard that kept them, which were the choicest men of P E R S I A) *Darius* also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greeke and P E R S I A N tongue (whose father was borne in the contrie of L Y C I A, & his mother a P A R S I A N) that guided Alexander into P E R S I A, by some compasse fetched about not very long, according to the Oracles aunswere of Alexander geuen by the mouth of Nunne *Pythias*, when he was a child: that a L Y C I A N should guide and lead him against the P E R S I A N S. There was then great slaughter made in P E R S I A of the prisoners that were taken. For Alexander him selfe wyryeth, that he commaunded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serue his turne. It is sayd also, that there he found a maruelous treasure of gold and siluer in readie money, as he had done before in the cite of S V S A: the which he caried away with all the rest of the kings rich wardroppe, and with it laded tenne thousande moyles, and fise thousande cammells. Alexander entering into the castell of the chiefe cite of P E R S I A, saw by chaunce a great image of *Xerxes* lye on the ground, the which vnwares was thrown downe by the multitude of the souldiers that came in, thronging one upon another. Thereupon he stayed, and spake vnto it as if it had bene aliue, saying: I can not tell whether I should passe by thee, and let thee lye, for the warre thou madest somtime against the G R E E C I A N S: or whether I should lift thee vp, respecting the noble minde & vertues thou haddest. In thend, when he had roode mure a long time, considering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refresh his weary army, because it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure monethes together. The reporte goeth, that the first time that Alexander sate vnder the cloth of state of king *Darius*, all of rich C gold: *Demargthus* C O R I N T H I A N (who first beganne to loue him euen in his father *Philip*pes time) burst out in teares for ioy, good old man, saying that the G R E E C I A N S long time dead before, were deprivied of this blessed happe, to see Alexander set in king *Xerxes* princely chaire. After that, preparing againe to goe against *Darius*, he would needes make mery one day, and refresh him selfe with some banquet. It chaunced so, that he with his companions was bidden to a priuate feast priuately, where was assembled some fine curtisians of his familiars who with their sendes taried at the banquet. Amongst them was that famous *Thais*, borne in the contrie of A T T I C A, & then concubine to *Ptolomy*, king of E G Y P T after Alexander's death. She finely praising Alexander, and partly in sporting wise, began to vtter matter in affection of her contrie, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: saying, that that day the founde D her selfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines she had takē, traouelling through all the contries of A S I A, following of his armie, now that she had this fauor & good happe to be mery and pleasaunt, in the prowde and stately pallace of the great kings of P E R S I A. But yet it would doe her more good, for a recreation, to burne *Xerxes* house with the fire of ioy, who had burnt the city of A T H E N S: and her selfe to geue the fire to it, before so noble a Prince as Alexander. Because euer after it might be said, that the women following his campe, had taken more noble reuenge of the P E R S I A N S, for the wronges and iniuries they had done vnto G R E E C E: than all the Captaines of G R E E C E that euer were had done, either by lande or sea. When she had sayd, Alexander's familiars about him, clapped their hands, and made great noise for ioy, saying: that it were as good a deede as could be possible, and perswaded Alexander E der vnto it. Alexander yielding to their perswasions, rose vp, and putting a garland of flowers apon his head, went formeest him selfe: and all his familiars followed after him, crying and dauncing all about the castell. The other M A C E D O N I A N S hearing of it also, came thither immediately with torches light and great ioy, hoping that this was a good signe that Alexander ment to returne againe into M A C E D O N, and not to dwell in the contrie of the barbarous people, sith he did burne and destroy the kings castell. Thus, and in this sorte it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwise: that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the counsell. But how soeuer it was, all they graunt, that Alexander did presently repent him, and commaunded the fire to be quenched straight. For his liberality, that good will and readines to geue, increased with his conquestes: and when he did bestowe giftes of any, F he would besides his gift euer geue them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace and fauor. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. *Aristo* being Collonell of the P E R S I A N S, hauing slaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and sayd: such a present,

*The strength and power of Naptha, in the contrie of Ecbatania.

YVha Medea enchanted woe.

* In this place where lacke certaine lymes in the Greeke originall.

Re Iuie in the contrie of Babilon.

Treasure found by Alexander as the cite of Susa.

* It seemeth that he meane of silke dyed in purple wherof the best that was in Europe was made in the cite of Hermione, in Laconia.

Alexanders journey into Persia.

Alexander found a marvellous treasure in Persia.

The infamous boldnes of Thais the harlot.

Perspolis set a fire by Alexander.

O king, by vs, is euer rewarded with a cuppe of golde. Yea, *q Alexander*, smyling upon him: A with an emprie cuppe. But I drinke to thee this cuppe full of good wine, and doe geue thee cuppe & all. An other time, he met with a poore *MACEDONIAN* that led a moyle laden with gold of the kings: and when the poore moyle was so weary that he could no longer cary her burden, the moyleter put it upon his owne backe, and loded him selfe withall, carying it to a good pretie way: howbeit in thende being ouerloden, was about to throwe it downe on the ground. *Alexander* perceiuing it, asked him what burden he caried. When it was tolde him well, *q he* to the moyleter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I geue it thee. To be short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with those that would aske him somewhat. He wrote also vnto *Phocion*, that he would take him no more for his friend, if he would refuse his giftes. It seemed that he had geuen nothing vnto a young boy called *Serapion* (who euer did serue them the ball that played at tennis) because he asked him nothing. Wherefore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that played with him, and not to him selfe. The king marueling at it, at the length sayd vnto him: why, my boy, doest thou not geue me the ball? Because your maiestie doth not aske it me, *q he*. *Alexander* then vnderstanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, & did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one *Proteas*, a pleasaunt conceited man, & that could flent finely. It chaunced vpon some occasion that *Alexander* fell out with him: whereupon some of his friends were intercessors to the king for him, & besought him to pardon him: and *Proteas* him selfe also being present, craued pardon with teares in his eyes. *Alexander* thereupon forgaue him. Then pleasauntly replied *Proteas*, I desire it may please your grace, that I may receiue some testimonie to assure me I am in your fauor. Thereupon the king straight commaunded one to geue him five talents. The goods and riches he gaue vnto his familiars and gard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother *Olympias* wrote vnto him to this effect: I know thou sparest not to geue thy friends large giftes, and that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them kings fellows, they get many frendes, and leaue the poste alone without any. His mother did many times write such like matters vnto him, the which *Alexander* kept very secret, sauing one day when he opened one of them, *Hephestion* being present drew neere, and red the letter with him, as he was wont to do. *Alexander* did let him alone, but when he had red it, he plucked the seale of armes from his finger, wherewith he did vfe to seale his letters, and put it to *Hephestions* mouth. He gaue also vnto the sonne of *Mazens*, (that was the chiefeest man about *Darius*) a seconde gouernment, besides that which he had before, and greater than the first. This young noble man refused it, saying: why, and it please your grace, before there was but one *Darius*, but you now make many *Alexanders*. He gaue vnto *Parmenio* also, *Bagoas* house, where (as is reported) he found a thousand talents worth, of the spoyle and goods of the *SVSANS*. He wrote also vnto *Antipater*, that he should keepe a gard about his person, for he had many enemies that lay in waite for him. He did send also many goodly presents vnto his mother, but withall he wrote vnto her, that she would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vpon her the office of a Captaine. She storming at it, he paciently did brooke her anger. *Antipater* an other time, wryting a long letter vnto him against his mother *Olympias*, when he had red it ouer: loe, said he, *Antipater* knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye will wipe out tenne thousand such letters. Furthermore, *Alexander* perceiuing on a time, that his frendes became very dissolute & licentious in dyet and life, and that *Agnon* *TEIAN* had his corked shooes nayled with siluer nayles, that *Leonatus* also caused diuers cammells to be loded amongst his cariage with powder of *EGYPT*, to put upon him when he wrestled or vfed any other exercise of body: & that also they caried after *Philotas*, toyles for chafe and vfed any other exercise of body: & that there were also that vfed precious perfumes & sweete fauors when they bathed them selues, more then there were that rubbed them selues with plaine oyle, and that they had fine chamberlaines to rubbe them in the bath, and to make their beddes soft and delicate: he wisely and courteously rebuked them and sayd, I maruell, sayd he, that you which haue fought in so often and great battells, doe not remember that they which trauell, doe sleepe more sweete and soundly, than they that take their ease and doe nothing: and that you doe not marke, that

Alexander
prodigallie
reproued by
his mother
Olympias.

Alexander
reproueth his
frendes and
curiositie of
his frendes.

comparing

A comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the *PERSIANS*, to liue at pleasure is a vile thing, and to trauell is Princely. And howe I pray you, can a man take paine to dreffe his owne horse, or to make cleane his lance or helmet, that for slothfull curiosities sake, disdaineth to rubbe his owne bodie with his fine fingers? Are you ignorant, that the type of honor in all our victorie consisteth, in scornning to doe that which we see them doe, whom we haue vanquished and overcome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint them selues with hardnes: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard him selfe more dangerously, then euer he had done before. Whereupon an Ambassador of *LACEDÆMON* being present to see him fight with a Lyon, and to kill him, sayd vnto him: truly your grace hath fought well with this Lyon, and tried which of you two should be king. *Craterus* after that, caused this hunting to be set vp in the temple of *Apollo* in *DELPHES*: where are the images of the Lyon, of the dogges, and of the king fighting with the Lyon, and of him selfe also that came to helpe him, all those images being of copper, some made by *Lysippus*, the rest by *Leochares*. Thus *Alexander* did put him selfe vnto all toberdies, as well to exercise his strength and courage, as also to allure his men to doe the like. This notwithstanding, his frendes and familiars hauing wealth at will, as men exceeding riche, they would needes liue delicately and at ease, and would take no more paines, milking vtterly to goe vp and downe the contries to make warre here and there: and thereupon beganne a litle to finde fault with *Alexander*, and to speake euill of him. Which at the first *Alexander* tooke quietly, saying, that it was honor for a king to suffer him selfe to be slandered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turnes he did vnto his frendes, did shewe his hartie loue and honor he bare them, as shall appeare vnto you by some examples that followe. *Pencestas* being bitten by a beare, did let his frendes vnderstande it by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus. Send me worde at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellows doe forsake thee at the hunting, to thende they may be punished. *Hephestion* being absent about certaine businesse he had, *Alexander* wrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a bea called *Ichnemnon*, *Craterus* vnfortunatly crosseing *Perdiccas* darte, was stricken through both his thighes. *Pencestas* being cured of a great disease, *Alexander* wrote vnto *Alexippus* his Phisitian that had cured him, and gaue him thanks. *Craterus* also being sicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine sacrifices for the recouerie of his health, and sent vnto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phisitian *Pausanias* ment to geue him a drinke of *Eclleborum*, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what daunger he was in, and prayed him to be careful how he receiued that medicine. He did also put *Ephialtes* and *Cissus* in prison, who brought him the first newes of *Harpalus* flying, because they did wrongfully accuse & slander him. When he had comaunded there should be a bill made of all the olde mens names, and diseased persons that were in his campe, to sende them home againe into their contry: there was one *Eurylochus* *ÆGEBIAN* that made his name be billed among the sicke persons, & it was found afterwards that he was not sicke, and confessed that he did it only to follow a young woman called *Telephus*, with whom he was in loue, who was returning homewards towards the sea side. *Alexander* asked him, whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a curtisan free borne. Then sayd *Alexander* vnto *Eurylochus*, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I can not force her to tarie: but seeke to winne her by giftes and fayer wordes to be contented to tarie, so thence she is a free woman. It is a wonderful thing to see what paines he would take, to write for his frendes, euen in such trifles as he did. As, when he wrote into *CLITIA* for a seruauent of *Selenus* that was fled from his master, sending straight commaundement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by an other letter he commendeth *Pencestas*, for that he had stayed and taken one *Nicon*, a slaue of *Craterus*. And by one other letter also vnto *Megabazus*, touching an other bondman that had taken sanctuarie in a temple: he commaunded him also to seeke to intise him out of the sanctuarie, to laye hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case. It is sayd also, that at the first when he vfed to fit in iudgement to heare criminall causes, whilst the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation: he always vfed to lay his hande vpon one of his eares to keepe that cleane from the matter of

Alexander
euerie to his
desires.

Alexander
care of his
frendes and
wonderfull
corrosie to-
wards them.

Alexander
keeps one eare
for the con-
tinued perfum.

RRR

accusation, thereby referring it to heare the purgacion and iustificacion of the person con-
demned. But afterwarde, the number of accusations that were brought before him, didde
prouoke and alter him, that he did beleue the false accusations, by the great number of the
true that were brought in. But nothinge put him more in rage, then when he vnderhoode
that he had spoken ill of him: and then he was so fierce, as no pardon would be graunted, for
that he loued his honor, more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went against
Darius, thinking that he ment to fight againe: but vnderstanding that *Bessus* had taken him,
then he gaue the *THESSALIANS* leaue to departe home into their contrie, and gaue them
two thousand talentes, ouer and aboue their ordinarie pay. *Alexander* had then a marue-
lous long, hard, and painefull iorney in following of *Darius*: for in eleuen dayes, he rode
three thousande three hundred furlong, inso much as the most parte of his men were euen
wearie, and done, for lacke of water. It chaunced him one day to meete with certaine *MA-
CEDONIANS* that caried (vpon moyles) goate skinned full of water, which they had fash-
ed from a riuier. They seeing *Alexander* in manner deade for thirst, being about noone
ranne quickly to him, and in a headpeece brought him water. *Alexander* asked them,
to whom they caried this water. They answered him againe, that they caried it to their children,
but yet we would haue your grace to liue: for though we lose them, we may get more chil-
dren. When they had sayd so, *Alexander* tooke the helmer with water, and perceiving that
the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their neckes to
looke vpon this water, he gaue the water backe againe vnto them that had geuen it him, and
thanked them, but dranke none of it. For, sayd he, if I drinke alone, all these men here will
faint. Then they seeing the noble corage and curtesie of *Alexander*, cried out that he should
lead them: and therewithall beganne to spurre their horses, saying, that they were not wea-
rie nor a thirst, nor did thinke them selues mortall, so long as they had such a king. *Euerie* man
was a like willing to followe *Alexander*, yet had he but three score only that entred with him
into the enemies campe. There, passinge ouer much golde and siluer which was scattered a-
broad in the market place, and going also by many charriottes full of women and children,
which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture: they ranne vpon the spurre vntill
they had ouertaken the foremost that fled, thinking to haue founde *Darius* amongst them.
But at the length, with much a doe, they founde him layed along in a coche, hauing many
woundes vpon his bodie, some of darts and some speares. So, he being almost at the last call,
called for some drinke, and dranke colde water, which *Polystratus* gaue him. To whom when
he had dronke, he sayd: this is my last misshap, my friend, that hauing receiued this pleasure,
I can not requite thee: howbeit *Alexander* will recompence thee, and the goddess, *Alexan-
der*, for the liberalitie and curtesie which he hath shewed vnto my wife and children, whom I
pray thee embrace for my sake. At these last wordes, he tooke *Polystratus* by the hande, and
so gaue vp the goast. *Alexander* came immediately after, and plainly shewed that he was sone
for his death and misfortune: and vndoing his owne cloke, he cast it vpon the body of *Darius*.
After that, hauing by good happe gotten *Bessus* into his hands, he tare him in peces with two
high straight trees which he bowed downe vnder, and tied his legges to eche of them: so that
when the trees were let goe, they gaue a sodaine cruell ierke vp and caried either tree, a peece
of his bodie with it. Then *Alexander* hauing geuen *Darius* corse Princely buriall, and embal-
med him: he sent it vnto his mother, and receiued his brother *Exathres* for one of his friends.
From thence he went into the contrie of *HYRCANIA* with all the flower of his armie, where
he sawe the gulfes of the sea *Caspium*, which he thought of no lesse greatnesse, then the sea of
PONTVS, howbeit calmer then the other seas be. He could not then certainly finde out what
it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhoode he thought it was some breaking out
of the lake or marish of *Meotin*. Yet some ancient naturall Philosophers seemed to knowe
truly what it was. For many yeares before *Alexanders* voyage and conquest, they wrote
that of the foure chiefe gulfes of the sea that commeth from the Ocean, and doe entre with-
in maine land, that which is most northerly, is the sea *Caspium*, which they call also *Hyrcan-
ium*. As *Alexander* went through the contrie, certaine barbarous people sodainely sette vpon
them that led *Bucephalus* his horse, and tooke him: but with that he was in such a rage,
that

Alexander
would not per-
don ill wordes
spoken of him.

Alexander
paine full ier-
ney, in follow-
ing of *Darius*.

The loue of
Alexander
to his fol-
lowers, and
abstinence.

Alexander
regarded not
the spoyle of
gold & siluer,
in respect of
pursuing his
flying enemy.

The death of
Darius.

The punish-
ment and
execution of
Bessus.

The sea *Hyrcan-
ium* or *Caspium*.

As that he sent a *Hetaulde* into their contrie to proclaime open warres vpon them, and that he
would put man, woman, and childe to the sword, if they brought him not his horse againe.
Whereuppon, when his horse was returned home, and that they bearded vp their cities and
fortes into his handes: he did vse them all very curtesiously, and mozeouer did geue them mo-
ney for the ransom of his horse, which they restored. Departing thence, he entred into the
contrie of *PARTHYA*. There hauing leasure enough, he beganne to apparell himselfe after the
facion of the barbarous people, because he thought thereby the better to winne the hearts
of the contrie men, flaming him selfe vnto their owne facions: or else to trye the hearts of the
MACEDONIANS, to see how they would like the manner of the *PERSIANS*, which he ment to
bring them vnto) in reuerencing of him as they did their king, by litle and litle acquainting
them to allow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at
the first take vp the apparell of the *MEDES*, which was verie straunge, and altogether barba-
rous. For he went not without briches, nor did weare a long gowne trailing on the grounde;
nor a high copant hatte, but tooke a meane apparell betwixt the *MEDES* & the *PERSIANS*,
more modest then theirs, and more costly than the last: and yerat the first he did not weare
it, but when he would take with the barbarous people, or else priuately amongst his friends
and familiars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he shewed him selfe openly to the people in that
apparell, when he gaue them audience. This sight grieved the *MACEDONIANS* much; but they
had his virtues in such admiration, that they thought it meete in some things he should take
his owne pleasure, sithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his
legge broken with an arrow, and an other time, had such a blow with a stone full in his necke,
that it made him spurre blinde a great while after, and yet neuerthelesse he neuer eschewed
any bodely daunger. For he passed ouer the riuier of *Oreaxtes*, which he tooke to be *Tanis*,
and hauing in battell ouerthrowen the *SCYTHIANS*, he followed them in chase aboue a
hundred furlong, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a loosenesse of bodie. Thither
came vnto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the *AMAZONS*, as many wryters doo testi-
fie: among the which are these, *Clitarchus*, *Polyeritus*, *Onesiferus*, *Antigenes*, and *Histier*. But
Chares, *Plutony*, *Anticlidus*, & *Philon* *THEBAN*, *Philip* the historiographer, *Hecataeus* *ERASTRIAN*,
Philip *CHALCIDIAN*, and *Duris* *SAMIAN*, all these doe wryte that it was not true: and it seemeth
also that *Alexander* selfe doth confirme it. For, wryting all things particularly vnto *Antipater*
as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the king of *SCYTHIA* offered him
his daughter in marriage: but there he maketh no mention at all of any *AMAZON*. It is also
sayd, that *Onesiferus* long time after that he had receiued vnto king *Dysmachus*, the fourth booke of
his historie, where he did speake of the *AMAZON*. *Dysmachus* tynnyling, sayd vnto him: why,
and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, *Alexander*'s estimation
thereby is neither impayed nor aduanced. Furthermore, *Alexander* fearing that the *MA-
CEDONIANS*, being weaie with this long warre, would goe no further: he left all the rest of
his armie behinde, and tooke only twentie thousande footemen, and three thousand horse-
men of the choicest men of his armie, and with them inuaded the contrie of *HYRCANIA*.
There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of *ASIA* had
E but sene them as it were in a dreame, and if they should now returne backe into *MACEDON*,
hauing but onely sturred them, and not altogether subdued *ASIA*: the people offended with
them, would sette vpon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women.
Neuerthelesse, he gaue any man leaue to returne that would, protelling therewith against
them that would goe, how they did forsake him, his friends, and those who had so good hartes
towards him, as to follow him in so noble a iorney, to conquer the whole earth vnto the *MA-
CEDONIANS*. This selfe matter is reported thus in a letter which *Alexander* wrote vnto *Antipater*:
and there he wryteth furthermore, that hauing made this oration vnto them, they all
cried out, and bad him leade them into what parte of the worlde he would. When they had
granted their good wills, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne the rest of the common
force who followed the example of the chiefeft. Thereuppon he did frame him selfe the more
to liue after the facion of the contrie there, and enterchangeable also to bring the men of
that contrie vnto the manner of the *MACEDONIANS*: being perswaded, that by this mixture

Alexander
geth after
the manner
of the *Per-
sians*.

Some findes
it to be a
barne shill, in
a name of great
virtue.

Oreaxtes is it.

There is
a story
of an
Amazon
queen
who
was
killed
by
Alexander.

Alexander
with one word
of his mouth
brought the
Macedonians
to obedience.

and entercchange of manners one with an other, he should by frendshippe more then force, make them agree louingly together, when that he should be so farre from the contry of *Parmenio*. For this purpose therefore, he chose thirty thousand of their children of that contry, and set them to learne the Greke tongue, and to be brought vp in the discipline of warres, after the *Macedonians* manner: and gaue them schoolemasters and Captaines to traine them in such facultie. And for the marrying of *Roxane*, he fancied her, seeing her at a feast where he was, which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better aduise and counsell loued her. For the barbarous people were verie proude of this matche when they sawe him make alliance with them in this sorte, inasmuch as they loued him better then they did before, because they saw in those things he was alwayes so chaste and continent, that notwithstanding he was maruelously in loue with her, yet he would not dishonorably touche this young Ladie, before he was married vnto her. Furthermore, *Alexander* considering that of the two men which he loued best, *Hephestion* liked well of his matche, and went apparelled as him selfe did, and that *Craterus* contrarily did still vse the *Macedonian* manner: he delt in all assayes with the barbarous people, by *Hephestion*, and with the *Grecians* and *Macedonians*, by *Craterus*. To be short, he loued the one, and honored the other: saying, that *Hephestion* loued *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loued the king. Hereuppon these two persons bare one another grudge in their harts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: inasmuch as on a time being in *India*, they drew their swordes and fought together, and diuers of their frendes ranne to take part with either side. Thither came *Alexander* selfe also, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke vp *Hephestion*, and called him foole and bedlem, saying: doest thou not know, that whatsoeuer he C be that should take *Alexander* from me, he should neuer liue? Priuately also, he sharply rebuked *Craterus*, and calling them both before him, he made them frendes together, swearing by *Iupiter Hammon*, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men liuing, neuertheless if euer he founde that they fell out together againe, they should both dye for it, or him at the least that first beganne to quarrell. So euer after that they say, there was neuer fowle word nor deede betwene them, not so much as in sport only. There was also one *Philotas*, the sonne of *Parmenio*, a man of great authority among the *Macedonians*, who next vnto *Alexander* was the most valliantest man, the pacientest to abide paine, the liberallest, and one that loued his men & frendes better then any noble man in the campe whatsoever. Of him it is reported, that a frend of his came to him on a time to borrow money: and he commaunded straight one of his men to let him haue it. His purse bearer answered him, that he had none. Why, sayd his master, doest thou tell me so? Hast thou not plate, and apparell to sell or gage to helpe him to some? Howbeit otherwise, he had such a pride & glory to shew his riches, to apprell himselfe so sumptuously, and to be more fine and prynced then became a priuate man, that this made him to be hated: because he tooke vp him to be a great man & to looke bigge on the matter, which became him ill fauoredly, and therefore euery man through his owne folly, fell in milking with him. Inasmuch as his owne father said one day vnto him: sonne I pray thee be more humble & lowly. This *Philotas* had long before bene complained vpon vnto *Alexander*, because that when the cariage of king *Darius* armie (which was in the cite of *Damas*) was taken after the battell of *Cilicia*, among many prisoners that were taken and brought vnto *Alexander* E campe, there was one *Anigona*, a passing fayre young curtisan, borne in the cite of *Pinna*. *Philotas* founde meanes to gette her, and like a young man that was in loue with her, making merie with her at the table, fondly lette fall braue wordes and boastes of a souldier, saying, that what notable thinges were done, they were done by him selfe and his father: and called *Alexander* at euerie worde, young man, and sayd that by their meanes he helde his name and kingdome. This curtisan tolde one of his frendes what he sayd, and that frende tolde an other frende, and so went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to *Craterus* eares. He tooke the curtisan, and brought her vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom she tolde as much as she had sayd before. *Alexander* bad her still make much of *Philotas*, and to tell him euery word what he sayd of him. *Philotas* knowing nothing that he was thus circumvented, did euer frequent her companie, and would be bold commonly to speake many foolish and vndiscreete words against the king, sometime in anger, & sometime againe in a brauery.

Alexander

Alexander married Roxane, a Persian.

Quarrell betwixt Hephestion and Craterus.

Why Philotas was suspected, and enuied of Alexander.

Alexander this notwithstanding, though he had manifest prooffe and cause to accuse *Philotas*, yet he dissembled it for that time, and would not be known of it: either for that he knew *Parmenio* loued him, or else for that he was affrayed of their great power and authoritie. About that time there was one *Limnus Chalafrican* a *Macedonian*, that layed great and secret waite to kill *Alexander*: and being in loue with a young man called *Nicomachus*, enticed him to helpe him to doe this deede. The young man wisely denied it, & tolde the same to his brother called *Rabinius*. He went vnto *Philotas*, and prayed him to bring them both before *Alexander*, for they had a matter of great importance to impart vnto him. *Philotas* would not let him speake with the king (but why, no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hande, and was not at leasure. Then they went vnto an other, and he brought them vnto *Alexander*: vnto whom first they opened the treason of *Limnus* conspired against him: and by the way they tolde also, how they had bene twise before with *Philotas*, who would not let them come in, nor speake with them. That angered *Alexander* greatly, and he was the more offended also, when *Limnus* was slaine by him, whome he sent to apprehend him, telling him for this he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had lost a great meane to come to the light of this treason and conspiracie. Then *Alexander* frowning vppon *Philotas*, brought all his enemies vpon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they began to speake boldly, that it was time for the king to looke about him, for it was not to be supposed that this *Limnus Chalafrican* of him selfe durst haue entred into that treason: but rather that he was a minister, and a chiefe instrument, set on by a greater personage then he: and therefore C that it should *Alexander* vpon to examine them straightly, which had cause to doope this treason secret. After *Alexander* once gaue eare vnto such wordes and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought in a thousand accusations against *Philotas*. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of diuers Eordes and familiars of the king put to the torture, *Alexander* selfe beinge behinde a hanginge, to heare what he would say. It is reported, that when he hearde howe faintly and pitifully he besought *Hephestion* to take pitie of him, he sayd vnto him selfe: alas, poore *Philotas*, thou that hast so faint a hart, howe durst thou take vpon thee so great matters? In fine, *Philotas* was put to death, and immediately after he was executed, *Alexander* sent also with speede vnto the realme of *Media* to kill *Parmenio*, who was his Lieutenant there, and one that had serued king *Philippe* his father, in his greatest affayres, and who onely of all other the olde seruantes of his father had procured *Alexander* to take in hande the conquest of *Asia*: and who also of three sonnes which he brought out with him, had seene two of them dye before him, and afterwarde was slaine him selfe with the third. This crueltie of *Alexander* made his frendes affrayed of him, and specially *Anipater* A who secretly sent Ambassadors vnto the *Ætolians*, to make league with them, because they them selves also were affrayed of *Alexander*, for that they had put the *Daniades* to death. *Alexander* hearing that, sayd, that he himselfe, and not the sonnes of the *Oeniades*, would be reuenged of the *Ætolians*. Not long after that, followed the murder of *Clitus*, the which to heare it simple tolde, would seeme much more cruell than the death of *Rabinius*. But reportinge the cause and the time together in which it chaunced: it will be founde E that it was not of sette purpose, but by chance, and unfortunately, that *Alexander* beinge overcome with wine, did vnluckely wreake his anger vpon *Clitus*. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certaine men of the lowe contries from the sea side, that brought apples of *Greece* vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* wondering to see them so greene and fayre, sent for *Clitus* to shewe him them, and to geue him some of them. *Clitus* by chance did sacrifice at that time vnto the goddess, and left his sacrifice to goe vnto *Alexander*: howbeit there were three weathers that followed him, on whome the accustomed sprinckles had bene done already to haue sacrificed them. *Alexander* vnderstandinge that, tolde it to his Soothsayers, *Aristander*, and *Cleomantis*: *Laconian*, who both did answer him, that it was an ill signe. *Alexander* thereupon gaue order straight, that they should doe sacrifice F for the health of *Clitus*, and specialie for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he sawe *Clitus* in a mourninge gowne, sittinge amongst the sonnes of *Parmenio*, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, *Clitus* did not make an ende of his sacrifice, but

Limnus dangerously seeks to kill Alexander.

Philotas and his father Parmenio put to death.

Anipater was affrayed of Alexander.

Why Alexander was overcome of Clitus.

Alexander dreamed of Clitus.

came straight to supper to the kinge, who had that day sacrificed vnto *Cæsar* and *Pollux*. At this feast there was olde drinking, and all the supper time there were certaine verses long and made by a Poet, called *Pranichus*, (or as others lay, of one *Pierion*) against certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before bene ouercome by the barbarous people, and only to shame them, and to make the companie laugh. With these verses, auncient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grewe angrie with the Poet that made them, and the minstrell that song them. *Alexander* on thother side, and his familiars liked them verie well, and commaunded the minstrell to sing still. *Clitus* therewithall being ouertaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proude and arrogant, fell into greater choller, and sayd: what it was neither well nor honestlie done in that sorte to speake ill of these poore MACEDONIAN Captaines (and speciallie amongst the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they, that laughed them to scorn, although their fortune much worse then theirs. *Alexander* then replied, and sayd, that saying so, he pleased for him selfe; calling cowardlinesse, misfortune. Then *Clitus* standing vp, sayd againe but yet this my cowardlinesse faued thy life, that callest thy selfe the sonne of the goddes, when thou turnedst thy backe from *Spithridates* sword, and the blood which these poore MACEDONIANS did shedde for thee, and the woundes which they receiued of their bodies fighting for thee, haue made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to haue king *Philip* for thy father, and wilt needs make thy selfe the sonne of *Iupiter Hammon*. *Alexander* being moued with these words, straight replied: O, villen, thinkest thou to scape vnpunished for these proude words of thine, which thou vnest continually against me, making the MACEDONIANS rebell against *Alexander*? *Clitus* answered againe, too much are we punished, *Alexander*, for our paines and seruice to receiue such reward: nay, most happy thinke we them that long since are dead and gone, not now to see the MACEDONIANS scourged with rodde of the MEDES, & compelled to curry fauour with the PERSIANS, to haue access vnto their king. Thus *Clitus* boldly speaking against *Alexander*, and *Alexander* againe answering and reuiling him: the grauest men sought to pacifie this sturre and tumult. *Alexander* then turning him selfe vnto *Xenodochus*, *CARDIAN*, and *Artemius* *COLOPHONIAN*: doe you not thinke (sayd he) that the GREEKS are amongst the MACEDONIANS, as demy goddes that walke among brute beastes? *Clitus* for all this would not geue ouer his impudencie and mallapertnesse, but cried out, and bad *Alexander* speake openlie what he had to say, or else not to bidde free men come to supper with him that were wont to speake frankly: if not, to keepe with the barbarous slaues that honored his PERSIAN girdell, and long white garment. Then coulde *Alexander* no longer hold his choller, but tooke an apple that was vpon his table, and threw it at *Clitus*, and looked for his sword, the which *Aristophanes*, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when euerie man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly rose from the borde, and called his gard vnto him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, (which was a signe of great trouble to followe after it) and commaunded a trompetor to sound the alarme. But he drawing backe, would not found: whereupon *Alexander* strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trompetor was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet *Clitus*, whereupon his frends with much a doe thrust him out of the halle: but he came in againe at an other dore, and arrogantly and vnreuerently rehearsed this verse of the Poet *Euripides*, out of *Andromaches* tragedie:

*Alas for sorrow, enill voyces
Are into Grace crept now a dayes.*

Then *Alexander* taking a partizan from one of his gard, as *Clitus* was coming towards him, and had lift vp the hanging before the dore, he ranne him through the body, so that *Clitus* fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, died presently. *Alexanders* choller had left him straight, and he became maruelous sorrowfull: and when he saw his frendes round about him say neuer a word, he plucked the partizan out of his body, & would haue thrust it into his owne throte. Howbeit his gard about him caught him by the hands, & caried him perforce into his chamber: & there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, & the next day following,

The malapertnes of *Clitus* against *Alexander*.

Alexander (since *Clitus*, & grievously reuenged him.

As vntill such time as he was able to crie no more, but lying on the ground, onely laie sighing. His frendes hearing his voice no more; were afraid, and came into this chamber by force to comfort him. But *Alexander* would heare none of them, saying *Alexander* the Scotchfayer, who remembered him of his dreame he had of *Clitus* before, which was a prognodication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his destiny before he was borne. This seemed to comfort *Alexander*. Afterwards they brought in *Callisthenes* the philosopher, a highman of *Aristoteles*, and *Anaxarchus* borne in *ABDASIA*. Of these two, *Callisthenes* fought by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offensive to comfort *Alexander* foron. But *Anaxarchus* that from the beginning had taken a way by him selfe in the studie of philosophie, being accepted a braine sicke man, and one that despised his companions: he coming into *Alexanders* chamber, alio with him, cryed out at the dore as he came in: See, yonder is *Alexander* the great whom all the world lookes vpon, and is afraid of. Seewhere he lies, weeping like a slaue on the ground, that is afraid of the lawe, and of the reproche of men: as if he him selfe should not geue them law; and stablish the boundes of iustice or iniustice; sitthence he hath ouercome to be Lord and master, and not to be subiect and slaue to a vaine opinion. Knowest thou not that the poets saie, that *Iupiter* hath *Themis* to wit, right and iustice placed of either hand on him? what significeth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholly right, and iust? These wordes of *Anaxarchus* did comfort the sorrowfull hate of king *Alexander* at that time, but therewithall, they made *Alexanders* maners afterwards more fierce and dissolute. For as he thereby did maruelously grow in fauor with the king, even so did he make the company of *Callisthenes*; (who of him selfe was not very pleasaunt, because of his grauery and sowrenesse) much more hateful and disliked then before. It is written also that there was certain rattle one night at king *Alexanders* borde touching the seasons of the year, & temperatenes of the ayer, and that *Callisthenes* was of their opinion which maintained, that the contry they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper then in GREECE. *Anaxarchus* held the contrary opinion, and stilly maintained it, in so much as *Callisthenes* said vnto him: and yet must thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there, all the winter time thou couldest goe with a single cloke on thy backe onely, and here thou must haue three or foure garments vpon thee when thou art at thy borde. This galled *Anaxarchus* to the quick, and made him more angry then before: and for the other rethoricians and flatterers, they did also hate him, because they saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloued also of olde men for his honest life, the which was very graue, modest, and contented with his owne, desiring no mans els. Whereby men found, that the reason he alleged for following of *Alexander* in this voyage, was true: for he said that he came to be an humble suitor to the king to restore his banished citizens into their countrie againe, and to replenish their cite with inhabitants. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be enuyed, yet did he him selfe geue his enemies occasion to accuse him: For oftentimes being inuited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and say nothing, shewing by his grauery and silence, that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon *Alexander* selfe said on a time vnto him:

*I can not thinke that person vnwise,
That in his owne case hath no eyes.*

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, diuers requesting him to make an oration on the suddain in commendation of the MACEDONIANS: he made such an eloquent oration vpon that matter, that all they that heard him rose from the borde, and clapping their hands for ioy, cast nosegayes and flowers vpon him. But yet *Alexander* at that time said vnto him that, which the Poet *Euripides* said:

*It is no maystry to be eloquent,
In handling of a plentiful argument.*

Nay, but vnter then thy eloquence in reproving of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their fautes, they may learne to amend. Then *Callisthenes* chaunging copy, spake boldly many things against the MACEDONIANS: Declaring, that the dissention amongst the GREEKS did increase king *Philip*'s power, alleaging these verses:

Callisthenes, and *Anaxarchus*, do comfort *Alexander*.

The cause why *Callisthenes* was so reuenged.

Where discord reigns in Realm or towne.

Euen writhed folke doe vniu renoune.

But by this occasiō, he purchased him selfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS in so much, as Alexander selfe said at that time, that he had not so much shewed his eloquence, as the noblest & ancientest men among the MACEDONIANS durst but whisper one in an others eare, though they did all vtterly mislike it: whereby he did yet deliuer GRACE from open shame, & Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that manner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he vndid him selfe because he would seeme rather by presumption to bringe him to it, then by reason to perswade him. CHARES MITYLENIAN hath written, that Alexander hauing dronke at a certain feast where he hapned to be, reached his cuppe vnto one of his frendes, who after he had taken it of him, rose vp first on his feete, and dranke also, turning him towards the goddes, and first making solemne reuerence, he went and killed Alexander, and then late him downe againe. All the rest that were at the feast, did the like one after another, and Callisthenes also, who tooke the cuppe when it came to his turne, (the king not looking on him, but talking with Hephæstus) after he had dronke, came to the king to kisse him as others had done. Howbeit one Demetrius called Phidus, said vnto the king, kisse him not: I pray your grace, for hee of all men hath done you no reuerence. Alexander turned his head aside, and would not kisse him. Then cryed Callisthenes out aloud: well, y^e he, then I will goe my waie, with lesse then others, by a kisse. And thus beganne Alexanders grudge first against Callisthenes, by meanes whereof Hephæstus was credited the better, when he said that Callisthenes had promised him to reuerence Alexander, although that he had broken promise. After him also Lysimachus, Agnon, and diuers others beganne to plaie their partes against him, saying, that this Sophister went bragging vp and downe, as if he had destroyed a whole tyrannie, and that all the young men followed him to honor him, as if among so many thousand souldiers, neuer a man of them had so noble a hart as he. And therefore, when the treason of Hermolus against Alexander, person was discovered, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detractors had informed against Callisthenes: who had answered Hermolus that asked him, how he could come to be famous aboue all men, thus: in killing the famousest person. And to animate him to goe forward with this treason, he had told him further, that he should not be afraid of a golden bedde, but remember that he had to doe with a man, which was sometime sicke and hurte as other men were. This notwithstanding, there was neuer a one of Hermolus confederates, that would once name Callisthenes, what tormentes soeuer they abidde, to bewray who were their companions. And Alexander selfe also writing of this treason immediately after, vnto Craterus, Attalus, and Alceus, said, that their seruantes which had bene racked and put to the torter, did constantly affirme that they onely had conspired his death, and no man els was priuie vnto it. But afterwarde, he sent an other letter vnto Antipater, wherein he directly accused Callisthenes, and said, that his seruantes had already bene stoned to death by the MACEDONIANS, howbeit that he him selfe would afterwards also punish the master, and those that had sent vnto him, and that had receiued the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly shewed the ill will he bare vnto Aristotle, for that Callisthenes had bene brought vp with him, being his kinsman, and the sonne of Hero, Aristotles neece. Some saie, that Alexander trusted Callisthenes vp. Others againe report, that he died of sickness in prison. Neuertheles CHARES writeth, that Callisthenes was kept prisoner seuen moneths together, because he should haue had his iudgement in open counsaill euen in the presence of Aristotle him selfe: howbeit, being very farte, he

Aristotle thought Callisthenes eloquent, but not wise.

Callisthenes suspected of treason against Alexander.

Alexander offended with Aristotle.

The death of Callisthenes the historiographer.

As he was eaten in the ende by lice, and so died, about the time that Alexander was hurt, fighting against the MALTIAN Oxydracians, in the conquest of INDIA, but these things chanced a good while after. Demetrius CORINTHIAN being very old, had a great desire to see Alexander: and when he had seene him, he said that the GREEKES which were dead long before, were deprived of that blisse and happyness: that they could not see Alexander sitte in the royall seat of king Darius. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the kinges good will vnto him, for he died of a sickness soone after he came vnto his campe, & Alexander did honor his funerals for all the armie in their armor did cast vp a mōūte of earth facioned like a tombe, which was a great compasse about, & foure score cubittes high. His ashes afterwarde were brought with an honorable conuoy, vnto the sea side, in a charriot with foure hōffes richly set out.

Alexander being ready to take his iorney to goe conquer INDIA, perceyuing that his armie was very heavy & vnwildom to remoue, for the wonderful carriage and spoiles they had with them, the carres one morning being loden, he first burnt his owne carriage, & next his tentes, & then commaunded that they should also set the carriage of the MACEDONIANS a fire, which counsell seemed more dangerous to be resolued of, then the prooffe of the execution fell out difficulte. For there are very few of them that were angry therewith, & the most part of them (as if they had bene secretly moued by some god) with lowde cryes of ioy, one of them gaue vnto an other such necessary things as they had neede of, and afterwarde of them selues did burne and spoile all the rest. This made Alexander much more rigorous then he was before, besides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or perdon, did sharply punish euery man that offended. For hauing commaunded Menander one of his frendes, to kepe him a strong holde: he put him to death, because he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he him selfe slue Ordatas (a captaine of the barbarous people) with a darte, for that he rebelled against him. About that time, there was an ewe that had eaned a lambe, which had upon her head, the forme and purple culler of the kinges hatte, after the PERSIAN manner, called Tiara, hauing two stones hanging on each side of it. Alexander abhorred this monstrous signe, in so much as he poured him selfe by certain BABYLONIAN priestes, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpose, and said vnto his frendes: that this monster did not so much moue him for respect of him selfe, as it did for them, fearing that the goddes after his death had predestined the force and power of his kingdom to fall into the handes of some

The iorney of Demetrius Corinthian vnto Alexander, and his death.

Alexander iorney into India.

Alexander burns his carriages.

The death of Alexander towards his men.

A monstrous lambe appeared vnto Alexander.

A spring of oyle found by the riuier of Oxus.

Oyle reserued in the waynes.

D base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, an other signe and token which chanced in the necke of that, did take away this feare and discouragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called Proxenus, that had charge of the kinges carriage, as he digged in a certain place by the riuier of Oxus, to set vp the kinges tent and his lodging, he found a certain fatte and oyle vaine, which after they had drawn out the first, there came out also an other cleerer, which differed nothing, neither in smell, taste, nor fauor, from naturall oyle, hauing the glosse and fannes so like, as there could be discerned no difference betwene them: the which was so much more to be wondered at, because that in all that contry there were no olyues. They say also, that the water of the riuier selfe of Oxus is very soft, & maketh their skinnes fatte, which wash or bathe them selues therein. And yet it appeareth by that which Alexander selfe wrote vnto Antipater, that

he was very glad of it, putting that amongst the greatest signes which the goddes had sent vnto him. The Soothelayers did interpret this wonder, that it was a signe, that he should haue a noble, but yet a painefull voyage: for the goddes, said they, haue geuen oyle vnto men to refresh their wearynes. And truly so did he susteine many daungers in those warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greatest losse he had of his men, was for lacke of vittells, and by the infection of the ayer. For he, struiuing to ouercome fortune by valiantnes, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withstand a noble harre. It is reported, that when he went to besiege a strong holde which Sisimethres kept, being thought vnfallable, and that his souldiers were in dispeire of it: he asked one Oxyarthes, what hart Sisimethres had. Oxyarthes answered him, that he was the veriest coward in the world. O, that is well, y^e Alexander: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou saiest, sithence the captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it of a fodaine, by putting Sisimethres in a great feare. After that also, he did besiege an other peece of as great strength, and

he

difficultie to assault as the other, and making the young souldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go to thassault, he called one of them vnto him, whose name also was *Alexander*, vnto whom he said thus, *Alexander*, this daie thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The young man did not forget his words, for he fought so valliantly, that he was slaine, for whom *Alexander* was very sory. An other time when his men were affraid, & durst not come nere vnto the cite of NISA to assault, because there ranne a very deepe riuer hard by the walles: he came to the riuers side, and said; oh, what a coward am I, that neuer learned to swimme; and so prepared him selfe to swimme ouer upon his shilde. After he had caused them to reit from the assault, there came ambassadors vnto him from the cities besieged, to craue pardon of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pompe or other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaier was brought him to sit downe on, that he commaunded the oldest man amongst them called *Acuphis*, to take it to him; and sit him downe. *Acuphis* marveling at *Alexanders* great curtesie, asked him: what they should doe for him, thenceforth to be his good frendes. I will, said *Alexander*, that they from whom thou comest as ambassador vnto vs, doe make thee their king: and withall that they doe send me a hundred of their best men for hostages. *Acuphis*, smiling, answered him againe: but I shall rule them better, O king, if I send you the worst, and not the best. There was a king called *Taxiles* a very wise man, who had a great contrie in INDIA, no lesse in biggnes and circuit then all EGYPT, and as full of good pasture and frutes as any country in the world could be: who came on a tyme to salute *Alexander*, and sayd vnto him. What should we neede, *Alexander*, to fight, and make warres one with an other, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our necessary commoditie to liue by: for which thinges, men of iudgement must needs fight. As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am ready to giue thee of myne: and if I haue lesse, I will not thinke skorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt giue me some of thine. *Alexander* being pleased to heare him speake thus wisely, embraced him, and sayd vnto him. Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly fayre wordes? no, no, thou hast wonne nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honestie and curtesie, because thou shalt not exceede me in bowtie and liberalitie. So *Alexander* taking diuers gifts of him, but giuing more vnto *Taxiles*: he dranke to him one night at supper, and said, I drinke to thee a thousand talents in gold. This geste misliked *Alexanders* friendes: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hartes of many of those barbarous Lordes and Princes of that country. There was a certaine number of souldiers of the INDIANS, the warlikest men of all that country: who being mercenary souldiers, were euer enterentyed in seruice of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto *Alexander* in diuers places. *Alexander* hauing made peace with them in a cite where they were kept in: when they came abrode upon suertie of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sword. There was but this onely fault, to bleamish the honor of his noble deedes in all his warres: for in all thinges els, he shewed mercy and equitie. Furthermore, the graue Philosophers and wise men of INDIA did greatly trouble him also. For they reproued the kinges and Princes of the INDIANS for that they yielded vnto *Alexander*, & procured the free cities to take armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke diuers of their cities. For king *Porus*, *Alexander* selfe writeth in his Epistles, all his actes at large which he did against him. For he sayth, that both their camps lying on either side of the riuer of Hydaspes, king *Porus* set his Elephants upon the banke of the riuer with their heades towards their enemies, to keepe them from passing ouer: and that he him selfe did continually make a noise and tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be affraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, & the choice of his horsemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle llande. When he was come into the llande, there fell a wonderful shower of raine, great windes, lightnings and thunders upon his campe, inso much as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning in this litle llande. This notwithstanding, he did not leaue to get ouer to the other side of the riuer. The riuer being swollen with the great flood of rayne that fell the night before, ouerflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: so that *Alexander* when he had

The cite of Nisa.

Acuphis wife answer vnto *Alexander*.

King *Taxiles* saile with *Alexander*.

Alexander answer to *Taxiles*.

Alexander disponably brake the peace he had made.

Alexander actes against king *Porus*, by dayes.

A had passed ouer the riuer, and was come to the other side, found him selfe in very ill case, for that he could hardly keepe his feete, because the earth was very slippery vnder him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on euery side. It is written of him, that then he sayd vnto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could ye thinke that I could take such paines, and put my selfe into so many daungers, onely to be praised of you? Thus *Osefervitus* reporteth it. But *Alexander* selfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of tymber pinned together whereupon they had passed ouer the streame of the mayne riuer: and that they waded thorow the other arme or gutt of the water which had broken the earth, vnto their breasts with their harnesse on their backs. Furthermore, when he had passed ouer both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlonges before the battell of his footemen: thinking that if his enemies came to giue him charge with their men of armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also aduance their footemen forward, that his footemen also should come tyme enough. One of the twaine fel out as he had gessed. For a thousand horsemen, and three skore charrets armed with his ennemies, gaue him charge before their great company, whom he ouerthrew, and tooke all their charrets, & slue foure hundred of the men of armes in the fildes. King *Porus* then knowing by those signes that *Alexander* was there in person, and had passed ouer the riuer: he marched towards him with all his armie in battell ray, sauing a few which he left behinde to resist the MACEDONIANS, if they shewed force to passe ouer the riuer. *Alexander* being affraid of the great multitude of his ennemies, and of the terror of the Elephants, did not giue charge upon the middelt of the battell, but being him selfe in the left winge, gaue charge upon the corner of the enemies left winge, and also commaunded them that were in the right winge to doe the like. So, both the endes of the enemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne vnto the Elephants, & gathered them selues together about them. Thus the battell being begon, the conflict continued long, inso much as the enemies were scantily all ouerthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Many writers doe agree, that *Porus* was foure cubits and a shaft length hier and bigger then the Elephant, although the Elephant was very great, and as bigge as a horse: and besides that the Elephant did shew great wit and care, to saue the king his Maister. For whilest he perceyued his Maister was stronge enough, he lustily repulst those which came to assaile him: but when he found that he began to faint, hauing many woundes upon his body, and arrowes sticking in it: then being affraid lest his Maister should fall downe from his backe, he softly fell on his knees, and gently taking his dartes and arrowes with his troncke, which he had in his body, he plucked them all from him one after an other. *Porus* being taken, *Alexander* asked him, howe he should handle him, princely, answered *Porus*. *Alexander* asked him agayne, if he would saye any thing els. I comprehend all, sayde he, in this word princely. Thereupon *Alexander* did not onely leaue him his provinces and Realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Liefetenant: but gaue him many other contries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fiftene severall nations, fise thousand of no small cities, besides an infinite number of villages, and thryle as many other contries: he made *Philip* one of his friendes, his Liefetenant of all those contries: his horse Bucephalus dyed at this battell, not in the fildes, but afterwards whilest he was in cure for the woundes he had on his body: but as *Osefervitus* sayth, he dyed euen worse for very age. *Alexander* was as sory for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friendes: and for prooffe thereof, he built a great cite in the place where his horse was buryed, upon the riuer of Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, *Bucephalia*. It is reported also, that hauing lost a dogge of his called *Peritas*, which he had brought vnto of a whelp, and loued very dearely: he built also a cite, and called it after his name. *Sotion* writeth, that he hearde it reported thus of *Potamon* LESBIAN. This last battell against king *Porus*, killed the MACEDONIANS hartes, and made them that they had no desire to goe any further to conquer INDIA. For finding that they had such a doe to ouercome them, though they were but twenty thousand footemen, and two thousand horse, they spake yll of *Alexander* when he went about to compell them to passe ouer the ryuer of Ganges, vnderstanding by the contry men that it was two and thirty furlong ouer, and a hundred fadam deepe: and howe that the banke of the ryuer was

The stature of king *Porus*. The quick wit and care of the Elephant to saue the king his Maister.

Alexander conquies the Indians.

The death of Bucephalus, *Alexander* burys.

Bucephalus, a great cite built by *Alexander* upon the riuer of Hydaspes: & why so named. *Peritas*, *Alexander* dogge.

Ganges fl.

Gangeside,
and Priests,
people of In-
dia.

full of souldiers, horsemen, and Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the GAN-
ARIDS, & the PERSIANS were on thother side with foure score thousand horsemen, two hun-
dred thousand footemen, eight thousand charretts or carts of warre wel armed, and six thou-
sand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor frivulous tale. For, a king called *Androcottus*
(who reigned not long after,) gaue vnto *Seleucus*, five hundred Elephants at one time, & con-
quered all INDIA with fixe hundred thousand fighting men. *Alexander* then offended with
his mens refusal, kept close in his tent for certeine daies, and lay vpon the ground, saying, that
he did not thank them, for all that they had done thithervnto, vnles they passed ouer the ry-
uer of Ganges also: And that to retorne backe againe, it was as much as to confesse that he
had bene overcome. At the length, when he sawe and considered that there was great reason
in his friendes perswasions which labored to comfort him, and that his souldiers came to the
dore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beseeching him to leade them backe againe:
in thende he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to retorne. This notwithstanding, before
he departed from those parties, he put forth many vaine and false deuises to make his name
immortal amonge that people. He made armors of greater proportion then his owne, and
mangers for horses, higher then the common fort: moreouer, he made bytts also fatte heauier
then the common fort, and made them to be thrown and scattered abroad in euery place.
He built great altars also in honor of the godds, the which the kings of the PERSIANS haue
in great veneration at this day: and passing ouer the riuer, doe make sacrifices there, after the
manner of the GRECIANS. *Androcottus* at that time was a very young man, and sawe *Alexan-*
der him selfe, and sayd afterwards, that *Alexander* had well nere taken and wonne all the con-
try, the king which then reigned, was so hated of all his subiectes, for his wicked life, and base
parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to see the great sea Oceanum, and made di-
uers boates with ores, in the which he easily went downe the riuers at his pleasure. Howbeit,
this his pleasant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentimes, and
did assaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in assailing the cite of the MALLIANS,
(which they say are the warlikest men of all the INDIANS) he was almost slaine there. For, ha-
ving with darts repulsed the enemies from the wall, he him selfe was the first man that sette
foote on a ladder to gett vp, the which brake as soone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper.
Then the barbarous people comming together against the wall, did throwe at him from be-
neath, and many tymes lighted vpon him. *Alexander* hauing fewe of his men about him, D
made no more a doe, but leaped downe from the wall in the midst of his enemies, and by
good happe lighted on his feete. His harnes making a great noyse with the fall, the barbarous
people were afraid, thinking they had seene some light or spirite goe before him: so that at
the first they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne scatteringly here and there. But after
that, when they came againe to them selues, and sawe that he had but two gentlemen onely
about him, they came and sette apon him of all handes, and fought with him at the sword or
pulshe of the pyke, and so hurt him very fore through his armor: but one amonge the rest, be-
ing somewhat further of, gaue him such a terrible blowe with an arrowe, that he brake him
through his curats, and thor him in at the side vnder his breast. The blow entred so into his bo-
dy, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had stricken him with his ar-
row, ranne sodainly to him with a cimiter drawn in his hand. Howbeit *Penceas* & *Limneus*
stepped before him, and were both hurt: *Limneus* was slaine presently, and *Penceas* fought it
out, till at the length, *Alexander* selfe slew the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had
many greuous woundes vpon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke
that so astonished him, that he leane against the wall looking apon his enemies. In the meane
time, the MACEDONIANS compassing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his
tent halfe in a sownde, and was past knowledge: Whereupon, there ranne a rumor straight
in the campe, that *Alexander* was dead. They had much a doe to cut the arrowe asonder that was
of wodde: so his curats being plucked with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow
head out of his body, which stucke in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was foure F
fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he sownded so oft, that
he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he ouercame the danger, and escaped. Being very
weake,

Alexander
retorne out of
India.
Alexander
ouine deuise
to make him
selfe immor-
tal.

King *Andro-*
cottus.

Alexander in
danger at
the cite of the
Mallians.

weake, he kept diet a long time to recouer him selfe, and neuer came out of his tent: vntill he
heard the MACEDONIANS cry, and make great noyse about his tent, desirous to see him. Then
he put on a night gowne, and came out amongest them all, and after he had some sacrifice vn-
to the godds for recovery of his health, he went on his iorney againe, and in the same did con-
quer many great contreyes, and tooke diuers goodly cities. He did also take some of the wise
men of the contry, which men doe all go naked, and therefore are called *GRAMASOPHISTS*;
(to wit, Philosophers of INDIA) who had procured *Sabbas* to rebell against him, and had done
great hurt vnto the MACEDONIANS. And because they were taken to be the sharpest and rea-
diest of answer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, & told them he would
put the first man to death, that answered him worst, and so the rest in order, and made the el-
dest amonge them Iudge of their answers. The question he asked the first man, was this:

Whether the dead of the liuing, were the greater number. He answered, the liuing. For
the dead sayd he, are no more men.

The second man he asked: whether the earth, or the sea brought forth most creatures. He
answered, the earth. For the sea sayd he, is but a part of the earth.

To the third man: which of all beastes was the subtillest. That (sayd he) which man he-
therto neuer knew.

To the fourth: why he did make *Sabbas* rebell? because sayd he, he should liue honorably,
or dye vilely.

To the fift, which he thought was first, the daye, or the night? He answered, the daye, by a
day. The king finding his answer straunge, added to this speech: strange questions, must
needes haue strange answers.

Comming to the sixt man, he asked him: how a man should come to be beloued: If he be
a good man sayd he, not terrible.

To the seuenth, how a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

To the eight, which was the ströger life or death life, said he, that suffreth so many troubles.

And vnto the ninth and last man: how long a man should liue? vntill sayd he, he thinke it
better to dye, then to liue.

When *Alexander* had heard these answers, he turned vnto the Iudge, & bad him giue his
iudgement vpon them. The Iudge said, they had all answered one worse then another. Then
D that thou die first, said *Alexander*, because thou hast giuen such sentence: not so, O king, he if
thou wilt not be a lier: because thou saidst, that thou wouldst kil him first, that had answered
worst. In fine, *Alexander* did let them go with rewardes. He sent *Onesivertus* also vnto the other
wise men of the INDIANS, which were of greatest fame amonge the, & that led a solitary & quiet
lieto pray them to come vnto him. This *Onesivertus* the Philosopher, was *Diogenes* the Cinika
scholler. It is reported, that *Calanus* one of these wise men, very sharply & proudly, bad him pur-
ge of his clothes, to heare his wordes naked: or otherwife that he would not speake to him, though
he came from *Iupiter* him self. Yet *Dandamis* answered him more gently. For he hauing lear-
ned what maner of men *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes* were, said: that they seemed to haue
bene wise men, & wel borne, notwithstanding that they had reuerenced the lawes too much in
E their life time. Others write notwithstanding, that *Dandamis* said nothing els, but asked why *Alexander*
had takē so painful a iorney in hand, as to come into INDIA. For *Calanus* (whose right
name otherwife was *Sphines*) king *Taxiles* perswaded him to go vnto *Alexander*, who because
he slured thoe he met, in the INDIAN tongue, saying *Okeas* much to sayds God. Eueye: rho
GRECIANS named him *Calanus*. It is reported, that this *Calanus* did shew *Alexander* a figure &
similitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw downe before him a dry seare peece of lea-
ther, & then put his foote apon one of the endes of it. The leather being troden downe on that
side, rose vp in al partes els, & going vp & downe with all still treading vpon the sides of the lea-
ther, he made *Alexander* see, that the leather being troden downe on the one side, & rose vp of
al sides els, vntill such time as he put his foote in the midst of the leather, & then al the whole
leather was plain aliue. His meaning thereby, was to let *Alexander* vnderstand, that the most part
of his time he should keepe in the midst of his contry, & not to goe farre from it. *Alexander*
continued seuen moneths traouling vpon the riuers, to goe to the great sea Oceanum. Then he
SSS

The wise men
of India.

Alexander
questioning pro-
pounded to the
wise Philo-
sophers of
India.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.

Alexander
rewarded the
wise men,
and did let
them goe.
Onesivertus a
Philosopher.
Calanus, other
wise called
Sphines.
Dandamis.

Calanus shew-
ed *Alexander*
the figure of
his kingdome.
The flouting
of a kingdom
troden by a
piece of lea-
ther.

*Phidias in
land.*

*Alexanders
maie in the
sea Oceanus.*

*Alexanders
armie going in
to India.*

*Sheepe fed
with fish.*

*The cuntry
of Gedrosia.*

*The cuntry
of Carmania.*

*The riot of
Alexanders
soldiers.*

*The citie of
Thapsus.*

*The provin-
ces conque-
red by Alex-
ander, rebel-
led against
him.*

rooke ship, & sailed into a little land called *Scyllus*, howbeit others call it *Pitylus*. There he landed, made sacrifices vnto the gods, & viewed the greames & nature of the sea, ceant, & all the situation of the coast upon that sea, as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers vnto the gods, that no conqueror liuing after him should go beyond the bounds of his journey & conquest, & so returned homeward. He commaunded his ships should fetch a compass about, & leave *India* on the right hand, & made *Nearchus* Admirall of all his fleet, & *Ophichris* chiefe Pilote. He him self in the meane time went by land through the contrie of the *Araxes*, & there he found great scarcitie of vittels, & lost many of his men so that he caried none out of *India* the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in almoste score thousand footemen, & fifteen thousand horsemen. Some of the died of greuous diseases, others, by ill diet, others, by extreme heat & drowght, & the most of the by hunger, travelling through this barren contrie, where the poore men liued hardly, & had onely a few sheepe which they fed with sea fish, that made their flesh sauour very ill fauoured. At the length, when three score daies iorney he had painfully travelled through this contrie, he the entered into the cōtry called *Gedrosia*, where he found great plenty of all kind of vittels, which the gouernours, kings, & princes, neighbours vnto the same, did send vnto him. After he had refreshed his army there a litle, he wet through the cōtry of *Carmania*, where he continued fewe daies together banketing, going still through the contrie. For night & day, he was feasting continually with his friends upon a scaffold lōger then broad, rising vp of height, & drawn with eight goodly horse. After that scaffold followed diuers other chariots couered ouer, some with goodly rich arras, & purple silk, others with trim fresh boughes which they renewed at euery fields end: & in those were *Alexanders* other friends & captaines with garlands of flowers upon their heades, which dranke & made mery together. In all this armie, there was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor targette: but gold & silver bowles, cups, & flagons in the souldiers hands, all the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes & vessels which they caried with them, one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, & others also set at the table. About the were the minstrels playing & piping on their flutes & shalmes, & some singing & dauncing, & fooling by the way as they wet. In all this dissolute marching through the cōtry, & in the middle of their dronkenies, they mingled with it sport, that euery mā did strue to counterfeate all the insolēcies of *Bacchus*, as if god *Bacchus* him self had ben there in person, & had led the momey. VVhen he came vnto the kings castel of *Gedrosia*, he staid there also certein daies to refresh his army with feasting & baketing. It is said, that one day when he had dronke hard, he went to see the games for dauncing, & amongst the, the games which a yong man called *Bagoas* had set forth, (with whom *Alexander* fell in liking) & bare the bel. This *Bagoas* being in his dauncing garments, came through the Theater, & sat him downe by *Alexander*. The *Macedonians* were so glad of it, that they shewted & clapped their hands for ioy, crying out alowde, to kisse him: so that in fine he toke him in his armes, & kised him, before them all. Thither came *Nearchus* his Admirall vnto him: who made report what he had sene & done in his nauigation. *Alexander* was so glad of that, as he was desirous to saile by sea him self: & so, entering into the sea oceanum by the mouth of *Euphrates*, with a great fleet of ships, to compass in all the coasts of *Arabia* & *Africke*, & thece into Mare *Mediterraneum*, by the straights of the pillars of *Hercules*. To this intent he built a great nūber of ships in the city of *Thapsus*, & sent for mariners, shipmasters, & pilots, out of all parts. But now, the difficultie of the iorney which he tooke upon him for the conquest of *India*, the danger he was in when he fought with the *Mallians*, & the nūber of his me which he lost besides which was very great, all these things considered together, making me beleue that he should neuer return with safetie: they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to rise against him, & gaue his gouernours & Lieutenants of provinces occasion to commit great insolēcies, robberies, & exactions of people. To be short, it put all his kingdom in broile & sedition. In such as *Olympius* & *Cleopatra* rising against *Antipater*, they deuided his gouernment betwene the: *Olympius* choosing for her, the kingdō of *Epirus*; & *Cleopatra*, the kingdō of *Macedon*. Which when *Alexander* had heard, he said his mother was the wisest for the realme of *Macedon* would neuer haue suffred a womā to raigne ouer the. Therupon he sent *Nearchus* back again to the sea, deterning to fill all the sea coasts with warre. As he trauelled through

A through the cōtries farre fro the sea, he put his captaines & gouernours to death, which had revolted against him: & of those he slue *Oxyartes*, one of *Abulites* sonnes, by his own hād, rōning him thorow with a pike. And when *Abulites* self also had brought *Alexander* his showlders onely, without any other prouisiō made for vittels for his army: he made him put the money before his horse, which would not once touch it. Then sayd he vnto him: I pray thee to what purpose serueth this prouisiō? & therewithal immediatly committed him to prisō. As he came through the cōtry of *Persia*, he first renewed the old custō there, which was: that as often times as the kings did return home fro any far iorney, they gaue vnto euery womā a crown a peece. It is said therefore that for this cause, some of their natural kings many times did not returne again into their cōtry: & that *Oechus* amongst others did not so much as once returne back again, willingly banishing him self out of his cōtry, of niggardlines, because he would not be at this charge. After that, *Cyrus* tomb (king of *Persia*) being toid & broke vp, he put him to death that did it, although he were a *Macedonian* of the cite of *Pella*, (and none of the meanest) called *Polymachus*. When he had red the inscriptiō writte apō it in the Persian tongue, he would needs also haue it writte in the Greeke tongue: & this it was. *O mā, vrthas so thou art, & vrthas neuer thou comest, fro I knowe thou shalt come. I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia, I pray thee enuy me not for this little earth that couereth my body.* These words pearced *Alexanders* hart, when he considered the uncertainty of worldly things. There also, *Calanus* the *Indian* Philosopher, hauing had a flyxe a litle while, praied that they would make him a stacke of wod, such as they vse to burne dead bodies on, & then rode thither a horse back: & after he had made his praier vnto the godds, he calt those sprinklings upon him, which were vied to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting of a locke of his heare before he went vp on the wodstacke, he bad all the *Macedonians* that were there farewell, & shooke them by the hands, praying the that day to be merry, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would see shortly after in the cite of *Babylon*. When he had said these words, he layd him down vpon the wodstacke, couered his face, & neuer sturred hand nor foote, nor quincned when the fire tooke him, but did sacrifice him self in this sort, as the manner of his contrie was, that the wife men should so sacrifice theselues. Another *Indian* also, who followed *Julius Caesar*, did the like many yeares after in the cite of *Athens*: & there is his tombe yet to be sene, commonly called the *Indians* tombe. When *Alexander* came from seing this sacrifice of *Calanus*, he did bid diuers of his friends & Captaines to D supper to him: & there did bring forth a crown for a reward vnto him that dranke best. He that drank most of all other, was one *Promachus*, that drank foure gallons of wine, & wan the crown, worth a talent: but he liued not aboue three dayes after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drink most, there died of the (as *Chares* writeth) one & forty persons: of an extreme cold that tooke the in their dronkenes & wine. VVhen they were in the cite of *Susa*, he married certein of his friends, & him self also married *Statira*, one of king *Darius* Daughters, disposing also of the other *Persian* Ladies (according to their estate and birth) vnto his best friends. He made also a solemne feast of comon mariages amongst the *Macedonians*, of the that had ben married before: At which feast, it is writte, that nine thousand persons sitting at the bords, he gaue vnto euery one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honor of the gods. E And there also amongst other wōderful gifts, he did pay al the detts the *Macedonians* ought vnto their creditors, the which amounted vnto the summe of tenne thousand talents sauing a hundred & thirty lesse. VVherupon *Antigenes* with one eye, falsely putting in his name amongst the number of the detters, & bringing in one that said he had lent him money: *Alexander* caused him to be paid. But afterwards, when it was proued to his face, that there was no such matter: *Alexander* then was so offended with him, that he banished him his court, & deprived him of his captainship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed him self a valiant mā in the wars. For when he was but a yong man, he was shot into the eye, before the city of *Perinth*, which king *Philip* did beleage: & at that present time they would haue plucked the arrow out of his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would suffer the to pul it out, before he had first driue his enemies within the wals of their cite. He toke this infamy very inwardly, & he was so sorry for it, that euery mā might see he was like to die for sorow. The *Alexander* hearing he should die, did pardō him, & bad him besides kepe the money which was giue him. Now the 3000.

*The death of
Polymachus
Pellien.
Cyrus Epitaph
ouer his tomb*

*Calanus the
Indian did
sacrifice him
selfe aince.*

*Alexander
made men
drinke to ryse
a game and
trick.*

*The Macedo-
nians married
vnto the
Persians*

*The wonder-
full gifts of
Alexander.
Alexander
payed the sol-
diers detts.*

*Antigenes
with one eye, a
valiant Cap-
taine, bani-
shed the court
for making a
lie.*

Thirty thousand
boyes of
the Persians,
taught the dis-
cipline of warre
by Alexan-
ders comman-
dement.

young boyes which *Alexander* had left to the government of Captaines, to trayne & exercise them in the discipline of warre: they being grown strong men, & lusty youtthes, excellently well trained & ready in armes: *Alexander* reioyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discourage the *MACEDONIANS*, & made them greatly affraid, because they thought that from thenceforth the king would make lesse accompt of the. For when *Alexander* would haue sent the sicke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low contry, to the sea side: they answered him, that so doing he should do them great wronge, to send these poore men from him in that sort, after they had done him all the seruice they could home to their contry & friends, in worse case then he tooke them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men vnseruiceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly yong daunters about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. *Alexander* was maruelously offended with their proud words, inso much that in his anger he reuiled them all, put away his ordinary gard, & tooke other *PERSIANS* in their place, making some the gard about his owne person, others, his vishers, heralds, & ministers to execute his will and commandement. The poore *MACEDONIANS* seeing *Alexander* thus waited on, & them selues so shamefully reiecte: they let fall their stoutnes, and after they had comoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare the selues for spite & malice. In fine whē they had laid their heads together, they consented to go vnto his tent & without weapons, naked in their shirts to yeld the selues vnto him, weeping & howling, beseeching him to do with the what pleased him, & so vnto the like reiecte vnthankful creatures. But *Alexander*, though his anger was now somewhat pacified, did not receiue the first time, neither did they also go to their waies, but remained there 2. daies & nights together, in this pitiful state, before the dore of his tent, lamenting vnto him, & calling him their loueraine & king: vntill that he came him self out of his tent the third day, & seeing the poore wretches in this greuous & pitiful state, he him self fel a weeping a long time. So, after he had a litle rebuked the, he called the curteously, & gaue the impotent & sicke persons leaue to depart home, rewarding the very honorably. Furthermore, he wrote vnto *Antipater* his Lieutenant, that he should alwaies giue the the highest place in al comon sports & assemblies, & that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreover, he commaunded that the orphans whose parents were slaine in the warres, should receiue the pay of their fathers. After *Alexander* was come vnto the cite of *ECBATANA*, in the kingdō of *MEDIA*, & that he had dispatched his waighiest causes: he gaue him self again vnto D publike sports, feasts, & pastimes, for that there were newly come vnto him out of *GREECE*, thousand excellent masters & deuisers of such sports. About that time it chauced, that *Hephestion* fell sicke of an agew. But he being a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should haue done, but hauing spied oportunitie that his Phisitian *Glaucus* was gone vnto the Theater, to see the sports & pastimes: He went to dinner, and ate a roasted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereuppon his fever tooke him so sorely, that he liued not long after. *Alexander* vnwisely tooke the chauce of his death, & commaunded all the heares of his horse & mules to be presently shorn in toke of mourning, & that al the battlemēts of the walls of cities should also be ouerthrowne, & hong vpon *Glaucus* his Phisitian vpon a crosse, & commaunded that no minstrel should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his campe: vntill that there was brought him an oracle from *Insipier Hammon*, commaunding that *Hephestion* should be worshipped & sacrificed vnto, as a deny god. In thend, to passe ouer his mourning and sorow, he went vnto the warres, as vnto a hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the *COSSARIANS*, whom he pluckt vp by the rootes, and slue man, woman, and childe. And this was called the sacrifice of *Hephestions* funerals. *Alexander* furthermore being desirous to bestowe tenne thousand talents coste vpon his obsequies and funerals, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenes and excellencie of workemanshippe: amongst all other excellent workemasters, he desired one *Stasirates*, for he had euer passing inuention, and his worke was alwayes stately and sumptuous in any newe thinges he tooke in hande. For he talking one daye with *Alexander*, tolde him, that of all the Mountaynes he knewe in the worlde, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man, then was Mount Atho in *THRACIA*: and that if it were his

The eloquence and liber-
tine of Alexan-
der vnto
his soldiers

The death of
Hephestion.
Alexander
sorrow for
the death of
Hephestion.

Stasirates an
excellen-
t image maker.

A his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image, that should bee in the world, which in his left hand should hold a citie to containe ten thousand persons, and out of his right hand, there should runne a great riuer into the sea. Yet *Alexander* would not harken to him, but then was talking with other workemen of more strange inuentions, & farre greater cost. Now as he was ready to take his iorney to go vnto *BABYLON*: *Nearchus* his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great sea Oceanum, by the riuer of *Euphrates*, and tolde him, how certaine *CHALDEANS* Soothlayers came vnto him, who did warne him that he should not goe into *BABYLON*. Howbeit *Alexander* made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the walls of *BABYLON*, he saw a great number of crows fighting & killing one of another, & some of them fell downe deade hard by him. Afterwards being tolde him that *Agapollodorus* the gouernor of the citie of *BABYLON*, hauing sacrificed vnto the goddesses, to knowe what should happen to him: he sent for the Soothlayer *Pithagoras*, to knowe of him if it were true. The Soothlayer denied it not. Then *Alexander* asked him, what signes he had in the sacrifice. He answered, that the lyuer of the beaſt had no head. O gods, said *Alexander* then, this is an ill signe: notwithstanding he did *Pithagoras* no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not beleue *Nearchus* words. For this respect therefore *Alexander* lay much abroad in the contry from *BABYLON*, & did take his pleasure rowing vp & downe the riuer of *Euphrates*. Yet had he many other ill signes & tokes one vpō another, that made him affraid. For there was a tame asse that killed one of the greatest & goodliest Lions in all *BABYLON*, with one of his fecte. Another time when *Alexander* had put of his clothes, to be noynted to play at tennis: When he should put on his apparel againe, the yong gentlemen that plaied with him, found a man set in his chaire of estate, hauing the kings diademe on his head, & his gowne on his back, & said neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was: It was long before he made them answer, but at the length comming to him self, he said his name was *Dionysius*, borne in *MESSINA*: & being accused for certain crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had bene a long time prisoner, & also that the god *Serapis* had appeared vnto him, & vndone his irons, & that he commaunded him to take the kings gowne & his diademe, and to sit him downe in his chaire of estate, & say neuer a word. When *Alexander* heard it, he put him to death according to the counsaile of his Soothlayers: but then his mind was troubled, & feared that the gods had forsaken him, & also grew to suspect his friends. But first of all, *Alexander* feared *Antipater* & his D sonnes, aboue all other. For one of them called *Tolus*, was his first cupbearer: & his brother called *Cassander*, was newly come out of *GREECE* vnto him. The first time that *Cassander* saw some of the barbarous people reuerencing *Alexander*, he hauing bene brought vp with the libertie of *GREECE*, & had neuer seene the like before: fel into a lowd laughing very vnreuerently. Therewith king *Alexander* was so offended, that he tooke him by the heare of his head with both his hands, & knocked his head & the wal together. Another time also when *Cassander* did answer some that accused his father *Antipater*: king *Alexander* tooke him vp sharply, & said vnto him, What failest thou, said he? Doost thou thinke that these men would haue gon so long a iorney as this, fally to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? *Cassander* againe replied vnto *Alexander*, & said, that that was a manifest prooffe of their false accusation, for that they did now E accuse him being so farre off, because they thought they could not sodainly be disproued. *Alexander* thereat fel a laughing a good, & said, lo, these are *Aristotles* quiddities to argue pro & contra: but this wil not saue you from punishment, if I find that you haue done these men wronge. In fine, they report that *Cassander* tooke such an inward feare & conceit vpon it, that long time after when he was king of *MACEDON*, and had all *GREECE* at his commandement: going vp and downe the citie of *DELPHES*, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of *Alexander*, which put him into such a sodaine feare, that the heares of his head stoode vp right, and his body quaked in such sort, that it was a great time before he could come to him selfe againe. Nowe after that *Alexander* had left his trust and confidence in the goddesses, his minde was so troubled and affraide, that no strange thinge happened vnto him, F (how litle so euer it was) but he tooke it straight for a signe and prediction from the gods: so that his tent was alwayes full of Priestes and Soothlayers that did nothing but sacrifice and purifie, and tende vnto diuinements. So horrible a thing, is the mistrust and contempt of the

Dionysius
before Alex-
anders death.

Alexander
sawed Anti-
pater.

goddess, when it is begotten in the hearts of men, and superstition also so dreadfull, that it filleth A the gilty consciences and fearefull hartes like water distilling from above: as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly, after that feare had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after that he had received some answers touching *Hephestion* from the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, he left his sorrow, and returned again to his banquets and feasting. For he did sumptuously feast *Nearchus*, and one day when he came out of his bath according to his manner, being ready to goe to bed, *Medius* one of his Capteines befought him to come to a banquet to him at his lodging. Alexander went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, so that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking vpp *Hercules* cuppe all at a draught: neither for the sodaine paine he felt betwene his shouliders, as if he had bene thrust into the backe with a speare. For all these were thought to be written by some, for lies and fables, because they would haue made the end of this great tragedie lamentable and pitifull. But *Aristobolus* writeth, that he had such an extreame feuer and thirst withall, that he dranke wine, & after that fel a rauing, & at the legh dyed the thirtie day of the month of Iune. In his household booke of things passed dayly, it is written, that his feuer beeing apon him, he slept in his hottchouise on the eyghteenth day of Iune. The next morning after he was come out of his hottchouise, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that daye with *Medius*, playing at dyce: and at nyght very late, after he had bathed him selfe and sacrificed vnto the goddess, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that nyght. And the twenty daye also, bathing him selfe againe, and making his ordinary sacrifice to the goddess, he did sitte downe to eate within his toooue, harkening vnto *Nearchus* that tolde him straunge thinges he had seene C in the great sea Oceanum. The one and twenty day also hauing done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, & felt him selfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feuer: and on that day he made his bed to be remoued, and to be set vppe by the fish ponde, where he communed with his capteines touching certaine roomes that were void in his armie, and commaunded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three and twenty day hauing an extreame feuer vpon him, he was caried vnto the sacrifices, and commaunded that his chiefe Captieines onely should remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort, as centiniers or Lieutenants of bands, that they should watch & ward without. The foure and twenty day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings, which is on thother side of the lake, where he slept a litle, but the feuer neuer left him: & when D his Capteines & noble men came to doe him humble reuerence, & to see him, he lay speechles. So did he the fife and twenty day also: insomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came & knocked at the pallace gate, & cried out vnto his friendes and familiers, and threatned them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, & they comming in their gownes went vnto his bed side to see him. That selfe day *Python* & *Seleucus* were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god *Serapis*, to knowe if they should bringe king Alexander thither. The god answered them, that they should not remoue him from thence. The eight and twenty day at night Alexander dyed. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the household booke of remembrance. At that present tyme, there was no suspicion that he was poysoned. Yet they say, that six yeares after, E there appeared some prooffe that he was poysoned. Whereupon his mother *Olympias* put many men to death, and cast the ashes of *Iolas* into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was said he gaue him poyson in his drinke. They that think it was *Aristotle* that counselled *Antipater* to do it, by whose meane the poyson was brought: they say that *Agnathemus* reported it, hauing heard it of king *Antigonus* owne mouth. The poyson (as some say) was cold as life, and fallest from a rocke in the territory of the cite of *NONACRIS*, & it is gathered as they would gather a deawe into the horne of the foote of an asse, for there is no other kinde of thinge that will keepe it, it is so extreme cold & percing. Others defend it, & say, that the report of his poysoning is vnttrue: & for prooffe therof they alleage this reason, which is of no smal importance, that is: That the chiefe Captieines fel at great variance after his death, so that the corps of A- F lexander remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a whor dry contry, & yet there neuer appeared any signe or token apon his body, that he was poysoned, but was still a cleane and

Alexander
fell sicke of an
ague.

Aristobolus
reports of the
sickness and
death of Alex-
ander.

The death of
Alexander
the great.

Aristotle
suspected for
the poysoning
of Alexander.

sayre

A faire corps as could be. Alexander left *Roxane* great with childe, for the which the MACEDONI- ANS did her great honor: but she did malice *Statira* extreame, & did finely deceiue her by a counterfeit letter she sent, as if it had come from Alexander, willing her to come vnto him. But when she was come, *Roxane* killed her and her filter, and then threw their bodies into a well, and filled it vp with earth, by *Perdiccas* helpe and consent. *Perdiccas* came to be king, immediately after Alexanders death, by meanes of *Arideus*, whom he kept about him for his guard and safety. This *Arideus*, being borne of a common trumpet and common woman, called *philinna*, was halfe lunaticke, not by nature nor by chaunce: but, as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardy boy, by drinckes, which *Olympias* caused to be geuen him, and thereby continued franckie.

Statira slain
by *Roxane*.

Arideus, A-
lexanders ba-
stard brother.

The end of Alexanders life.

THE LIFE OF Iulius Caesar.



What time *Sylla* was made Lord of all, he would haue had *Caesar* put away his wife *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cinna* Dictator: but when he saw, he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he tooke her ioynter away from him. The cause of *Caesars* ill will vnto *Sylla*, was by meanes of marriage: for *Marius* the elder, married his fathers own sister, by whom he had *Marius* the younger, whereby *Caesar* & he were cofin germanes. *Sylla* being troubled in waighie matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of *Caesar*: but he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and made sute vnto the people for the Priesthoodshippe that was voyde, when he had scant any heare on his face. Howbeit he was repulsd by *Syllas* meanes, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to haue killed him, some of his friendes told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But *Sylla* told them againe, that they did not consider that there were many *Marians* in that young boy. *Caesar* vnderstanding F that, stole out of Rome, and hidde him selfe a long time in the contrie of the *SABINES*, wandring still from place to place. But one day being caried from house to house, he fell into the handes of *Syllas* souldiers, who searched all those places, and tooke them whom they found

Caesar ioynter
with *Cinna* &
Marius.

SSS iiii

Caesar took
sea, and went
unto Nicome-
des, king of
Bithynia.
Caesar taken
of pirates.

hidden. Caesar bribed the Captaine, whose name was *Cornelius*, with two talentes which he gaue him. After he had escaped them thus, he went vnto the sea side, and tooke shippes, and sailed into BITHYNIA to goe vnto king *Nicomedes*. When he had bene with him a while, he tooke sea againe, and was taken by pyrates about the Ile of PHARMACUSA: for those pyrates kept all vpon that sea coast, with a great flecte of shippes and bores. They asking him at the first twentie talentes for his ranfome, Caesar laughed them to scorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of him selfe promised them fiftie talentes. Then he sent his men vp and downe to get him this money, so that he was left in manner alone among these theues of the CILICIANS, (which are the cruellst butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his slaues only: and yet he made so litle reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleepe, he sent vnto them to commaunde them to make no noyse. Thus he was eight and thirtie dayes among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited vpon by them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exercise him selfe in any sporte or pastime they would goe to. And other while also he would wryte verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not vnderstoode him, or passed not for them, he called them blockheades, and brute beastes, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merie with the matter as could be, and tooke all in good parte, thinking that this his bold speech came, through the simplicitie of his youth. So when his ranfome was come from the cite of MILETVM, they being paid their money, and he againe set at libertie: he then presently armed, and manned out certaine shippes out of the haven of MILETVM, to follow those theues, whom he found yet riding at anchor in the same lland. So he tooke the most of them, & had the spoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of PERGAMVM, & there committed the to prison, while he him selfe went to speake with *Iunius*, who had the gouernment of ASIA, as vnto whom the execution of these pirats did belong, for that he was Prator of that contrie. But this Prator hauing a great fancie to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it: answered, that he would consider of these prisoners at better leasure. Caesar leauing *Iunius* there, returned againe vnto PERGAMVM, and there hung vp all these theues openly vpon a crosse, as he had oftentimes promised them in the Ile he would doe, when they thought he did but ieast. Afterwards when *Syllas* power beganne to decay, *Caesars* frendes wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home againe. But he failed first vnto RHODES, to studie there a time vnder *D. Apollonius* the sonne of *Molon*, whose scholler also *Cicero* was, for he was a very honest man, & an excellent good Rethoritian. It is reported that *Caesar* had an excellent naturall gift to speake well before the people, & besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtlesse he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gaue place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefe man of warre and authoritie, being not yet comen to the degree of perfection to speake well, which his nature coulde haue performed in him, because he was geuen rather to followe waies and to mannage great matters, which in thende brought him to be Lord of all ROME. And therefore in a booke he wrote against that which *Cicero* made in the praise of *Cato*, he prayeth the readers not to compare the stile of a fouldier, with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. E When he was returned againe vnto ROME, he accused *Dolabella* for his ill behavior in the gouernment of his prouince, and he had diuers cities of GRECE that gaue in euidence against him. Norwithstanding, *Dolabella* at the length was dismissed. Caesar, to requite the good will of the GRECIANS, which they had shewed him in his accusation of *Dolabella*, tooke their cause in hand, when they did accuse *Publius Antonius* before *Marcus Lucullus*, Prator of MACEDON: and followed it so hard against him in their behalfe, that *Antonius* was driuen to appeale before the Tribunes at ROME, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he coulde haue no iustice in GRECE against the GRECIANS. Now Caesar immediatly wan many mens good willes at ROME, through his eloquence, in pleading of their causes: and the people loued him maruelously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speake to euery man, and to vse them gently, being more ceremonious therein, then was looked for in one of his yerres. Furthermore, he euer kept a good bourde, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal

Caesar laued
his simplicitie.

besides:

A besides: the which in deede did aduance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies iudging that this fauor of the common people would soone quale, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence: suffered him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growen to be of great strength & power. But in fine, when they had thus geuen him the briddell to grow to this greatnes, and that they could not then pull him backe, though in deede in fight it would turne one day to the destruction of the whole state and common wealth of ROME: too late they found, that there is not so litle a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will soone make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnes. Thereupon, *Cicero* like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmines of the sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the common wealth, found out his craft & malice, which he cunningly cloyed vnder the habit of outward curtesie and familiaritie. And yet, sayd he, when I consider howe finely he cometh his faire bush of heare, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scrat his head with one finger only: my minde giues me then, that such a kinde of man should not haue so wicked a thought in his head, as to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. But this was long time after that. The first thewe and prooffe of the loue and good will which the people did beare vnto Caesar, was: when he sued to be Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand footemen) standing against *Caius Pompeilius*, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second & more manifest prooffe then the first, was at the death of his aunt *Julia*, the wife of *Marius* the elder. For being her nephew, he made a solemne oration in the market place in commendation of her, and at her buriall did boldly venter to shew forth the images of *Marius*: the which was the first time that they were seene after *Syllas* victorie, because that *Marius* and all his confederates had bene proclaimed traitors and enemies to the common wealth. For when there were some that cried out apon Caesar for doing of it: the people on another side kept a furre, and reioycied at it, clapping of their handes, and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of *Marius* honor againe into ROME, which had so long time bene obscured & buried. And where it had bene an auncient custom of long time, that the ROMANES vsed to make funerall orations in praise of olde Ladies and matrons when they dyed, but not of young women: Caesar was the first that praised his owne wife with funerall oration when she was deade, the which also did increase the peoples good willes the more, seeing him of so kinde & gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Treasorer, vnder *Antistius Vetus* Prator, whom he honored euer after: so that when him selfe came to be Prator, he made his sonne to be chosen Treasorer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his thirde wife *Pompeia*, hauing a daughter by his first wife *Cornelia*, which was married vnto *Pompey* the great. Now for that he was very liberal in expences, bying (as some thought) but a vaine and short glorie of the fauor of the people: (where in deede he bought good cheape the greatest things that coulde be.) Some say, that before he bare any office in the common wealth, he was growen in debt, to the summe of thirtene hundred talentes. Furthermore, because he was made ouerfeer of the worke, for the high way going vnto *Appius*, he disbursed a great summe of his owne money towards the charges of the same. E And on the other side, when he was made *Aedilis*, for that he did shew the people the pastime of three hundred & twentie couple of sword players, and did besides exceede all other in sumptuousnes in the sportes and common feastes which he made to delight them withall: (and did as it were drowne all the stately shewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he so pleased the people, & wan their loue therewith, that they deuised daily to giue him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in ROME, to wit, the faction of *Sylla*, which was very strong and of great power, & the other of *Marius*, which then was vnder foote & durst not shew it selfe. But Caesar, because he would renew it againe, euen at that time when he being *Aedilis*, all the feasts and common sportes were in their greatest ruffe: he secretly caused images of *Marius* to be made, and of victories that caried triumphes, and those he set vp one night within the Capitol. The next morning when euery man saw the glittering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which *Marius* had wonne apon the Cimbres: euery one marueled much at the boldnes

Caesar a follower of the people.

Ciceros judgement of Caesar.

The loue of the people in Rome vnto Caesar. Caesar chosen Tribune militum. Caesar made the funerall oration, at the death of his aunt Julia.

Caesar the first that praised his wife in funerall oration.

Caesar made Quæstor.

Pompeia, Caesar's third wife.

Caesars prodigious gality.

Cæsar accused
to make a re-
bellion in the
suite.

of him that durst set them vp there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon, it ranne A straight through all the citie, and euerie man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Cæsar, and sayd it was a tyranny which he ment to set vp, by renting of such honors as before had bene troden vnder foote, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a baite to gage the peoples good wils, which he had set out in the stately shewes of his cōmon playes, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such partes to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of *Marius* faction on thother side, incouraging one another, shewed them selues straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitoll ring againe with their cries and clapping of handes: in so much as the teares ranne downe many of their cheekes for very ioy, when they sawe the images of *Marius*, and they extolled *Cæsar* to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kindred of *Marius*. The Senate being assembled thereupon, *Catulus* *Lutatius* one of the greatest authoritie at that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inueyed against *Cæsar*, and spake that then which euer since hath bene noted much: that *Cæsar* did not now covertly goe to worke, but by plaine force sought to alter the state of the common wealth. Neuerthelesse, *Cæsar* at that time answered him so that the Senate was satisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope then before, & perswaded him, that hardly he should geue place to no man, and that through the good will of the people, he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefe man of the citie. At that time, the chiefe Bishoppe *Metellus* dyed, and two of the notablest men of the citie, and of greatest authoritie (*Isauricus*, and *Catulus*) contended for his roome: *Cæsar* notwithstanding their contention, would geue neither of them both place, but presented him selfe to the people, and made sute for it as they did. The sute being equal betwext either of them, *Catulus*, because he was a man of greater calling and dignitie than the other, doubting the vncertaintie of the election sent vnto *Cæsar* a good summe of money, to make him leaue of his sute. But *Cæsar* sent him word againe, that he would lenda greater summe then that, to maintaine the sute against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the dore of his house, *Cæsar* weeping, kissed her, and sayd: Mother, this day thou shalt see thy sonne chiefe Bishoppe of Rome, or banished from Rome. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated: *Cæsar* wanne the victorie, and made the Senate and noble men all affrayed of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then *Catulus* and *Piso* fell flatly out with *Cicero*, and condemned him, for that he did not bewray *Cæsar*, when he knew that he was of conspiracie with *Catiline*, and had opportunitie to haue done it. For when *Catiline* was bent and determined, not onely to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth, but verily to destroy the Empire of Rome, he escaped out of the handes of iustice for lacke of sufficient prooffe, before his full treason and determination was knownen. Notwithstanding he left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the citie, companions of his conspiracie: vnto whom, whether *Cæsar* did geue any secret helpe or comfort, it is not well knownen. Yet this is manifest, that when they were conuined in open Senate, *Cicero* being at that time Consul, asking euery mans opinion in the Senate, what punishment they should haue, and euery one of them till it came to *Cæsar*, gaue sentence they should dye: *Cæsar* E then rising vp to speake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and sayd, that it was neither lawfull, nor yet their custome did beare it, to put men of such nobilitie to death (but in an extremitie) without lawfull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some citie of *ITALIE*, where *Cicero* thought best, vntill that *Catiline* were ouerthrowen: the Senate then might at their pleasure quietly take such order therein, as might best appeare vnto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was vttered with such a passing good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to speake after him did approue it: but such also as had spoken to the contrarie before, reuoked their opinion and stucke to his, vntill it came to *Cato* and *Catulus* to speake. They both did sharply inuey against him, but *Cato* chiefly: who in his oration made *Cæsar* suspected to be of the conspiracie, and stowly spake against him, in so much that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death, *Cæsar* comming out of the Senate, a company of

The death of
Metellus
chiefe Bishop
of Rome.

Cæsar made
chiefe Bishop
of Rome.
Cæsar sus-
pected to be co-
federate with
Catiline in his
conspiracy.

Cæsar went a-
bout to deliuer
the conspira-
tors.

Cæsar's oration
against Cæsar.

A of young men which guarded *Cicero* for the safetie of his person, did sette upon him with their swords drawn. But some say, that *Cicero* covered *Cæsar* with his gowne, and tooketh him out of their handes. And *Cicero* selfe, when the young men looked upon him, besicken with his head that they should not kil him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shamefull and wicked a parte. But if that were true, I maruell why *Cicero* did not put in into his booke he wrote of his Consulshippe. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he tooke not the opportunitie offered him against *Cæsar*, onely for onerich feare of the people, that loued him verie dearly. For shortly after, when *Cæsar* went into the Senate, to declare him selfe of certaine presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer then they were wont: the people came about the counsell house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. *Cato* then fearing the insurrection of the poore needie persons, which were they that put all their hope in *Cæsar*, and did also moue the people to sturue: did perswade the Senate to make a franke distribution of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This distribution did put the common wealth to a new charge of five hundred & fiftie Myriads. This expense quenched a present great feare, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the blb part of *Cæsar* force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he neuer sought any alteration in the common wealth, but contrarily he him selfe had a great misfortune fell in his owne house, which was this. There was a young noble man of the order of the *PATRICKS*, called *Publius* *Clodius*, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent person, as any was else in Rome. He became in loue with *Pompeia* *Cæsar*'s wife, who mistook not withall: notwithstanding he was so straightly looked on, and that *Aurelia* (*Cæsar*'s mother) an honest gentlewoman had such an eye of her, that these two louers could not meete as they would, without great perill and difficultie. The Romans doe vse to honour a goddesse which they call the good goddesse, as the *GRÆCIANS* haue her whom they call *Gymete*, to wit, the goddesse of women. Her, the *PHRYGIANS* doe claime to be peculiar vnto them, saying that she is king *Midas* mother. Howbeit the Romans hold opinion, that it is a simple of woodde, married vnto god *Favunus*. The *GRÆCIANS*, they say also, that he was one of the mother of the god *Bacchus*, whom they dare not name. And for prooffe hereof, on her feast day the women make certaine tabernacles of vine twiggies, and leaues of vine brānches, and all the they make as the tale goeth, a holie dragon for this goddesse, and doe set it by her: besides this not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, nor within the house if she where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst the selues, much like vnto the ceremonies of *Orpheus*. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband, (whether he were Prætor or Consul) and all his men & the boyes by his house, doe come out of it, and leaue it wholly to his wife, to order the house as her pleasure, & there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most parte of the night, and they doe besides passe the night away, in songes and musick. *Pompeia*, *Cæsar*'s wife, being that yeare do celebrat this feast, *Clodius* who had yet no heare on his face, & thereby thought he should not be bewrayed, E disguised him selfe in a singing wenches apparell, bisuiting his face was verie like vnto a young wenche. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chambermaid, that was made priue vnto it: she left him, and ranne to *Pompeia* her mistres, to tell her that he was come. The chambermaid taried long before he came againe, in so much as *Clodius* being wearie waiting for her where she left him, he tooke his pleasure, and went from one plide to another in the house, which had very large roomes in it, still hunting the light, and was by chance met withall by one of *Aurelia*'s maides, who taking him for a woman, pryed her to play. *Clodius* refusing to play, the maide pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: *Clodius* then answered her, that he taried for *Abra* one of *Pompeia*'s women: so *Aurelia* in aide knowing him by his voyce, ranne straight where the lightes and Ladies were, and called out that there was a man disguised in womans apparell. The women there with were so much that *Aurelia* caused them presently to leaue of the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to close their secret thinges, and hauing seene the gates fast locked, went immediately up and down

The house of
P. Clodius
was Pompeia
Cæsar's wife
mistaken
The good
goddesse of
women, and her
sacrifices

when the
night was

when the
night was

when the
night was

Clodius taken
in the sacri-
fices of the
good god-
diffe.

Clodius accus-
ed for prophe-
sizing the
sacrifices of
the good
goddiffe.

Caesar thrust
away his wife
Pompeia.

Clodius quib-
bled by the Iudges
for prophe-
sizing the
sacrifices of the
good god-
diffe.

Caesar Prætor
of Spaine.

Caesar sues
for Caesar to
his creditors.

Caesar allies
in Spagne.

Caesar orders
to be taken
the creditor
and debtor.

Caesar's fol-
diers called
him Impera-
tor.

the house with torches light to seek out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of Pompeius' maide, with whom he hidde him selfe. Thus Clodius being found out, the women of the women: they thrust him out of the doores by the shoulders. The same night the women tolde their husbands of this chauce as soone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumor through the citie, how Clodius had attempted a great villany, and that he defuered, not only to be punished of them whom he had laundred, but also of the common wealth and the goddes. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did denie him, & accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobilitie and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burdened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his owne sister, which was married vnto Lucullus. Notwithstanding, the people slowly defended Clodius against these accusations: and this did helpe him much against the Iudges, which were amazed, & afraid to stirre the people. This notwithstanding, Caesar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius' accuser to be a witnes against him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being cleane contrarie to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Caesar, why then he had put away his wife: because I said not, sayd he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that Caesar spake truth as he thought. But others thinke, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to saue Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the Iudges gaue a confused iudgement, for the feare they stood one way of the danger of the common people if they condemned him: and for the ill opinion of thother side of the nobilitie, if they did quit him. The government of the prouince of SPAYNE being fallen vnto Caesar for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. Caesar being vnable to satisfie them, was compelled to goe vnto Cæsar, who was the richest man of all ROME, and that stood in neede of Caesar's boldnes and courage to withstand Pompey's greatness in the common wealth. Crassus became his suretie vnto his greediest creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirtie talentes: whereupon they suffered Caesar to departe to the government of his prouince. In his iorney it is reported, that passing ouer the mountains of the Alpes, they came through a litle poore village that had not many householdes, and yet poore cottages. There, his frendes that did accompanie him, asked him meely, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noble men for honor. Caesar speaking in good earnest answered: I can not tell that said he, but for my parte, I had rather be the chiefest man here, then the second person in ROME. An other time also when he was in SPAYNE, reading the history of Alexander's actes, when he had red it, he was forsores full a good while after, & then burst out in weeping. His frends seeing that, marueled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He answered them, they neede not thinke sayd he, that I haue good cause to be heauie, when king Alexander being no older than my selfe is now, had in old time wonne so many nations and countries: and that I hitherto haue done nothing worthy of my selfe. Therefore when he was come into SPAYNE, he was very carefull of his busines, and had in few dayes ioyoyed ten thousand engines more of fourteen men, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the CARTHAGINIANS and LYSITANIANS, he conquered all, & went as farre as the great sea Oceanum; subduing all the people which before knew not the ROMANES for their Lordes. There he made order for pacifying of the warre, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them frendes one with an other, but specially he pacified all suites of law, & strife, between the debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of vicietie. For he ordained that the creditors shoulde take yearly two partes of the reuenue of their debtors, vntill such time as they had payed them selues, and that the debtors shoulde haue the third parte to them selues to liue withall. He hauing wonne great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his government very riche, and his soldiers also full of such spoiles, who called him Imperator, to say soveraine Capitaine. Now the ROMANES hauing a custome, that such as demanded honor of triumphe, should remaine a while in the citie, and that they on thother side which sued for the Consulship, shoulde

of

A of necessitie be there in person: Caesar comming vnhappyly at that very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that fauor, that being absent, he might by his frendes sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inuey against it, vouching an expresse law forbidding the contrarie. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alleged, many of the Senators (being wonne by Caesar) fauored his request: yet he cunningly fought all he could to preuent them, prolonging time, dilating his oration vntill night. Caesar thereupon determined rather to geue ouer the sute of his triumphe, and to make sute for the Consulship: and so came into the citie, and had such a deuise with him, as went beyond them all, but Cato only. His deuise was this. Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of ROME, being at iarre together, Caesar made them frends, and by that means got vnto him selfe the power of them both: for, by colour of that gentle age and frendshippe of his, he subtilly (vnto them to them all) did greatly alter and chaunge the state of the common wealth. For it was not the priuate discord between Pompey and Caesar, as many men thought, that caused the ciuill warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who ioynd all their powers first to ouerthrowe the state of the Senate and nobilitie, and afterwards they fell at iarre one with an other. But Cato, that then foresaw and prophesied many times what woulde followe, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwards they found him a wiser man, then happie in his counsell. Thus Caesar being brought vnto the assemble of the election, in the midst of these two noble persons, whom he had before reconciled together: he was there chosen Consul, with Calphurnius Bibulus, without gaine saying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entred into his office, he beganne to put forth lawes meeter for a seditious Tribune of the people, than for a Consul: because by them he preferred the diuision of landes, and distributing of come to euery citizen, Gratis, to please them withall. But when the noble men of the Senate were against his deuise, he desiring no better occasion, beganne to crie out, and to protest, that by the ouerhaudnesse and austeritie of the Senate, they draue him against his will to leane vnto the people: and thereupon hauing Crassus on thone side of him, and Pompey on thother, he asked them openly if thassemblies, if they did geue their consent vnto the lawes which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stande by him against those that threatened him with force of sword to let him. Crassus gaue him his worde, he woulde. Pompey also did the like, and added therunto, that he woulde come with his sword and target both, against them that woulde withstand him with their swords. These wordes offended much the Senate, being farre vnmeet for his grauetie, and vndecent for the maiestie and honor he caried, and most of all vncomely for the presence of the Senate whome he shoulde haue reuerenced: and were speaches fitter for a rash light headed youth, than for his person. Howbeit the common people on thother side, they reioyced. Then Caesar because he woulde be more assured of Pompey's power and frendshippe, he gaue him his daughter Iulia in mariage, which was made sure before vnto Seruilius Cæpio, and promised him in exchange Pompey's wife, the which was sure also vnto Faustus the sonne of Sylla. And shortly after also, Caesar selfe did marie Calpurnia the daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succede him the next yeare following. E. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnes, that this was a shamefull matter, and not to be suffered, that they shoulde in that sorte make haouke of the Empire of ROME, by such horrible bawdie matches, distributing among them selues through those wicked mariages, the governments of the prouinces, and of great armies. Calphurnius Bibulus, fellow Consul with Caesar, perceiving that he did contend in vaine, making all the resistance he could to withstand this lawe, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slaine with Cato, in the market place and assemble: he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulshippe. When Pompey had married Iulia, he filled all the market place with souldiers, & by open force authorized the lawes which Caesar made in the behalfe of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Caesar had GAULE on this side, and beyond the Alpes, and all ILLYRIA, with foure legions graunted him for five yeares. Then Cato standing vp to speake against it: Caesar bad his officers lay holde of him, and carie him to prison, thinking he woulde haue appealed vnto the Tribunes. But Cato sayd neuer a worde, when he went his way. Caesar perceiving then, that

Caesar reconciled Pompey and Crassus together.

Cato's foresight and prophesy.
Caesar's first Consulship with Calphurnius Bibulus.
Caesar's last, Lex agraria.

Caesar married his daughter Iulia vnto Pompey.
Caesar married Calpurnia the daughter of Piso.

Pompey by force of armes authorized Caesar's lawes.

Caesar sent Cato to prison.

T T T

not only the Senators and nobilitie were offended, but that the common people also for the A
 reuerence they bare vnto *Caesars* vertues, were afflamed, and went away with silence: he him
 selfe secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take *Cato* from the officers. But after
 he had played this parte, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate vnder
 him, but left the citie, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was
 an old man called *Confidius*, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to counsell,
 because they were afrayed of his souldiers. *Caesar* answered him againe: and why then, doest
 not thou kepe thee at home, for the same feare? *Confidius* replied, because my age taketh away
 feare from me: for hauing so short a time to liue, I haue no care to prolonge it further. The
 shamefullest parte that *Caesar* played while he was Consul, seemeth to be this: when he chose
 P. *Clodius* Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife such dishonor, and profaned the ho-
 ly auncient misteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne house. *Clodius* sued to
 be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy *Cicero*: & *Caesar* selfe also departed not from Rome
 to his army, before he had let them together by the eares, and driuen *Cicero* out of ITALY. All
 these things they say he did, before the warres with the GAULES. But the time of the great ar-
 mies & conquests he made afterwards, & of the warre in the which he subdued all the GAULES
 (entering into an other course of life farre contrarie vnto the first) made him to be knownen for
 as valliant a souldier & as excellent a Captaine to lead men, as those that afore him had bene
 counted the wisest and most valliantest Generalls that euer were, and that by their valliant
 deedes had archieued great honor. For whosoeuer would compare the house of the *Fabians*,
 of the *Scipios*, of the *Metellians*, yea those also of his owne time, or long before him, as *Sylla*,
Marius, the two *Lucullians*, and *Pompey* selfe,

VVhose same ascendeth vp vnto the heauens:

It will appeare that *Caesars* prowes and deedes of armes, did excell them all together. The
 one, in the hard contries where he made warres: an other, in enlarging the realmes and con-
 tries which he ioyned vnto the Empire of Rome: an other, in the multitude and power of
 his enemies whome he ouercame: an other, in the rudenesse and austere nature of men with
 whom he had to doe, whose maners afterwarde he softened and made ciuill: an other, in cur-
 resie and clemencie which he vsed vnto them whome he had conquered: an other in great
 bountie and liberality bestowed vpon them that serued vnder him in those warres: and in fine,
 he excellend them all in the number of battells he had fought, and in the multitude of his ene-
 mies he had slaine in battell. For in lesse then tenne yeares warre in GAULE he tooke by force
 and assault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred seuerall nations: and
 hauing before him in battell thirty hundred thousand souldiers, at sundrie times he slue tenne
 hundred thousand of them, & tooke as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely
 beloued of his souldiers, that to doe him seruice (where otherwise they were no more then o-
 ther men in any priuate quarrell) if *Caesars* honor were rouchend, they were inuincible, & would
 so desperately ventur them selues, & with such furie, that no man was able to abide them. And
 this appeareth plainly by the example of *Atilius*: who in a battell by sea before the city of MAR-
 SELES, bording one of his enemies shippes, one cut of his right hand with a sword, but yet he
 forsooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in in his enemies faces, & made
 them flie, so that he wanne their shippe from them. And *Cassius Scena* also, in a confliet be-
 fore the city of DYRRACHIUM, hauing one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder stricken
 through with a dart, and his thigh with an other, and hauing receiued thirty arrowes vpon his
 shield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yeelde vnto them. But when
 two of them came running to him, he claue one of their shoulders from his bodie with his
 sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turne his backe, & at the length sa-
 ued him selfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpe him. And in BRITAYNE also,
 when the Capitaines of the bandes were driuen into a marrie or bogge full of mire and durt,
 and that the enemies did fiercelie assaile them there: *Caesar* then standinge to viewe the bat-
 tell, he sawe a priuate souldier of his thrust in among the Caprines, and fought so valliant-
 lie in their defence, that at the length he draue the barbarous people to flie, and by his
 meanes saued the Capitaines, which otherwise were in great danger to haue bene cast away.

Then

A Then this souldier being the hindemost man of all the Capitaines, marching with great paine
 through the myre & durt, halfe swimming, and halfe a foote: in the end got to the other side,
 but left his shield behinde him. *Caesar* wondering at his noble courage, ranne to him with his
 imbrace him. But the poore souldier hanging downe his head, the water standing in his eyes,
 fell downe at *Caesars* feete, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target
 behinde him: And in AFRICKE also, *Scipio* hauing taken one of *Caesars* shippes, and *Crassus*, *Petrone*,
Petronius abourde on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurers: he put all the
 rest to the sword but him, and sayd he would geue him his life. But *Petronius* answered him
 againe: that *Caesars* souldiers did not vfe to haue their liues geuen them, but to geue others
 their liues: and with those wordes he drew his sword, and thrust him selfe through. Nowe,
 B *Caesars* selfe did breede this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gaue them boun-
 tifully, & did honor them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heape riches in the warres:
 to maintain his life afterwards in wantonnesse and pleasure, but that he did keepe it in store,
 honorably to reward their valliant seruice: and that by so much he thought him selfe rich,
 by howe much he was liberrall in rewarding of them that had deserued it. Furthermore, they
 did not wonder so much at his valliantnesse in putting him selfe at euery instant in such mani-
 fest danger, and in taking so extreme paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedie de-
 sire of honor that set him a fire, and pricked him forward to doe it: but that he alwayes con-
 tinued all labour and hardnesse, more then his bodie could beare, that filled them all with ad-
 miration. For, concerning the constitution of his bodie, he was leane, white, and soft skinned,
 C ned, and often subiect to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sicknes: (the which tooke
 him the first time, as it is reported, in CORDUBA, a citie of SPAYNE) but yet therefore yeel-
 ded not to the disease of his bodie, to make it a cloke to churle him withall, but contrariwise,
 tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his sicke bodie fighting alwayes with his dis-
 ease, travelling continually, liuing soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the
 most nights he slept in his coch or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him alwayes
 able to do some thing: and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downe the contrie to see
 townes, castles, and strong places. He had alwayes a secretarie with him in his coche, who did
 still wryte as he went by the way, and a souldier behinde him that caried his sword. He made
 such speede the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office: that in eight dayes,
 D he came to the riuier of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that hol-
 ding his handes behinde him, he would galloppe his horse vpon the spurre. In his warres in
 GAULE, he did further exercise him selfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did oc-
 cupie two secretaries at once with as much as they could wryte: and as *Oppius* wryteth, more
 then two at a time. And it is reported, that *Caesar* was the first that deuised frendes might talke
 together by wryting ciphers in letters, when he had no leasure to speake with them for his
 urgent busines, and for the great distaunce besides from Rome. How litle accompt *Caesar* made,
 of his dyet, this example doth proue it. *Caesar* supping one night in MILANE with his frende
Valerius Leo, there was ferued sparrage to his boude, and oyle of perfume put into it in stead
 of sallie oyle. He simplicie ate it, and found no fault, blaming his frendes that were offended:
 E and told them, that it had bene enough for them to haue absteyned to eate of that they mil-
 liked, and not to shame their frend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with
 his frend. An other time as he trauelled through the contrie, he was driuen by fowle weather
 on the sodaine to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, and that was so
 narrowe, that one man could but scarce lye in it. Then he sayd to his frendes that were about
 him: greatest roomes are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessarie roomes, for the
 sickest persons. And thereupon he caused *Oppius* that was sicke to lye there all night: and
 he him selfe, with the rest of his frendes, lay with out doores, vnder the eafing of the house.
 The first warre that *Caesar* made with the GAULES, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGUR-
 NIANS, who hauing sette fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelue, and four hun-
 dred villages besides, came to inuade that parte of GAULE which was subiect to the Ro-
 manes, as the CIMBRI and TEUTONS had done before: vnto whome for valliantnesse they
 gaue no place, & they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thou-

TTT ij

Caesar by Clodius, drove Cicero out of Italy.
Caesar, a valliant souldier, and a skillfull Captaine.

Caesar con-questes in Gaule.

The loue and respect of Caesar's souldiers vnto him.
The wonderfull valliantnes of Atilius Scena, & diuers others of Caesar's souldiers.

Caesar had the falling sicknes.

The temperance of Caesar in his dyet.
Caesar's equitie not to blame his frend.

The Tigur-
nians flaine
by Labienus
Arat fl.

Caesar refused
his horse, whi
he fought a
battel.
The Helve-
tians flaine
by Caesar.

Rheymus fl.
Caesar made
warre with
king Ariou-
stus.

The wife wo-
men of Ger-
many how
they did fore-
tell things
to come.

King Ariou-
stus overth-
rown by Caesar.

and soules in all) whereof there were a hundred, foure score, and tennethowlande fighting men. Of those, it was not *Caesar* him selfe that ouercame the *TIGVRINIANS*, but *Labienus* his Lieutenant, that ouerthrew them by the riuier of *Arax*. But the *HELVETIANS* them selues came sodainly with their armie to set upon him, as he was going towards a citie of his confederates. *Caesar* perceiving that, made hast to get him some place of strength, and there did sette his men in battell raye. When one brought him his horse to gette vp on which he was set in battell, he sayd vnto them: when I haue ouercome mine enemies, I will then get vp on him to followe the chafe, but nowe lettevs geue them charge. Therewith he marched forward a fote, and gaue charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he coulde make them flie that were in battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distresse their campe, and to breake their strength which they had made with their cartes. For there, they that before had fledde from the battell, did not onely put them selues in force, and valliantly fought it out: but their wives and children also fighting for their liues to the death, were all flaine, and the battell was scant ended at midnight. Nowe if the act of this victorie was famous, vnto that he also added an other as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battell, he gathered together againe about a hundred thowlandes of them, and compelled them to returne home into their contrie which they had forsaken, and vnto their towne also which they had burnt: because he feared the *GERMAYNES* would come ouer the riuier of *Rheym*, and occupie that contrie lying voyde. The second warre he made, was in defence of the *GAULES* against the *GERMAYNES*: although before, he him selfe had caused *Ariouistus* their king, to be receiued for a confederate of the *ROMANES*. Notwithstanding, they were grown very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that hauing any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their owne, but went to invade and possesse the rest of *GAULE*. *Caesar* perceiving that some of his Captaines trembled for feare, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of *ROME*, who thought to haue gone to the warres with him, as onely for their pleasure and gaine: he called them to counsell, and commaunded them that were affrayed, that they should depart home, and not put them selues in daunger against their willes, sith they had such womanlike faint hartes to shrinke when he had neede of them. And for him selfe, he sayd, he would feare upon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, saying, that the enemies were no valliantier than the *CIMBRI* had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferior vnto *Marius*. This oration being made, the souldiers of the tenth legion sent their Lieutenantes vnto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iorney with good will to serue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlonges of the campe of the enemies. *Ariouistus* corage was well cooled, when he sawe *Caesar* was come, and that the *ROMANES* came to seeke out the *GERMAYNES*, where they thought, and made accompt, that they durst not haue abidden them: and therefore nothinge mistrusting it would haue come so to passe; he wondered much at *Caesar*'s corage, and the more when he sawe his owne armie in a maze withall. But muche more did their corages fall, by reason of the foolish women prophiciers they had among them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waues and trouble of the riuers, and the terrible noyle they made runninge downe the streame, did forewarne them not to fight, vntill the newe moone. *Caesar* hauinge intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon sturred not: thought it best then to sette vpon them, being discouraged with this superstitious feare, rather then losinge time; he shoulde tarie their leisure. So he did skirmishe with them euen to their fortres, and litle hilles where they lay, and by this meanes provoked them so, that with great furie they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them in battell, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlonge, euen vnto the riuier of *Rheym*: and he filled all the fieldes thitherto with dead bodies and spoyle. Howebeit *Ariouistus* flyinge with speede, gotte ouer the riuier of *Rheym*, and escaped with a fewe of his men. It is sayd that there were flaine foure score thowlande persons at this battell. After this exployte, *Caesar* left his armie amongst the *SEQUANS* to winter there

and

A & he him selfe in the meane time, thinking of thaffayres at *ROME*, went ouer the mountaines into *GAULE* about the riuier of *Po*, being parte of his prouince which he had in charge. For there, the riuier called *Rubico*, denideth the rest of *ITALIE* from *GAULE* on this side the *Alpes*. *Caesar* lying there, did practise to make frendes in *ROME*, because many came thither to see him: vnto whom he graunted their sutes they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all this conquest of the *GAULES*, *Pompey* did not consider how *Caesar* enteraungeable did conquer the *GAULES* with the weapons of the *ROMANES*, and wanne the *ROMANES* againe with the money of the *GAULES*. *Caesar* being aduertised that the *BELGE* (which were the warlikest men of all the *GAULES*, and that occupied the third parte of *GAULE*) were all vp in armes, and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speede, and founde them spoiling and ouerrunninge the contrie of the *GAULES*, their neighbours, and confederates of the *ROMANES*. So he gaue them battell, and they fighting cowardly, he ouerthrew the most parte of them which were in a troupe together, & they such a number of them, that the *ROMANES* passed ouer deepe riuers and lakes a foote, upon their dead bodies, the riuers were so full of them. After this ouerthrow, they that dwelt next vnto the sea side, and were next neighbours vnto the Ocean, did yeeld them selues without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the *NERVIANS*, the stoutest warriors of all the *BELGE*. They dwelling in the wodde contrie, had conueyed their wives, children, and goods, into a maruelous great Forrest, as farre from their enemies as they could: and being about the number of fixe score thowland fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon *Caesar*, when his armie was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, litle looking to haue fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the *ROMANES*, and compassing in the twelfth & seuenth legion, they slue all the Centurions & Captaines of the bands. And had not *Caesar* selfe taken his shield on his arme, and dying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: & the tenth legion also seeing him in daunger, ranne vnto him from the toppes of the hill where they stoode in battell, and broken the ranks of their enemies: there had not a *ROMAN* escaped a liue that day. But taking example of *Caesar*'s valliantnes, they foughte desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the *NERVIANS* flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in manner D slaine in the field. It is written that of three score thowland fighting men, there escaped onely but fixe hundred: and of foure hundred gentlemen and counsellors of the *ROMANES*, but three, saved. The Senate vnderstanding it at *ROME*, ordained that they shoulde doe sacrifice vnto the goddes, and keepe feastes and solemne processions fiftene dayes together without intermission, hauing neuer made the like ordinance at *ROME*, for any victorie that euer was obtained. Because they sawe the daunger had bene maruelous great, so many nationes rising as they did in armes together against him: and further, the loue of the people vnto him made his victory much more famous. For when *Caesar* had set his affaires at a stay in *GAULE*, on the other side of the *Alpes*: he alwayes vied to lye about the riuier of *Poin* in the winter time, to geue direction for the establisshing of thinges at *ROME*, at his pleasure. For, not only they that made E sure for offices at *ROME* were cholen Magistrates, by means of *Caesar*'s money which he gaue them, with little which; bribing the people, they bought their voyces, and when they were in office, did al that they could to increase *Caesar*'s power and greatnes: but the greatest & chiefest men also of the nobilitie, went vnto *LYKE* vnto him. As *Pompey*, *Crassus*, *Appian*, Prator of *SARDINIA*, and *Mepell*, Proconsull in *SPAYNE*. In somuch that there were at one time, fixe score sergeants carrying rodde and axes before the Magistrates: and about two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that *Pompey* & *Crassus* should againe be thosen Consuls the next yere following. Butthermore, they did appoint, that *Caesar* should haue money againe deliuered him to pay his armie, and besides, did proroge the time of his government, fixe yeres further. This was thought a very strange & an vnreasonable matter. R vnto wise men: For they the selues that had taken so much money of *Caesar*, perswaded the Senate to let him haue money of the comon treasure, as though he had had none before: yea to speake more plainly, they compelled the Senate vnto it, fighting & laweing to see the decrees

T T T iij

Ipses, & Tene-
bridae, people
of Germany.

Caesar's horse-
men put to
flight.

The Ipses and
Tenebridae
slaine by Ca-
sar.
Sicambri, a
people of the
Germanie.
Caesar made a
bridge over
the river of
Rhein.

Caesar's journey
into England.

they passed: *Cato* was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into *Cyprus*. *Howbeit Faonius* that followed *Cato's* steps, when he saw that he could not prevail, nor withstand them: he went out of the Senate in choller, and cried out amongst the people, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reverence they bare unto *Pompey*, and *Craffus*, and others favouring *Caesar's* proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet them selves, and sturied not. Then *Caesar* returning into *Gaul* beyond the Alpes vnto his armie, founde there a great warre in the contrie. For two great nations of *GERMANY* had not long before passed over the river of *Rheyn*, to conquer newe landes: and the one of these people were called *Ipses*, and the other *Tenebridae*. Now touching the battell which *Caesar* fought with them, he him selfe doth describe it in his commentaries, in this sorte. That the barbarous people having sent Ambassadors vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time: they notwithstanding, against lawe of armes, came and sette upon him as betrauelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of armes ouerthrewe five thousande of his horsemen, who nothinge at all mistrusted their coming. Again, that they sent him other Ambassadors to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole armie to marche against them, thinking it a follie, and madnesse, to keepe faith with such trayterous barbarous breakers of leagues. *Caesarius* wryteth, that the Senate appointing againe to doe newe sacrifices, processions, and feastes, to geue thanks to the goddess for this victorie: *Cato* was of contrarie opinion, that *Caesar* should be deliuered into the handes of the barbarous people, for to pounce their city and common wealth of this breache of faith, and to turne the curse upon him, that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came ouer the *Rheyn* (being about the number of foure hundred thousand persons) they were all in maner slaine, saving a very fewe of them, that flying from the battell got ouer the river of *Rheyn* againe, who were receiued by the *Sicambrians*, an other people of the *GERMANIES*. *Caesar* taking this occasion against them, lacking no good will of him selfe besides, to haue the honor to be counted the first *ROMANE* that euer passed ouer the river of *Rheyn* with an armie: he built a bridge ouer it. This river is maruelous broade, and runneth with great furie. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one side to thother, and it hath so strong and swift a streame besides: that men casting downe great bodies of trees into the river (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes and force thereof maruelously shake the postes of the bridge he had set vp. But to prevent the blowes of those trees, and also to breake the furie of the streame: he made a pile of great wodde about the bridge a good way, and did forcible ramme them in to the bottome of the river, so that in ten dayes space, he had set vp and finishe his bridge of the goodliest carpenters worke, and most excellent inuention to see to, that could be possible thought or deuised. Then passing ouer his army vpon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the *Sueuians*, which were the warlikest people of all *GERMANY*, had gotten them selves with their goodnes into wonderfull great valles and bogges, full of woddes and forrestes. Nowe when he had burnt all the contrie of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederats of the *ROMANES*: he returned backe againe into *Gaul* after he had taried eightene dayes at the most in *GERMANY*, on thother side of the *Rheyn*. The iorney he made also into *ENGLAND*, was a noble enterprise, and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the west Ocean with an army by sea, & that passed through the sea *Atlanticum* with his army, to make warre in that so great & famous Ile: (which many ancient wryters would not beleue that it was so in deede, and did make them vary about it, saying that it was but a fable & a lye) and was the first that enlarged the *ROMANE* Empire, beyond the earth inhabitable. For twice he passed ouer the narrowe sea against the firme lande of *Gaul*, and fighting many battells there, did hurt his enemies more, then enriche his owne men: because, of men hardie brought vp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his warre had not such successe as he looked for, and therefore takinge pledges onely of the kinge, and amassing a yearly tribute upon him, to be payed vnto the people of *ROME*: he returned againe into *Gaul*. There he was no longer landed; but he founde letters ready to be sent ouer the sea vnto him:

in

At the which he was aduertised from *ROME*, of the death of his Daughter, that she was dead with child by *Pompey*. For the which, *Pompey* & *Caesar* both, were maruelous sorrowfull: & their friends mounted also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the common wealth (that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now seuered, and broken a sunder, and the rather likely, because the child liued not long after the mother. So the common people at *ROME* tooke the corps of *Julia*, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of *Mars*. Now *Caesar* being driuen to deuide his armie (that was very great) into sundry garrisons for the winter tittle, and returning againe into *ITALY* as he was wont: all *Gaul* rebelled againe, and had rayled great armies in euery quarter to set upon the *ROMANES*, and to assay if they could distresse their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of these *GAVLES*, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one *Ambiorix*, and first did set vpon the garrisons of *Cotta*, and *Tutrinus*, whom they slue, and all the souldiers they had about them. Then they went with three score thousand fighting men to bessege the garrison which *Quintus Cicero* had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the souldiers were euery man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and courageous, that they did more then men (as they say) in defending of them selves. These newes being cometh to *Caesar*, who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speede, and leauing seuen thousand souldiers, made haste to helpe *Cicero* that was in such distresse. The *GAVLES* that did bessege *Cicero*, vnderstanding of *Caesar's* coming, rayled their feece inconfinently to god and mee: him: making accompt that he was but a handfull in their handes, they were to keepe *Caesar* to deceiue them, still drew backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Capitaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commaunded his men in no wise to stirre out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to rayse vp the rampers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were afraid, because the enemies should the lesse esteeme of them: vntill that at length he tooke opportunity, by their disorderly coming to assaile the trenches of his campe, (they were grown so such a presumptuous boldnes and brauery) and then slaying out upon them, he put them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the *GAVLES* in those parties, and furthermore, he him selfe in person went in the midst of winter thither, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a newe supply out of *ITALY* of three whole legions in their roome, which he had lost: of the which, two of them *Pompey* lent him, and the other legiō, he him selfe had leauied in *Gaul* about the ritter of *Posidonius*. During these stormes, brake forth the beginning of the greatest & most daungerous warre that he had in all *GAVLES*, the which had bene secretly practised of long time by the chiefest & most warlike people of that contrie, who had leauied a wonderfull great power: For euery where they leauied multitudes of men, & great riches besides, to fortifie their stronge holdes. Furthermore the contrie where they rose, was very ill to come vnto, and specially at that time being winter, when the riuers were frosen, the woodes and forrests couered with snowe, the meadowes drowned with fluddes, and the fieldes so deepe of snow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the marshes nor riuers to be decerned, all was so ouerthrowen and drowned with water, all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keepe *Caesar* from setting vpon the rebels. Many nations of the *GAVLES* were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the *ARVERNIANES* and *CARNUTES*: who had chosen *Vercingetorix* for their Lieutenant general, whose father the *GAVLES* before had put to death, because they thought he applied to make him selfe king. This *Vercingetorix* deniuing his armie into diuers parties, and appointing diuers Capitaines ouer them, had gotten to take his part, all the people and contries thereabout, eue as farre as they that dwell towards the *sea *Adriatick*, hauing further determined (vnderstanding that *ROME* did conspire against *Caesar*) to make all *GAVLES* his armes against him? So that if he had but taried a litle longer, vntill *Caesar* had entred into his ciuill warres: he had put all *ITALY* in as great feare and danger, as it was when the *CIMBRI* did come and invade it: But *Caesar*, that was very valiant in all affaies and daungers of warre, and that was very skillfull to take time and oportunitie: so soone as he vnderstoode the newes of the rebellion, he departed with speede, and returned backe the selfe same way which he had

The death of
Julia, Caesars
Daughter.

The rebellion
of the Gauls

Cotta, and
Tutrinus, with
their armie
slaine.

Caesar slue the
Gauls led by
Ambiorix.

The second
rebellion of
the Gauls
against Caesar.

The second
rebellion of
the Gauls
against Caesar.

Vercingetorix
Captaine
of the rebells
against Caesar

Some say,
that in this
place he so
overdrew
the Gauls,
vntill they
were
thence
driven.

The Helvi
rebell against
the Romanes.

* Sequani.

Vercingento-
rix over-
thrown by
Cæsar.

The siege of
Alexia.

Cæsar's dam-
ger, and wife
policie.

Cæsar's great
victorie at
Alexia.

Alexia yel-
d'd up to Cæ-
sar.

gone, making the barbarous people know, that they should deal with an armie vnuincible, which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speede he had made with the same, in so sharpe and hard a winter. For where they would not possibly haue beleueed, that a poste or currer could haue come in so short a time from the place where he was, vnto them, they wondered when they saw him burning and destroying the contry, the townes and strong forts where he came with his armie, taking all to mercy that yielded vnto him: vntill such time as the Helvi tooke armes against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the Romanes, and were greatly honored of them. Wherefore Cæsar's men when they vnderstoode that they had ioynd with the rebells, they were marvellous sory, and halfe discouraged. Thereupon, Cæsar departing from those parties, went throughe the contry of the Lingones, to enter the contry of the *Burgonians, who were confederats of the Romanes, and the nearest vnto Italy on that side, in respect of all the rest of Gaul. Thither the enemies came to set upon him, and to enuiron him of all sides, with an infinit number of, thousand of fighting men. Cæsar on thother side taried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so affraid of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had receyued some overthrow: for the Arverniens (showing a sworde hanged vpon in one of their temples, which they sayde they had wonne from Cæsar. In so much as Cæsar selfe comming that way by occasion, sawe it, and fell a laughing at it. But some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bad them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thinge. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saued them selues by fleeing, the most of them were gotten with their king into the cite of Alexia, the which Cæsar went and beleeged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the wals, as also for the multitude of souldiers they had to defend it. But now during this siege, he fell into a maruelous great danger without almost incredible. For an armie of three hundred thousand fighting men of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gauls, came against him, being at the siege of Alexia, besides them that were within the cite, which amounted to the number of three score and tenne thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiuing he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driuen to forsake him selfe with two walls, the one against them of the cite, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had ioynd together, Cæsar had bene vtterly vndone. And therefore, this siege of Alexia, and the battell he wanne before it, did deservedly winne him more honor and fame, then any other. For there, in that instant and extreame daunger, he shewed more valiantnes and wisdom, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonderfull thing was this: that they of the cite neuer heard any thing of them that came to assaile them, vntill Cæsar had ouercome them: and furthermore, that the Romanes them selues, which kept watch vpon the wall that was built against the cite, knew also no more of it, when they, but when it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentacions of men & women in Alexia, when they perceiued on thother side of the cite such a number of glittering shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody coferlets and armors, such a deale of plate and mowables, and such a number of tents and pavilions after the facion of the Gauls, which the Romanes had gotten of their spoyles in their campe. Thus sodainly was this great armie vnished, as a dreame or vision: where the most part of them were slaine that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the cite of Alexia had done great hurt to Cæsar, and then selues also: in the ende, they all yielded them selues. And Vercingentorix (he that was their king, and Capteine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with riche capparion accordingly, and rode round about Cæsar, who sat in his chayer of estate. Then lighting from his horse, he tooke of his capparion and furniture, and vnarmed him selfe, and layed all on the ground, and went and sate downe at Cæsar's feete, and sayd neuer a word. So Cæsar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to leade him afterwards in his triumph at Rome. Nowe Cæsar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the Parthians, who onely did let that one of them two must needs fall: nothing kept Cæsar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did any thing let Pompey to win stand

A. And that it should not come to passe, but because he did not first ouercome Cæsar, whom one-ly he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but alwayes before set light by him, thinking it an easie matter for him to put him downe when he would: sith he had brought him to that extreame he was come vnto. But Cæsar contrarily, hauing had that discomfite in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for trickes to ouerthrowe his aduersary: he went farre from Rome, to exercise him selfe in the warres of Gauls, where he did trayne his armie, and presently by his valiant deedes did increase his fame and honor. By these meanes became Cæsar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of culler, which Pompey partly gaue him, and partly also the tyme deliuered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill government at that tyme of the common wealth at Rome. For they that made sure for honor and offices, bought the voyces of the people with ready money, which they gaue out opely to vsury, without shame or feare. Thereupon, the common people that had sold their voyces for money, came to the market place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hyered them out with their voyces, but with their bowes, slings, and swordes. So that the assembly seldom tyme brake vp, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were slayne in the market place, the cite remaying all that tyme without government of Magistrate, like a shippe left without a Pilote. In so much, as men of deepe iudgement & discrecion seeing such furie & madness of the people, thought the selues happy if the common wealth were no worse troubled, then with the absolut state of a Monarchy & soueraine Lord to gouerne them. Furthermore, there were many that were not affraid to speake it opely, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the common wealth, but by the authority of one man only, that should commaund the all: & that this medicine must be ministred by the hands of him, that was the greatest Philisition, meaning couertly Pompey. Now Pompey vsed many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, yet cunningly vnder hand did lay all the yrons in the fire he could, to bring it to passe, that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, & fearing least in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator: he perswaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that contenting him self with that more iust & lawfull gouernment, he should not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counsell, did not only make him Consul, but further did protoge his gouernment of the prouinces he had. For he had two prouinces, all SPAYNE, & AFRICA, the which he gouerned by his Lieutenants: & further, he receiued yearly of the common treasure to pay his souldiers a thousand talents. Hereupon Cæsar tooke occasion also to send his men to make sure in his name for the Consulship, & also to haue the gouernment of his prouinces proroged. Pompey at the first held his peace. But Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Cæsar) withstood them, and to shame and dishonor him, had much needeles speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke away the freedom from the Colonies which Cæsar had lately brought vnto the cite of NOVVM COMVM in Gaul towards Italy, where Cæsar not long before had lodged them. And moreover, when Marcellus was Consul, he made one of the Senators in that cite to be whipped with rodde, who came to Rome about those matters: & said, he gaue him those markes, that he should know he was no ROMANE Citizen, and bad him goe his way, and tell Cæsar of it. After Marcellus Consulship, Cæsar setting open his cofers of the treasure he had gotte among the Gauls, did franklye giue it out amongst the Magistrates at Rome, without restraite or spare. First, he set Curio, the Tribune cleare out of debt: and gaue also vnto Paulus the Consul a thousand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable pallace by the market place, called Paulus Basilicke, in the place of Fulvius Basilicke. Then Pompey being affraid of this practise, began openly to procure, both by him selfe and his friends, that they should send Cæsar a succesor: and moreover, he sent vnto Cæsar for his two legions of men of warre which he had lent him, for the conquest of Gaul. Cæsar sent him them againe, and gaue euery private souldier, two hundred and fifty siller drachmas. Now, they that brought these two legions backe from Cæsar, gaue out ill and seditious wordes against him amongst the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false perswasions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was maruelously desired and wished for in Cæsar's campe: and that though in Rome, for the ma-

The discord
betwixt Cæsar
and Pompey,
and the cause
of the ciuill
warre.
Cæsar's crafti-
nes.

The people
bought
at Rome for
money.
Cæsar's crafti-
nes.

Pompey gou-
erned Spain
and Africa.

Cæsar forth
the second
time to be Co-
sul, and to
haue his go-
uernment pro-
roged.

Cæsar tribune
the Magi-
strates at
Rome.

Pompey abu-
sed by flate-
ries.

lice and secret spire which the gouernours there did beare him; he could hardly obceyne that he desired: yet in GAVLE he might assure him selfe, that all the armie was at his commaundement. They added further also, that if the souldiers there did once returne ouer the mountaines againe into ITALY, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate *Cæsar*: because he wearied them with too much labor and continuall fight, and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding securitie in *Pompey*, & a vaine conceit of him selfe, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparatiõ for warre, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but onely studied to thwart *Cæsar* in speech, & to crosse the futes he made. Howbeit *Cæsar* passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of *Cæsars* Captaines which was sent to ROME to prosecute his sute, being at the Senate dore, and hearing that they denied to proroge *Cæsars* time of gouernment which he sued for: clapping his hand vpon his sword, he said, sith you wil not graunt it him, this shal giue it him. Notwithstanding, the request that *Cæsar* propounded, caried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay downe armes, so that *Pompey* did the like: & that both of them as priuat persons should come & make sute of their Citizens to obtaine honorable recompence: declaring vnto them, that taking armes from him, & granting them vnto *Pompey*, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make him selfe a tyranne, & in the meane time to graunt the other meanes to be a tyranne. *Curio* making these offers & perswasions opely before the people, in the name of *Cæsar*: he was heard with great reioycing & clapping of hands, and there were some that cast flowers and nosegayes vpon him when he went his way, as they commonly vse to doe vnto any man, when he hath obtayned victory, and wonne any games. Then *Antonius* one of the Tribunes, brought a letter sent from *Cæsar*, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But *Scipio* in the Senate, *Pompeys* father in law, made this motion: that if *Cæsar* did not dismissh his armie by a certaine day appoynted him, the ROMANES should proclaime him an enemy vnto ROME. Then the Consuls openly asked in the preeence of the Senators, if they thought it good that *Pompey* should dismissh his armie: But few agreed to that demand. After that againe they asked, if they liked that *Cæsar* should dismissh his armie: thereto they all in manner answered, yea, yea. But when *Antonius* requested agayne that bothe of them should lay downe armes: then they were all indifferently of his minde. Notwithstanding, because *Scipio* did insolently behaue him selfe, and *Marcellus* also, who cryed that they must vse force of armes, & not mens opinions against a theefe: the Senate rose straight vpon it without further determination, & men chaunged apparel through the citie because of this dissention; as they vse to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from *Cæsar*, which seemed much more reasonable in the which he requested that they would graunt him GAVLE, that lyeth betwene the Mountaines of the Alpes & ITALY, & ILLYRIA, with two legions only, & then that he would request nothing els, vntill he made sute for the second Consulship. *Cicero* the Orator, that was newly come from his gouernment of CILICIA, trauelled to reconcile them together, & pacified *Pompey* the best he could: who told him, he would yeld to any thing he would haue him, so he did let him alone with his armie. So *Cicero* onely, that *Cæsars* friends to be contented, to take those two prouinces, and fix thousand men onely, that they might be friends & at peace together. *Pompey* very willingly yelded vnto it, & granted them. But *Lentulus* the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully draue *Curio* and *Antonius* out of the Senate: whereby they them selues gaue *Cæsar* a happy occasion & culler, as could be, stirring vp his souldiers the more against them, whẽ he shewed them these two notable men & Tribunes of the people that were driuen to flie, disguised like slaues, in a carriers cart. For, they were driuen for feare to steale out of ROME, disguised in that manner. Nowe at that time, *Cæsar* had not in all about him, aboue fise thousand footemen, and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his armie, he left on thother side of the Mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. So, considering that for the execution of his enterprise, he should not neede so many men of warre at the first, but rather sodainly stealing vpon them, to make them afraid with his vainties, taking benefit of the oportunitie of tyme, because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, comming so sodainly when they looked not for him, then he should otherwise diffesse them, assailing them with his whole armie, in giuing them leysure to provide

Cæsars request vnto the Senate.

Antonius & Curio, Tribunes of the people, fly from Rome to Cæsar.

A vnder further for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieutenants to go before, without any other armor then their swords, to take the citie of ARIMINVM, (a great citie of GAVLE, being the first citie men cometo, when they come out of GAVLE) with as litle bloodshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that force and armie he had with him, vnto *Hortensius* one of his friends: he remeynd a whole day together, openly in the sight of euery man, to see the sworde players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made mery with them a while, whome he had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forward night, and very darke, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be mery, and no man to stirre, for he would straight come to them againe: howbeit he had secretly before commaunded a few of his trustiest friends to followe him, not altogether, but some one way, and some an other way. He him selfe in the meane tyme tooke a coche he had hyered, and made as though he would haue gone some other waye at the first, but sodainly he turned backe againe towards the citie of ARIMINVM. When he was come vnto the litle ryuer of Rubicon, which deuiddeth GAVLE on this side the Alpes from ITALY: he stayed vpon a sodaine. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to thinke what an enterprise he tooke in hand: & his thoughts also fell out more doubtful, when he entred into consideration of the desperatnes of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with him selfe, and spake neuer a word, wauing sometime one way, sometime an other way, and often times chaunged his determination, contrary to him selfe. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was *Afinius Pollio*, telling them what michieues the beginning of this passage ouer that riuer would breede in the world, and how much their posteritie and them that liued after them, would speake of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage, all those perillous thoughts to come, & speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperat enterprises, *A desperat man feareth no daunger*, come on: he passed ouer the riuer, and when he was come ouer, he ranne with his coche and neuer staid, so that before day light he was within the citie of ARIMINVM, and tooke it. It is said, that the night before he passed ouer this riuer, he dreamed a damnable dreame, that he carnally knew his mother. The citie of ARIMINVM being taken, and the rumor thereof disperised through all ITALY, even as if it had bene opened in warre both by sea & land, & as if all the lawes of ROME, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same had bene broken vp: a man would haue sayd, that not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities them selues leauing their habitations, fled from one place to another through all ITALY. And ROME it selfe also was immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parties like droues of cattell, that there was neither officer nor Magistrate that could any more commaund them by authoritie, neither by any perswasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that ROME had in manner destroyed it selfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous sturres and tumults euery where: because they that were glad of this trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running vp and downe the citie, when they met with others in diuers places, that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a citie) they flayly fell out with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come. *Pompey* him selfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill wordes some gaue him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproued him, and sayd that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made *Cæsar* so great and stronge against him & the common wealth. And other againe did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable condicions of peace, which *Cæsar* had offered him, suffering *Lentulus* the Consul to abuse him too much. On thother side, *Phaonius* spake vnto him, and bad him stampe on the ground with his foote: For *Pompey* beeing one day in a brauerie in the Senate, sayd openly: let no man take thought for preparation of warre, for when he lysted, with one stampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all ITALY with souldiers. This notwithstanding, *Pompey* at that tyme had

Cæsars doubtfull thoughts at the riuer of Rubicon.

The Greeke writeth this phrase of speech, cast the dyer. Cæsar tooke the citie of Ariminum. Cæsars damnable dreame.

Rome in uprore with Cæsars comming.

greater number of souldiers then *Cæsar*: but they would neuer let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him so many lyes, and put so many examples of feare before him, as if *Cæsar* had bene already at their heeles, and had wonne all: so that in the ende he yelded vnto them, and gaue place to their furie and madnes, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboyle) that there was no way but to forsake the citie, and thereupon commaunded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tary there, ynles he loued tyrannie, more then his owne libertie and the common wealth. Thus the Consuls then felues, before they had done their common sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the citie, fled euery man of them. So did likewise the moste parte of the Senators, taking their owne things in haste, such as came first to hande, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that alwayes loued *Cæsar*, whose wits were then so troubled and besides them selues, with the feare they had conceived: that they also fled, and followed the streame of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessitie. But aboute all things, it was a lamentable sight to see the citie it selfe, that in this feare and trouble was left at all aduenture, as a shippé tossed in storme of sea, forsoaken of her Pilots, and dispiraling of her safetie. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the loue they bare vnto *Pompey*) to bee their naturall contry, and reckoned *Rome* no better then *Cæsars* campe. At that tyme also *Labiæus*, who was one of *Cæsars* greatestt friendes, and had bene alwayes vied as his Lieutenant in the warres of *Gavie*, and had valiantly fought in his cause: he likewise forsooke him then, and fled vnto *Pompey*. But *Cæsar* sent his money and cariage after him, and then went and encamped before the citie of *Corfinium*, the which *Domitius* kept, with thirty cohorts or ensignes. When *Domitius* sawe he was besegged, he straight thought him selfe but vndone, and dispayring of his successe, he bad a Phisition, a slaue of his, giue him poyson. The Phisition gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to haue dyed. But shortly after, *Domitius* hearing them reporte what clemencie and wonderfull curtesie *Cæsar* vied vnto them he tooke: repented him then that he had dronke this drinke, and beganne to lament and bewaile his desperate resolucion taken to dye. The Phisition did comfort him againe, and tolde him, that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him sleepe, but not to destroy him. Then *Domitius* reioyced, and went straight and yelded him selfe vnto *Cæsar*: who gaue him his life, but he notwithstanding stalle away immediatly, and fled vnto *Pompey*. When these newes were brought to *Rome*, they did maruelously reioyce and comfort them that still remayned there: and moreover there were of them that had forsaken *Rome*, which returned thither againe. In the meane tyme, *Cæsar* did put all *Domitius* men in paye, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leauied men for *Pompey*. Now *Cæsar* hauing assembled a great and dreadfull power together, went straight where he thought to finde *Pompey* him selfe. But *Pompey* taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of *Brundysium*, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with that armie he had, vnto *Dyrrachium*: and he him selfe also went thither afterwards, when he vnderstoode that *Cæsar* was come, as you shall here more amply hereafter in his life. *Cæsar* lacked no good will to follow him, but wanting shippes to take the seas, he returned forthwith to *Rome*: So that in lesse then three skore dayes, he was Lord of all *Italy*, without any blood shed. When he was come to *Rome*, and found it much quieter then he looked for, and many Senators there also: he curteously intreated them, and prayed them to send vnto *Pompey*, to pacifie all matters betweene them, upon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, eyther because they feared *Pompey* for that they had forsaken him, or els for that they thought *Cæsar* ment not as he spake, but that they were wordes of course, to culler his purpose withall. And when *Metellus* also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of *Saturne*, but tolde him that it was against the lawe: I tush, sayd he, tyme of warre and lawe are two things. If this that I doe, q he, doe offend thee, then get thee hence for this tyme: for warre can not abyde this francke and bolde speeche. But when warres are done, and that we are all quiet agayne, then thou shalt speake in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I doe tell thee this of fauor, inpayring so much my right, for thou art myne, both thou, and all them that haue risen against me, and whom I haue in my hands.

When

Pompey flyeth from Rome.

Labiæus forsooke Cæsar, and fled to Pompey.

Domitius escaped from Cæsar, & fled to Pompey.

Pompey flyeth into Epirus.

Silent leges inter arma.

A When he had spoken thus vnto *Metellus*, he went to the temple dore where the treasure laye: and finding no keyes there, he caused Smythes to be sent for, and made them breake open the lockes. *Metellus* thereupon beganne agayne to withstande him; and certen men that stood by prayed him in his doing: but *Cæsar* at length speaking biggely to him, threatened him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, younge man, q he, thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to doe it. That word made *Metellus* quake for feare, that he gotte him away rowndly: and euer after that, *Cæsar* had all at his commaundement for the warres. From thence he went into *Spain*, to make warre with *Petruus* and *Varro*, *Pompeys* Lieutenants: first to gette their armies and provinces into his hands which they gouerned, that afterwarde he might follow *Pompey* the better, leaving neuer an enemie behinde him. In this iorney he was oftentimes him selfe in daunger, through the ambushes that were layde for him in diuers straunge sortes and places, and likely also to haue lost all his armie for lacke of vittells. All this notwithstanding, he neuer left following of *Pompeys* Lieutenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in: vntill he had gotten their campe & armies into his hands, albeit that the Lieutenants them selues fled vnto *Pompey*. When *Cæsar* returned agayne to *Rome*, *Piso* his father in lawe gaue him counsell to sende Ambassadors vnto *Pompey*, to treat of peace. But *Isauricus*, to flatter *Cæsar*, was against it. *Cæsar* being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the banished men, and restored their children to honor, whose fathers before had bene slayne in *Syllas* tyme: and did somewhat cutte off the vlturies that did oppresse them, and besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very fewe. For he was Dictator but eleuen dayes onely, and then did yeld it vpe of him selfe, and made him selfe Consul, with *Servilius Isauricus*, and after that determined to followe the warres. All the rest of his armie he left comming on the way behind him, and went him selfe before with six hundred horse, and siue legions onely of footemen, in the winter quarter, about the moneth of Ianuary, which after the *Athenians*, is called *Poσειδων*. Then hauing past ouer the sea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the cities of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*. Then he sent his shippes backe agayne vnto *Brundysium*, to transport the rest of his souldiers that could not come with that peece he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body, & lusty youth, was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry battells as they had fought with their enemies: complained of *Cæsar* in this sorte. To what ende and purpose doth this man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vsing vs like slaues and drudges? It is not our armor, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what, shall we neuer be without our harnes of our backs, and our shields on our armes? should not *Cæsar* thinke, at the least when he seeth our blood and woundes, that we are all mortall men, and that we feele the miserie and paynes that other men doe feele? And now euen in the dead of winter, he putteth vs into the mercie of the sea and tempest, yea which the gods them selues can not withstand: as if he fled before his enemies, and pursued them not. Thus spending time with this talke, the souldiers still marching on, by small iorneys came at length vnto the citie of *Brundysium*. But when they were come, & found that *Cæsar* had already passed ouer the sea, then they straight chauged their complaints and mindes. For they blamed them selues, and tooke on also with their Captaines, because they had not made them make more haste in marching: and sitting vpon the rockes and clyffes of the sea, they looked ouer the mayne sea, towards the Realme of *Epirus*, to see if they could discern the shippes returning backe, to transport them ouer. *Cæsar* in the meane time being in the citie of *Apollonia*, hauing but a small armie to fight with *Pompey*, it greued him for that the rest of his armie was so long a comming, not knowing what way to take. In the ende he followed a daungerous determination, to imbarke vnknewen in a litle pynnaf of twelue ores onely, to passe ouer the sea agayne vnto *Brundysium*: the which he could not doe without great daunger, considering that all that sea was full of *Pompeys* shippes and armies. So he tooke shippe in the night apparelled like a slaue, and went aborde vpon this litle pynnaf, & said neuer a word, as if he had bene some poore man of meane condition. The pynnaf laye in the mouth of the riuer of *Anius*, the which commonly was wont to be very calme & quiet, by reason of a litle wind that came from the shore, which euery morning draue

Cæsar taketh money out of the temple of Saturne.

Cæsar iorney into Spain, against Pompey's Lieutenants.

Cæsar Dictator. Cæsar and Isauricus Consul.

Cæsar goeth into the kingdom of Epirus.

Complaints of the souldiers against Cæsar.

A great aduenture of Cæsar.

Anius R.

Cæsar's demerits in the Romaine of Egiptus.

Cæsar's army fled from Pompey.

Cæsar's words of Pompey's victory.

Cæsar troubled in mind, after his loss.

backe the waues farre into the maine sea. But that night, by ill fortune, there came a great wind from the sea that ouercame the land wind, inso much as the force & strength of the riuer fighting against the violence of the rage & waues of the sea, the encounter was maruailous dangerous, the water of the riuer being driuen backe, and rebounding vppward, with great noyse and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the Maister of the pynnafe seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this riuer, bad the Maryners to cast about againe, and to returne against the streame. *Cæsar* hearing that, straight discovered him selfe vnto the Maister of the pynnafe, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but *Cæsar* then taking him by the hand sayd vnto him, good fellow, be of good cheere, and forwardes hardly, feare not for thou hast *Cæsar* and his fortune with thee. Then the Maryners forgetting the danger of the storme they were in, laid on lode with ores, and labored for life what they could against the winde, to get out of the mouth of this riuer. But at length, perceiuing they labored in vaine, and that the pynnafe tooke in abundance of water, and was ready to sincke: *Cæsar* then to his great griefe was driuen to returne backe again. Who when he was returned vnto his campe, his souldiers came in great companies vnto him, & were very sory, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his person in danger, to goe fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meane time *Antonius* arrived, and brought with him the rest of his army from *BRVNDISIUM*. Then *Cæsar* finding him selfe strong enough, went & offered *Pompey* battell, who was passingly well lodged, for vittelling of his campe both by sea & land. *Cæsar* on thother side, who had no great plenty of vittells at the first, was in a very hard case: inso much as his men gathered rootes, & mingled the with milke, & ate them. Furthermore, they did make breade of it also, & sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, & came alongest by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and sayd: that as long as the earth brought forth such frutes, they would neuer leaue besieging of *Pompey*. But *Pompey* straightly commaunded them, that they should neither cary those words nor bread into their campe, fearing least his mens hartes would faile them, and that they would be affraid, when they should thinke of their enemies hardnes, with whome they had to fight, si the they were weary with no paynes, no more then brute beastes. *Cæsar*'s men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of *Pompey*'s campe, in the which *Cæsar* had euer the better, sauing once only, at what tyme his men fled with such feare, that all his campe that daye was in greate hazarde to haue bene caste awaye. For *Pompey* came on with his battell upon them, and they were not able to abyde it, but were fought with, and dryuen into their campe, and their trenches were filled with deade bodyes, which were slayne within the very gate and bullwarkes of their campe, they were so valiantly pursued. *Cæsar* stoode before them that fledde, to make them to turne heade agayne: but he coulde not preuaile. For when he woulde haue taken the ensignes to haue stayed them, the ensigne bearers threw them downe on the ground: so that the enemyes tooke two and thirtie of them, and *Cæsar* selfe also escaped hardly with lyfe. For stryking a greate bigge souldier that fledde by him, commaunding him to staye, and turne his face to his enemye: the souldier being affrayde, lift vpp his sword to stryke at *Cæsar*. But one of *Cæsar*'s Pages preuenting him, gaue him suche a blowe with his sword, that he strake of his howlde. *Cæsar* that daye was brought vnto so greate extremite, that (if *Pompey* had not eyther for feare, or spytefull fortune, left of to followe his victorie, and retyred into his campe, being contented to haue dryuen his enemyes into their campe) returning to his campe with his friends, he sayde vnto them: the victorie this daye had bene our enemies, if they had had a Capteyne, that coulde haue tolde howe to haue ouercome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bedde, and that nyght troubled him more, then any nyght that euer he had. For still his mynde ranne with great sorowe of the fowle faulte he had committed in leading of his armye, of selfe will to remaine there so long by the sea side, his enemies being the stronger by sea: considering that he had before him a goodly contrie, riche and plentifull of all thinges, and goodly cities of *MACEDON* and *THESSALY*, and had not the witte to bringe the warre from thence, but to lose his tyme in a place, where he was rather besieged of his enemyes for lacke of vittells, then that he did beseege them by force

Pompey's determination for the warre.

Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.

The cite of Gomphes in Theffaly.

Pompey dreame in Phesalia. The security of the Pompeians.

A force of armes. Thus, fretting and chafing to see him selfe so strayghted with vittells, and to thinke of his yll lucke, he rayled his campe, intending to goe sette vpon *Scipio*, making accompt, that either he should drawe *Pompey* to battell against his will, when he had not the sea at his backe to furnish him with plenty of vittells: or els that he should easily ouercome *Scipio*, finding him alone, vnles he were ayded. This remoue of *Cæsar*'s campe, did much encourage *Pompey*'s armye and his captaines, who would needes in any case haue followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled. But for *Pompey* him selfe, he would in no respect hazard battell, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding him selfe well provided of all thinges necessary to tary tyme, he thought it better to drawe this warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to consume this litle strength that remainyd in *Cæsar*'s armye: of the which, the best men were maruailous well trayned and good souldiers, and for valiantnes, at one daies battell, were incomparable. But on thother side againe, to remoue here and there to soe oft, and to fortifie their campe where they came, and to beseege any wall, or to keepe watch all night in their armor: the most part of them could not doe it, by reason of their age, being then vnable to away with that paynes, so that the weakenes of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hartes. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent discaise amonge them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate: yet was not this the worst. For besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by vittells: so that it seemed in all likelihood, that in very short tyme he would come to nothing. For these respects, *Pompey* would in no case fight, and yet had he but *Cato* only of his minde in that, who stucke in it the rather, because he would auoyde shedding of his contry mens bloode. For when *Cato* had viewed the deade bodies slayne in the campe of his enemies, at the last skirmish that was betwene them, the which were no lesse then a thousand persons: he covered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, because he so long refrayned from battell: and some prickt him forward, and called him *Agamemnon*, and king of kings, saying, that he delayed this warre in this sort, because he would not leaue his autoritie to commaund them all, and that he was glad alwaies to see so many Captaines round about him, which came to his lodging to honor him, and waite vpon him. And *Paonius* also, a harebraynd fellowe, frantlyky counterfeiting the round and playne speche of *Cato*, made as though he was maruailous angry, and sayd: is it not great pitie, that we shall not eate this yere of *TVSCVLYM* figges, and all for *Pompey*'s ambitious minde to raigne alone? and *Afranius*, who not long before was but lately come out of *SPAYNE*, (where, because he had but ill successe, he was accused of treason, that for money he had solde his armye vnto *Cæsar*;) he went busily asking, why they fought not with that Marchant, vnto whom they sayde he had solde the prouince of *SPAYNE*? So that *Pompey* with these kinde of speeches, against his will, was driuen to followe *Cæsar*, to fight with him. Then was *Cæsar* at the first, maruailously perplexed, and troubled by the waye: because he founde none that would giue him any vittells, being despised of euery man, for the late losse and ouerthrowe he had receuyed. But after that he had taken the cite of *GOMPHES* in *THESSALY*, he did not only meete with plenty of vittells to relieue his armye with: but he strangely also did ridde them of their discaise. For the souldiers meeting with plenty of wyne, drinking harde, and making mery: draue awaye the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed them selues vnto dauncing, masking, and playing the *BACCHERIANS* by the waye: inso much that drinking droncke they ouercame their discaise, and made their bodies newe agayne. When they both came into the contry of *PHARSALIA*, and both camps laye before thother: *Pompey* returned agayne to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signes and tokens of misfortune in his sleepe. For he thought in his sleepe that when he entred into the Theater, all the *ROMANES* receuyed him with great clapping of handes. Whereupon, they that were about him grewe to suche boldnes and securitie, assuring them selues of victory: that *Dorsitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, in a brauery contended betwene them selues, for the chiefe Bishoppricke which *Cæsar* had. Furthermore, there were diuers that sent vnto *ROME* to hyre the nearest houses vnto the market place, as being the fittest places for Prators, and Consuls: making their accompt already, that those offices coulde not scape them,

incontinently after the warres. But besides those, the younge gentlemen, and ROMANE knights were maruelous desirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with glittering gilt armors, their horses fat and very finely kept, and them selues goodly young men, to the number of seuen thousand, where the gentlemen of *Cæsar*'s side, were but one thousand onely. The number of his footemen also were much after the same reckoning. For he had fide and forty thousand against two and twenty thousand. Wherefore *Cæsar* called his souldiers together, & told the how *Cornificius* was at hande, who brought two whole legions, and that he had fiftene enignes led by *Calenus*, the which he made to stay about MEGARA & ATHENS. Then he asked them if they would tary for that ayde or not, or whether they would rather them selues alone venter battell. The souldiers cryed out to him, and prayed him not to deferre battell, but rather to deuise some fetch to make the enemy fight assoone as he could. Then as he sacrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his armie: the first beast was no sooner sacrificed, but his Soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three dayes. *Cæsar* asked him againe, if he saw in the sacrifices, any lucky signe, or token of good lucke. The Soothsayer answered, for that, thou shalt answer thy selfe, better then I can doe: for the gods doe promise vs a maruelous great chaunge, and alteration of thinges that are now, vnto an other cleane contrary. For if thou bee'st well now, doe'st thou thinke to haue worse fortune hereafter, and if thou be ill, assure thy selfe thou shalt haue better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to visite the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came ouer *Cæsar*'s campe, and fell downe in *Pompey*'s. In the morning also when they releued the watche, they heard a false alarm in the enemies campe, without any apparant cause, which they commonly call, a sodaine feare, that makes men besides them selues. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* thought not to fight that day, but was determined to haue raised his camp from thence, and to haue gone towards the cite of SCOTVSA: and his tents in his campe were already ouerthrowen when his skowtes came in with great speede, to bringe him newes that his enemies were preparing them selues to fight. Then he was very glad, & after he had made his prayers vnto the gods to helpe him that day, he set his men in battell ray, & deuicid them into three squadrons: giuing the middle battell vnto *Domitius Calpinus*, and the left winge vnto *Antonius*, and placed him selfe in the right winge, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that, his enemies had set all their horsemen: he was halfe affraid when he saw the great number of them, and so braue besides. Wherefore he closely made fix enignes to come from the rereward of his battell, whom he had layd as an ambush behind his right winge, hauing first appointed his souldiers what they should do, when the horsemen of the enemies came to giue them charge. On thother side, *Pompey* placed him selfe in the right winge of his battell, gaue the left winge vnto *Domitius*, and the middle battell vnto *Scipio* his father in law. Now all the ROMANE knights (as we haue told you before) were placed in the left winge, of purpose to enuyrone *Cæsar*'s right winge behinde, and to giue their hottest charge there, where the generall of their enemies was: making their accompt, that there was no squadron of footemen how thicke soeuer they were, that could recieue the charge of so great a trowpe of horsemen, and that at the first onset, they should ouerthrow them all, and marche vpon their bellies. When the trompeters on either side did sound the alarm to the battell, *Pompey* commaunded his footemen that they should stande still without furring, to recieue the charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore *Cæsar* afterwards sayde, that *Pompey* had committed a fowle faulte, not to consider that the charge which is giuen ronning with furie, besides that it giueeth the more strength also vnto their blowes, doth sette mens hartes also a fire: for the common hurling of all the souldiers that ronned together, is vnto them as a boxe of the eare that setteth men a fire. Then *Cæsar* making his battell marche forward to giue the onfette, sawe one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skillfull in warre, in whome he had also greates confidence) speaking to his souldiers that he had vnder his charge, encouraging them to fight lyke men that daye. So he called him alowde by his name, and sayde vnto him: well, *Caius Crasinius*, what hope shall we haue to day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then *Crasinius* casting vp his hand, answered him alowd: this day, O *Cæsar*, we shall haue a noble victory, and I promise thee

Pompey's armie as great againe as Cæsar's.

A wonder scene in the element, before the battell in Phœsalia.

Cæsar's armie and his order of battell, in the fieldes of Phœsalia.

Pompey's armie, and his order of battell.

An ill counsel and fowle faulte of Pompey.

A thee ere night thou shalt praye me alyue or dead. When he had told him so, he was him selfe the foremost man that gaue charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, beeing about fix score men, and making a lane through the foremost rankes, with great slaughter he cuttred farre into the battell of his enemies: vntill that valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length in the mouth with a sworde, that the poynt of it came out agayne at his necke. Nowe the footemen of both battells being come to the sworde, the horsemen of the left winge of *Pompey*, did marche as fiercely also, spreading out their trowpes, to compass in the right winge of *Cæsar*'s battell. But before they beganne to giue charge, the fix enignes of footemen which *Cæsar* had layd in ambush behind him, they beganne to runne, full upon them, not throwing away their darts farre of as they were wont to doe, neyther striking their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to seeke to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as *Cæsar* had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty younge gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were viced to see them selues hurt, & the which, beeing in the pryme of their youth and beautie, would be affrayd of those hurtes, as well for the feare of the present daunger to be slayne, as also for that their faces should not for euer be deformed. As in deede it came to passe, for they could neuer abyde that they shoulde come so neare their faces, with the poyntes of their darts, but honge downe their heades for feare to be hitte with them in their eyes, and turned their backs, couering their face, because they shoulde not be hurt. Then, breaking of them selues, they beganne a length cowardly to flye, and were occasion also of the losse of all the rest of *Pompey*'s armie. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to sette vpon the squadron of the footemen behind, and slue them. Then *Pompey* seeing his horsemen from the other winge of his battell, so scattered and disperled; flying away: forgate that he was any more *Pompey* the great which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whose wittes the goddes had taken from him, being affrayd and amazed with the slaughter sent from aboue, and so retyred into his tent speaking neuer a worde, and fate there to see the ende of this battell. Vntill at length all his army beeing ouerthrowen, and put to flight, the enemies came, and gotte vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hande to hande with them that stood to defende the same. Then as a man come to him selfe agayne, he spake but this onely worde: What, euen into our campe? So in halte, casting of his coare armor and apparell of a generall, he shifted him, and put on such, as became his miserable fortune, and so staled out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrowe, and howe he had put him selfe into the handes of the EGYPTIANS, by whome he was miserably slayne: we haue sette it forth at large in his life. Then *Cæsar* entring into *Pompey*'s campe, and seeing the bodies layd on the grounde that were slayne, and others also that were a killing, sayde, fetching a great sigh: it was their owne doing, and against my will. For *Caius Cæsar*, after he had wonne so many famous conquests, and overcome so many great battells, had bene vtterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his armie. *Asinius Pollio* writeth, that he spake these wordes then in Laryn, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and sayeth furthermore, that the moste parte of them which were put to the sworde in the campe, were slaues and bondmen; and that there were not slayne in all at this battell, about fix thousand souldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, *Cæsar* did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, amonge whome *Brutus* was one, that afterwards slue *Cæsar* him selfe: and it is reported, that *Cæsar* was very sorry for him, when he could not immediatly be founde after the battell, and that he reioyced againe, when he knewe he was alyue, and that he came to yeelde him selfe vnto him. *Cæsar* had many signes and tokens of victorie before this battell: but the notablest of all other that hapned to him, was in the cite of TRALLIS. For in the temple of victorie, within the same cite, there was an image of *Cæsar*, and the earth all about it very hard of it selfe, and was pained besides with hard stone: and yet some say that there sprang vnto a palme hard by the base of the same image. In the cite of PADYRA, *F. Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothsayer, (a contry man and friende of *Tiberius Linius* the Historiographer) was by chaunce at that time let to beholde the flying of birdes. He (as *Linius* reporteth) knewe the very tyme when the battell beganne, and tolde them that were present,

The battell in the fieldes of Phœsalia.

Cæsar's straddles.

Cæsar's overcometh Pompey.

Pompey's flight.

Brutus then slue Cæsar, and kept prisoners as the battell of Phœsalia. Signes & tokens of Cæsar's victory.

A strange tale of Cornelius an excellent prognosticator.

even now they gaue the onset on both sides, and both armies do meete at this instant. They sitting downe againe to consider of the birdes, after he had bethought him of the signes: he sodainly rose vp on his feete, and cryed out as a man possessed with some spirit, oh, *Cæsar*, the victory is thine. Euery man wondering to see him, heooke the crowne he had on his head, and made an othe that he would neuer put it on againe, till the euent of his prediotion had proued his arte true. *Linie* testifieth, that it so came to passe. *Cæsar* afterwards giuing freedom vnto the *THESSALIANS*, in respect of the victory which he wanne in their contry, he followed after *Pompey*. When he came into *ASIA*, he gaue freedom also vnto the *GVNDIANS* for *Thopompus* sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did releafe *ASIA* also, the thirde part of the tribute which the inhabitants payd vnto the *ROMANES*. Then he came into *ALEXANDRIA*, after *Pompey* was slaine: and detested *Theodorus*, that presented him *Pompeys* heade, and turned his head at toe side bicause he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he tooke his scale, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he curteously vied all *Pompeys* friendes and families, who wandering vp and downe the contry, were taken of the king of *EGYPT*, and wanne them all to be at his commendement. Continuing these curtesies, he wrote vnto his friendes at *ROME*, that the greatest pleasure he tooke of his victorie, was, that he dayly saued the liues of some of his contry men that bare armes against him. And for the warre he made in *ALEXANDRIA*, some say, he needed not haue done it, but that he willingly did it for the loue of *Cleopatra*: Wherein he wanne little honor, and besides did purhis person in great danger. Others doe lay the fault vpon the king of *EGYPT*s Ministers, but specially on *Pothimus* the Euenuke, who bearing the greatest swaye of all the kinges seruants, after he had caused *Pompey* to be slaine, and driuen *Cleopatra* from the Court, secretly layd waite all the wayes he could, how he might likewise kill *Cæsar*. Wherefore *Cæsar* hearing an inckling of it, beganne thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banquetting, that his person might be in the better facie. But besides all this, *Pothimus* the Euenuke spake many things openly not to be come, onely to shame *Cæsar*, and to stirre vp the people to enuie him. For he made his souldiers haue the worst and oldest wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complayne of it, he told them, they must be contented, seeing they ate at anothers mans cosse. And he would serue them also at the table in treene and earthen dishes, saying, that *Cæsar* had away all their gold and siluer, for a debt that the kings father (that then reigned) did owe vnto him: which was a thousand seven hundred and fiftie *Minades*, whereof *Cæsar* had before forgiuen seven hundred & fiftie thousand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a Myllion to paye his souldiours withall. Thereto *Pothimus* answered him, that at that tyme he should doe better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwarde that he should at more leysure recouer his dette, with the kinges good will and fauor. *Cæsar* replied vnto him, and sayd, that he would not aske counsell of the *EGYPTIANS* for his affayres, but would be payd: and thereupon secretly sent for *Cleopatra* which was in the contry to come vnto him. She onely taking *Apollodorus* *SCITILIAN* of all her friendes, tooke a little bote, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the castell. Then hauing no other meane to come in to the court, without being knowne, she laid her selfe downe vpon a mattresse or flockbed, which *Apollodorus* her friend tooke & bound vp together like a bûdel with a great leather thong, and so tooke her vp on his backe, and brought her thus hamperd in this fardell vnto *Cæsar*, in at the castell gate. This was the first occasion, (as it is reported) that made *Cæsar* to loue her: but afterwards, when he sawe her sweete conuersation and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her againe vnto her brother the king, with condition, that they two ioyntly should raigne together. Apon this newe reconciliation, a great feast being prepared, a slaue of *Cæsar*s that was his barber, the fearefullest wretch that liued, full busily prying and listening abroad in euery corner, being mistrustfull by nature: found that *Pothimus* and *Achillas* did lie in waite to kill his Maister *Cæsar*. This beeing proued vnto *Cæsar*, he did sette such fure watch about the hall, where the feast was made, that in fine, he flue the Euenuke *Pothimus* him selfe. *Achillas* on thother side, saued him selfe, and fled vnto the kinges campe, where he rayed a maruelous daingerous & difficult warre for *Cæsar*: bicause he hauing then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight against a great & strong city. The first daunger

Cæsar climbing
in victory.

The cause of
*Cæsar*s warre
in *Alexan-*
dria.

Pothimus the
Euenuke cau-
sed *Pompey*
to be slaine.

Cleopatra
came to *Cæ-*
sar.

Cleopatra was
set up in a
mattresse, and
so brought to
Cæsar, upon
Apollodorus
backe.

A daunger he fell into, was for the lacke of water he had: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water vnto the castell. The seconde daunger he had, was, that seeing his enemies came to take his shippes from him: he was driuen to repulsa that daunger with fire, the which burnt the arsenall where the shippes lay: and that notable librarie of *ALEXANDRIA* withall. The third daunger was in the battell by sea, that was fought by the tower of *Phar*: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by sea, he leapt from the peere, into a boate. Then the *EGYPTIANS* made towards him with their oars, on either side: but he leaping into the sea, with great hazard saued him selfe by swimming. *Cris* sayd, that then holding diuers bookes in his hand, he did neuer let them go, but kept them alwayes vpon his head about water, & swamme with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot maruelously at him, and was driuen sometime to ducke into the water: howbeit the boate was drowned presently. In fine, the king comming to his men that made warre with *Cæsar*, he went against him, and gaue him battell, and wanne it with great slaughter, and effusion of blood. But for the king, no man could euer tell what became of him after. Thereupon *Cæsar* made *Cleopatra* his siter, Queene of *EGYPT*: who being great with childe by him: was shortly brought to bedde of a sonne, whom the *ALEXANDRIANS* named *Cæsarion*. From thence he went into *SYRIA*, and so going into *ASIA*, there it was told him that *Dionisius* was ouerthrowen in battell, by *Pharnaces*, the sonne of king *Adirbrides*, and was fled out of the realme of *PONTE*, with a few men with him: and that this king *Pharnaces* greedily following his victorie, was not contented with the winning of *BITHYNIA*, & *CAPPADOCIA*, but further would needs attempt to winne *ARMENIA* the lesse, procuring all those kinges, Princes, and Governours of the prouinces thereabouts, to rebell against the *ROMANES*. Thereupon *Cæsar* went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battell with king *Pharnaces*, by the citie of *ZELA*, where he flue his armie, & draue him out of all the realme of *PONTE*. And bicause he would aduerise one of his friendes of the foddaines of this victorie, he onely wrote three words vnto *Annius* at *ROME*: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: to wit, I came, I saw, I ouercame. These three wordes ending all with like sound and letters in the Latin, haue a certaine Rhot grace, more pleasant to the eare, then can be well exprest in any other tongue. After this, he returned againe into *ITALIE*, and came to *ROME*, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the seconde time, which office before was neuer granted for one whole yeare, but vnto him. Then he was chosen Consul for the yeare following. Afterwarde he was very ill spoken of, for that his souldiers in a mutine hauing slaine two Pretors, *Cosconius*, and *Gabius*, he gaue them no other punishment for it, but in steade of calling them souldiers, he named them citizens, and gaue vnto euery one of them, a thousand Drachmas a man, and great possessions in *ITALIE*. He was much misliked also for the desperate parts and madnes of *Dolabella*, for the couetousnes of *Annius*, for the dronkenness of *Antonius* and *Cornificius*, which made *Pompeys* house be pulled downe and builded vp againe, as a thing not bigge enough for him, whereas the *ROMANES* were maruelously offended. *Cæsar* knew all this well enough: and would haue bene contented to haue redressed them: but to bring his matters to passe he pretended, he was driuen to serue his turne by such instrumentes. After the battell of *Pharsalia*, *Cato* and *Scipio* being fled into *AFRICKA*, king *Iuba* ioynd with them, & leaued a great puissant armie. Wherefore *Cæsar* determined to make warre with them, & in the middle of winter, he tooke his iorney into *SICILIE*. There, bicause he would take all hope from his Captiues and souldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged vpon the very sandes by the sea side, and with the next gale of winde that came, he tooke the sea with three thousand footemen, and a few horsemen. Then hauing put them a land, vnto them, he hoysed sayle againe, to goe fetch the rest of his armie, being afraied least they should meete with some dainger in passing ouer, and meeting them middle way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was tolde him that his enemies trusted in an ancient Oracle, which sayd, that it was predestined vnto the family of the *Scipios* to be conquerors in *AFRICKA*: either of purpose to mocke *Scipio* the Generall of his enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefit of this name (geuen by the Oracle) vnto him selfe, in all the skirmishes & battells he fought, he gaue the charge of his army, vnto again of meane quality and accompt, called *Scipio Sal-*

The great li-
berie of *Alex-*
andria burnt.

Cæsar pre-
serving with
bookes in his
hand.

Cæsar made
Cleopatra
Queene of
EGYPT.
Cæsarion, *Cæ-*
*sar*s sonne, be-
gott of *Cleo-*
patra.

*Cæsar*s villa-
rie of king
Pharnaces.
Cæsar writeth
these wordes,
to comfort his
victory.

*Cæsar*s iorney
into *AFRICKA*,
against *Cato*
and *Scipio*.

*Cæsar
troubles in
Africa,
Alga, and
daggertooth,
given to the
horses to eat.
Cæsar danc-
es in Af-
ricke.*

Intius, who came of the race of *Scipio*, AFRICAN, and made him alwayes his Generall whom he fought. For he was effoones compelled to weary and harrie his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had come enough, nor his beasts forrage, but the souldiers were driuen to take sea weedes, called *Alga*: and (washing away the brackishnes thereof with fresh water, putting to it a litle erbe called dogges tooth) to salt it so to their horse to eat. For the *NVMDIANS* (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service) being a great number together, would be on a sodaine in euery place, and spread all the fieldes ouer thereabout, so that no man durst peepe out of the campe to goe for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were flaying to beholde an AFRICAN doing notable things in dauncing, and playing with the flutes, they being set downe quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, hauing in the meane time geuen their slaues their horses to hold, the enemies stealing sodainly vpon them, compassed them in round about, and slue a number of them in the field, and chasing the other ab so that fled, followed them pell mell into their campe. Furthermore had not *Cæsar* him selfe in person, and *Afinius Pollio* with him gone out of the campe to the rescue, and stayed them that fled: the warre that day had bene ended. There was also an other skirmish where his enemies had the vpper hande, in the which it is reported, that *Cæsar* taking the ensigne bearer by the collar that carried the Eagle in his hande, stayed him by force, and turning his face, tolde him: see, there be thy enemies. These aduantage did lift vp *Scipio*s hart aloft, and gaue him courage to hazard battell: and leauing *Africanus* on the one hand of him, and king *Iuba* on the other hande, both their campes lying neere to other, he did fortifie him selfe by the citie of *Thapsacus*, aboute the lake, to be a safe refuge for them all in this battell. But whilest he was busie intrenching of him selfe, *Cæsar* hauing maruelous speedily passed through a great contrie full of wod, by bypathes which men would neuer haue mistrusted, he stole vpon some behinde, and sodainly assailed the other before, so that he ouerthrowe them all, and made them flee. Then following this first good happe he had, he went forthwith to set apon the campe of *Africanus*, the which he tooke at the first onset, and the campe of the *NVMDIANS* also, king *Iuba* being fled. Thus in a litle peece of the day only, he tooke three campes, & slue fifty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his souldiers. In this forte is set downe the effect of this battell by some wryters. Yet others doe wryte also, that *Cæsar* selfe was not there in person at the execution of this battell. For as he did set his men in battell ray, the falling sickenes took him, whereunto he was geuen, and therefore feeling it comming, before he was ouercome withall, he was caried into a castell not farre from thence, where the battell was fought, and there tooke his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him. Now, for the Prætors & Consuls that escaped from this battell, many of them being taken prisoners, did kill them selues, and others also *Cæsar* did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men else to haue *Cato* aliue in his hands, he went with all possible speede vnto the citie of *Vtica*, whereof *Cato* was Gouvernor, by meanes whereof he was not at the battell. Norwithstanding being certified by the way that *Cato* had slaine him selfe with his owne handes, he then made open shew that he was very sorry for it, but why or wherefore, no man could tell. But this is true, that *Cæsar* sayd at that present time: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, because thou diddest enuy my glory, to save thy life. This notwithstanding, the booke that he wrote afterwards against *Cato* being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitiefull hart towards him. For how could he haue pardoned him, if liuing he had had him in his handes: that being dead did speake so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would haue pardoned him, if he had taken him aliue, by the clemencie he shewed vnto *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and diuers others that had borne armes against him. Some reporte, that he wrote that booke, not so much for any priuate malice he had to his death, as for a ciuill ambition, apon this occasion. *Cicero* had written a booke in praise of *Cato*, which he intituled, *Cato*. This booke in likely hooe was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent subiect thereof. *Cæsar* therewith was maruelously offended, thinking that to praise him, of whose death he was author, was euen as much as to accuse him self: & therefore he wrote a letter against him, & heaped vp a number of accusations against *Cato*, and intituled the booke *Anticato*. Both these bookes haue fauourers vnto this day, some defending the one for the loue they bare to *Cæsar*, and

*Cæsar great
victorie and
small loss.*

*Cæsar troubled
with the fall-
ling sickenes.*

*Cæsar was sor-
ry for the
death of Cato.*

*Cæsar wrote
against Cato
being dead.*

*Cicero wrote
a booke in
praise of Ca-
to being dead.*

A and others allowing the other for *Cato*s sake. *Cæsar* being now returned out of AFRICA, first of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victorie, declaring vnto them, that he had conquered so many contries vnto the Empire of *Rome*, that he coule furnishe the common wealth yearely, with two hundred thousand bushells of wheate, & twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oyle. Then he made three triumphes, the one for *Ægypt*, the other for the kingdom of *Pontus*, and the third for AFRICA: not because he had ouercome *Scipio* there, but king *Iuba*. Whose sonne being likewise called *Iuba*, being then a young boy, was led captiue in the shewe of this triumphe. But this his imprisonment fel out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous *NVMDIAN*, by the study he fel vnto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the best historiographers of the *Grecians*. After these three triumphes ended, he very liberally rewarded his souldiers: and to curry fauor with the people, he made great feasts & common sportes. For he feasted all the *ROMANES* at one time, at two and twenty thousand tables, and gaue them the pleasure to see diuers sword players to fight at the sharpe, and battells also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter *Julia*, which was dead long afore. Then after all these sportes, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered: and where there were at the last musters before, three hundred and twenty thousand citizens, at this muster only there were but a hundred and fifty thousand. Such misery and destruction had this ciuill warre brought vnto the common wealth of *Rome*, and had consumed such a number of *ROMANES* not speaking at all of the mischieues and calamities it had brought vnto all the rest of *ITALIE*, and to the other prouinces pertaining to *Rome*. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into *SPAYNE* to make warre with the sonnes of *Pompey*: who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a maruelous great army together, and shewed to haue had manhoode and courage worthie to commande such an armie, inso much as they put *Cæsar* him selfe in great danger of his life. The greatest battell that was fought betwene them in all this warre, was by the citie of *MVnda*. For then *Cæsar* seeing his men forely distressed, and hauing their hands full of their enemies: he ranne into the prease among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them: what are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yeelding your selues with your owne handes to these young boyes? And so, with all the force he could make, hauing with much a doe put his enemies to flight: he slue about thirty thousand of them in the field, and lost of his owne men a thousand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victory, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his owne life. He wanne this battell on the very feast day of the *BACCHANALIANS*, in the which men say, that *Pompey* the great went out of *Rome*, about foure yeares before, to beginne this ciuill warre. For his sonnes, the younger escaped from the battell: but within few days after, *Didius* brought the heade of the elder. This was the last warre that *Cæsar* made. But the triumphe he made into *Rome* for the same, did as much offend the *ROMANES*, and more, than any thing that euer he had done before: because he had not ouercome Captaines that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sonnes of the noblest man in *Rome*, whom fortune had ouerthrowen. And because he had plucked vp his race by the rootes, men did not thinke it meete for him to triumphe so, for the calamities of his contrie, reioicing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men: that he was compelled to doe that he did. And the rather they thought it not meete, because he had neuer before sent letters nor messengers vnto the common wealth at *Rome*, for any victorie that he had euer wonne in all the ciuill warres: but did alwayes for shame refuse the glorie of it. This notwithstanding, the *ROMANES* inclining to *Cæsar*s prosperitie, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for them to take breth a litle, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these ciuill warres: they chose him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyranny: for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraid to be deposed. *Cicero* propounded before the Senate, that they should geue him such honors, as were meete for a man: howbeit others afterwards added to, honors beyonde all reason. For, men striuing who should

*Iuba, the
sonne of king
Iuba, a fa-
mous historio-
grapher.
Cæsar sta-
ting of the
ROMANES.
The murder
taken of the
ROMANES.*

*Cæsar Consul
the fourth
time.*

*Battell fought
betwixt Cæ-
sar and the
young Pom-
pey, by the
citie of Munda.*

*Cæsar victo-
ry of the
sonnes of
Pompey.*

*Cæsar tri-
umpher of
Pompey
sonnes.*

*Cæsar
Dictator
perpetuall.*

most honor him, they made him hatefull and troublefome to them felues that most fauored him, by reason of the vnmeasurable greatnes and honors which they gaue him. Thereupon it is reported, that euen they that most hated him, were no lesse fauorers and furtherers of his honors, then they that most flattered him: because they might haue greater occasions to rise, and that it might appeare they had iust cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for him selfe, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did so honorably behaue himselfe, that there was no fault to be founde in him: and therefore me thinks, amongst other honors they gaue him, he rightly deserued this, that they should builde him a temple of clemency, to thanke him for his curesse he had vsed vnto them in his victorie. For he pardoned many of them that had borne armes against him, and furthermore, did preferre some of them to honor and office in the common wealth: as amongst others, *Cassius* and *Brutus*, both of which were made Prætors. And where *Pompeys* images had bene throwen downe, he caused them to be set vp againe: whereupon *Cicero* sayd then, that *Cæsar* setting vp *Pompeys* images againe, he made his owne to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did counsell him to haue a gard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer them felues to serue him: he would neuer consent to it, but sayd, it was better to dye once, then alwayes to be affrayed of death. But to win him selfe the loue and good will of the people, as the honorablest gard and best safety he could haue: he made common feasts againe, & generall distributions of come. Furthermore, to gratifie the souldiers also, he replenished many cities againe with inhabitants, which before had bene destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaite vnto: of the which the noblest & chiefeft cities were these two, *CARTHAGE*, & *CORINTH*, and it chaunced so, that like as aforetime they had bene both taken and destroyed together, euen so were they both set a foote againe, and replenished with people, at one selfe time. And as for great personages, he wanne them also, promising some of them, to make them Prætors and Consuls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferments, but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the wayes he coule to make euery man contented with his raigne. In somuch as one of the Consuls called *Maximus*, chauncing to dye a day before his Consulshippe ended, he declared *Cæsar* *Rebilus* Consul only for the day that remained. So, diuers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, & to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer: *Cicero* pleasauntly sayd, come, let vs make haist, and be gone thither, before his Consulshippe come out. Furthermore, *Cæsar* being borne to attempt all great enterprises, & hauing an ambitious desire besides to coeuct great honors: the prosperous good successe he had of his former conquestes bred no desire in him quietly to enioy the frutes of his labours, but rather gaue him hope of thinges to come, still kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterprises, and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present, were stale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no other but an emulation with him selfe as with an other man, and a certaine contention to overcome the thinges he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, & made preparacion also, to make warre with the *PERSIANS*. Then when he had overcome them, to passe through *HYRCANIA* (compassing in the sea *Caspium*, and mount *Caucasus*) into the realme of *PONTVS*, and so to inuade *SCYTHIA*: and ouerrunning all the contries, and people adioyning vnto high *GERMANY*, and *GERMANY* it selfe, at length to returne by *GAULE* into *ITALIE*, and so to enlarge the *ROMANE* Empire round, that it might be euery way compassed in with the great sea *Oceanum*. But whilst he was preparing for this voiage, he attempted to cut the barre of the straight of *PELOPONNESVS*, in the place where the city of *CORINTH* standeth. Then he was minded to bring the riuers of *Anienus* and *Tiber*, straight from *ROME*, vnto the citie of *TRÆNES*, with a deepe channell and high bankes cast vp on either side, and so to fall into the sea at *TERRACINA*, for the better safety and commodity of the marchants that came to *ROME* to trafficke there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and seawe all the water of the marishes betwixt the cities of *NOMENTVM* and *SETIVM*, to make it firme land, for the benefit of many thousandes of people: and on the sea coast next vnto *ROME*, to cast great high bankes, and to cleanse all the haueu about *OSTIA*, of rockes and stones hidden vnder the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harborough dangerous for

The temple of clemency, dedicated vnto *Cæsar*, for his curesse.
Cassius and *Brutus* Prætors.

Cæsar saying of death.
Good will of subiectes, the best gard and safety for Princes.

Cæsar *Rebilus* Consul for one day.

Anienus, *Tiber*, &c.

for shippes, and to make new hauens and arsenalls meete to harbor such shippes, as did continually trafficke thither. All these thinges were purposed to be done, but tooke no effecte. But, the ordinance of the kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the *ROMANES* vying then the ancient computation of the yeare, had not only such incertainty and alteration of the moneth and times, that the sacrifices and yearly feasts came by lide and lide to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the reuolution of the sunne (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the *ROMANES* them selues, only the priests vnderstood it. And therefore when they listed, they sodainly (no man being able to controll them) did thrust in a moneth, about their ordinary number, of which they called in old time, * *Mercedonius*. Some say, that *Numa Pompilius* was the first, that deuised this way, to put a moneth betwene: but it was a weake remedy, and did litle helpe the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But *Cæsar* committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the *ROMANES* doe vse vntill this present day, and doe nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuid his greatnes, did not sticke to finde fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one sayd, to morow the starre *Lyra* will rise, sayd he, at the commaundement of *Cæsar*, as if men were compelled so to say and thinke, by *Cæsar* edict. But the chiefeft cause that made him mortally hated, was the couetous desire he had to be called king: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honor and dignity, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybilline prophecies, how the *ROMANES* might overcome the *PARTHIANES*, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that *Cæsar* returning to *ROME* from the citie of *ALBA*, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and *Cæsar* also angry, he said he was not called king, but *Cæsar*. Then euery man keeping silence, he went his way heauy and sorrowfull. When they had decreed diuers honors for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his maiesty, disdainning to rise vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene priuate men, answered them: that his honors had more neede to be cut of, then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the common wealth: in somuch as euery man that might lawfully goe his way, departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also *Cæsar* rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his doublet collar, making his necke bare, he cried out aloud to his frendes, that his throte was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Norwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwarde to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his dis ease, saying, that their wittes are not perfit which haue his dis ease of the falling euil, when standing of their feete they speake to the common people, but are soome troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sodaine dimmes and guidines. But that was not true. For he would haue risen vp to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus* one of his frendes (but rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: what, doe you not remember that you are *Cæsar*, and will you not let them reuerence you, and doe their duties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproache, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sorte. At that time, the feast *Lupercalia* was celebrated, the which in olde time men say was the feast of shepheards or heard men, and is much like vnto the feast of the *LYCAIANS* in *ACADIA*. But howsoever it is, that day there are diuers noble mens sonnes, young men, (and some of them Magistrates them selues that gouerne them) which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thonges, beare and all on, to make them geue place. And many noble women, and gentle women also, goe of purpose

Cæsar reformed the inequality of the yeare.

* *Mercedonius*, mensis intercalaris.

Why *Cæsar* was hated.

The feast *Lupercalia*.

to stand in their way, and doe put forth their hands to be striken, as schoolers hold themselves to their schoolemaster, to be striken with the ferula: perfwading them selves that being with childe, they shall haue good deliuerie, and also being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with child. *Cæsar* fate to beholde that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chayer of gold, appareled in triumphing manner. *Antonius*, who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to *Cæsar*, and presented him a Diademe wreathed about with laurell. Whereupon there rose a certaine crie of reioicing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpose. But when *Cæsar* refused the Diademe, then all the people together made an outcrie of ioy. Then *Antonius* offering it him againe, there was a second shout of ioy, but yet of a few. But whē *Cæsar* refused it againe the second time, then all the whole people shewed. *Cæsar* hauing made this prooffe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chayer, and commaunded the crowne to be carried vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there were set vp images of *Cæsar* in the city with Diademes vpon their heades, like kinges. Those, the two Tribunes, *Flavius* and *Martius*, went and pulled downe: and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted *Cæsar* as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them reioicing at it, and called them *Brutes*: because of *Brutus*, who had in old time driuen the kings out of *Rome*, & that brought the kingdom of one person, vnto the gouernment of the Senate and people. *Cæsar* was so offended withall, that he depriued *Martius* and *Flavius* of their Tribuneshippes, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them *Bruti*, and *Cumani*, to witte, beasts, and fooles. Hereupon the people went straight vnto *Marcus Brutus*, who from his father came of the first *Brutus*, and by his mother, of the house of the *Servilians*, a noble house as any was in *Rome*, and was also nephew and sonne in law of *Marcus Cato*. Notwithstanding, the great honors and fauor *Cæsar* shewed vnto him, kept him backe that of him selfe alone, he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For *Cæsar* did not onely saue his life, after the battell of Pharsalia when *Pompey* fled, and did at his request also saue many more of his frendes besides: but furthermore, he put a maruelous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorshippe for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul, the fourth yeare after that, hauing through *Cæsars* frendshippe, obtained it before *Cassius*, who likewise made sute for the same: and *Cæsar* also, as it is reported, sayd in this contention, in deede *Cassius* hath alleged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before *Brutus*. Some one day accusing *Brutus* while he practised this conspiracy, *Cæsar* would not heare of it, but clapping his hande on his bodie, told them, *Brutus* will looke for this skinne: meaning thereby, that *Brutus* for his vertue, deferred to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions sake, he would not shewe him selfe vnthankfull nor dishonorable. Nowe they that desired chaunge, and wished *Brutus* only their Prince and Gouernour aboue all other: they durst not come to him them selves to tell him what they would haue him to doe, but in the night did cast sundrie papers into the Prætors seate where he gaue audience, and the most of them to this effect. Thou sleepest *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* in deede. *Cassius* finding *Brutus* ambitious flurred vp the more by these seditious billes, did pricke him forward, and egge him on the more, for a priuate quarrell he had conceiued against *Cæsar*: the circumstance whereof, we haue sette downe more at large in *Brutus* life. *Cæsar* also had *Cassius* in great gelouzie, and suspected him much: whereupon he sayed on a time to his frendes, what will *Cassius* doe, thinke ye? I like not his pale lookes. An other time when *Cæsars* frendes complained vnto him of *Antonius*, and *Dolabella*, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he answered them againe, as for those fatte men and smooth comed heades, & he, I neuer reckon of them: but these pale visaged and carian leane people, I feare them most, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Certainly, defense may easier be foreseene, then auoyded: considering the strange & wonderful signes that were sayd to be seene before *Cæsars* death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirites running vp and downe in the night, and also these solitarie birdes to be seene at noone dayes sittinge in the great market place: are not all these signes perhappes worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chaunce as happened. But *Strabo* the Philosopher wryteth,

Antonius being Consul, was one of the Imperators. Antonius presented the Diademe to Cæsar.

Cæsar saved Marcus Brutus life, after the battell of Pharsalia.

Brutus conspired against Cæsar.

Cassius stirred up Brutus against Cæsar.

Predictions, or forebodings of Cæsars death.

A wryeth, that diuers men were seene going vp and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a floue of the souldiers, that did cast a maruelous burning flame out of his hande, inso much as they that saw it, thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. *Cæsar* selfe also doing sacrifice vnto the goddes, found that one of the beastes which was sacrificed had no hart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could liue without a hart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothsayer that had geuen *Cæsar* warning long time afore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of Marche, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he shoulde be in great danger. That day beng come, *Cæsar* going vnto the Senate house, and speaking merily to the Soothsayer, tolde him, the Ides of Marche be come: so be they, softly answered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And the very day before, *Cæsar* supping with *Marcus Lepidus*, sealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the bord: so talke falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best: he preuenting their opinions, cried out alowde, death vnlooked for. Then going to bedde the same night as his manner was, and lying with his wife *Calpurnia*, all the windowes and dores of his chamber flying open, the noyse awooke him, and made him affrayed when he saw such light but more, when he heard his wife *Calpurnia*, being fast a sleepe, weepe and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches. For she dreamed that *Cæsar* was slaine; and that she had him in her armes. Others also doe denie that she had any such dreame, as amongst other, *Titus Livius* wryteth, that it was in this sorte. The Senate hauing set vpon the topp of *Cæsars* house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certaine pinnacle: *Calpurnia* dreamed that she sawe it broken downe, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Inso much that *Cæsar* rising in the morning, he prayed him if it were possible, not to goe out of the dores that day, but to adorne the session of the Senate, vntill an other day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he would seache further of the Soothsayers by their sacrifices, to knowe what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that *Cæsar* likewise did feare and suspect somewhat, because his wife *Calpurnia* vntill that time, was neuer geuen to any feare or supersticion: and then, for that he saw her so troubled in minde with this dreame she had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothsayers hauing sacrificed many beastes one after an other, tolde him that none did like them: then he determined to sende *Antonius* to adorne the session of the Senate. But in the meane time came *Decimus Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, in whom *Cæsar* put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conspiracie with *Cassius* and *Brutus*: he feareing that if *Cæsar* did adorne the session that day, the conspiracie would out, laughed the Soothsayers to scorn, and reprovved *Cæsar*, saying: that he gaue the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might thinke he mocked them, considering that by his commaundement they were assembled, and that they were readie willingly to graunt him all thinges, and to proclaime him king of all the prouinces of the Empire of *Rome* out of *Italy*, and that he should weare his Diademe in all other places, both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him, they should departe for that present time, and returne againe when *Calpurnia* shoulde haue better dreames: what would his enemies and ill willers say, and how could they like of his frendes wordes? And who could perswade them otherwise, but that they would thinke his dominion a slaerie vnto them, and tyrannicall in him selfe? And yet if it be so, sayd he, that you vterly mislike of this day, it is better that you goe your selfe in person, and saluting the Senate, to dismisse them till an other time. Therewithall he tooke *Cæsar* by the hand, and brought him out of his house. *Cæsar* was not gone farre from his house, but a bondman, a stranger, did what he could to speake with him: and when he sawe he was put backe by the great prease and multitude of people that followed him, he went straight vnto his house, and put him selfe into *Calpurnias* handes to be kept, till *Cæsar* came backe againe, telling her that he had great matters to imparte vnto him. And one *Artemidorus* also borne in the life of *GNIDUS*, a Doctor of Rethorike in the Greeke tongue, who by meanes of his profession was verie familiar with certaine of *Brutus* confederates, and therefore knew the most parte of all their practises against *Cæsar*: came & brought him a litle bill wrytten with his owne hand, of all that he ment to tell him. He marking howe

Cæsars day of his death, was signified by a Soothsayer.

The dreame of Calpurnia, Cæsars wife.

Decimus Brutus Albinus, perfidious to Cæsar.

Decimus Brutus brought Cæsar into the Senate house. The tokens of the conspiracy against Cæsar.

Cæsar receiued all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gaue them straight to his men that were about him, pressed neerer to him, and sayd: Cæsar, reade this memoriall to your selfe, and that quickly, for they be matters of great waight and touche you neere. Cæsar tooke it of him, but could neuer reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hande, keeping it to him selfe, went on withall into the Senate house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was found man else that gaue him that memoriall, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all the way as he went to geue it Cæsar, but he was always repulged by the people. For these things, they may seeme to come by chance: but the place where the murder was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood vpon an image of Pompey dedicated by him selfe amongst other ornaments which he gaue vnto the Theater: all these be manifest proofes that it was the ordinance of some god, that made this treason to be executed, specially in that verie place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did fauour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise: he did softly call vpon it, to aide him. But the instant dainger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did sodainly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man halfe besides him selfe. Now Antonius, that was a faithful frende to Cæsar, and a valiant man besides of his handes, him, Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate house, hauing begon a long tale of set purpose. So Cæsar comming into the house, all the Senate stood vpon on their feete to doe him honor. Then parte of Brutus companie and confederates stood rounde about Cæsar's chayer, and parte of them also came towards him, as though they made sute with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother againe from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their sute, they followed Cæsar, till he was let in his chayer. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after an other, because the more they were denied, the more they pressed vpon him, and were the earnestest with him: Metellus at length, taking his gowne with both his handes, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the signe geuen the confederates to sette upon him. Then Cæsar behinde him strake him in the necke with his sword, howbeit the wounde was not great nor mortall, bicause it seemed, the feare of such a deuillish attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blowe. But Cæsar turning straight vnto him, caught hold of his sword, and held it hard: and they both cried out, Cæsar in Latin: O vile traitor Cæsa, what doest thou? And Cæsa in Greeke to his brother, brother, helpe me. At the beginning of this sturre, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracie were so amazed with the horrible sight they sawe: that they had no power to flie, neither to helpe him, nor so much, as once to make any outcrie. They on thother side that had conspired his death, compassed him in on euerie side with their swordes drawn in their handes, that Cæsar turned him no where, but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked swordes in his face, and was hacked and mangled amonge them, as a wilde beaste taken of hunters. For it was agreed amonge them, that euery man should geue him a wound, bicause all their partes should be in this murder: and then Brutus him selfe gaue him one wounde about his priuities. Men reporte also, that Cæsar did still defende him selfe against the rest, running euerie waye with his bodie: but when he sawe Brutus with his sword drawn in his hande, then he pulled his gowne ouer his heade, and made no more resistance, and was driuen either casually, or purposely, by the counsell of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompeys image stood, which ranne all of a goare bloude, till he was slaine. Thus it seemed, that the image tooke iust reuenge of Pompeys enemy, being thrown downe on the ground at his feete, and yielding vp his ghost there, for the number of woundes he had vpon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty woundes upon his body: and diuers of the conspirators did hurt them selues, striking one body with so many blowes. When Cæsar was slaine, the Senate (though Brutus stood in the middelt amongst them as though he would haue sayd fowmhat touching this fact) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with maruelous feare and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut to their doores, others forsooke their shops & warehouses, and others ranne to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had feared it,

The place
where Cæsar
was slaine.

Antonius,
Cæsar's faith-
full frend.

Cæsar, the first
that strake at
Cæsar.

Cæsar slaine
and had 23.
wounds upon
him.

ran

A ran home to their houses againe. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Cæsar's chiefest friends, secretly conueyng them selues away, fled into other mens houses, and forsooke their owne. Brutus and his confederates on thother side, being yet hotte with this murder, they had committed, hauing their swordes drawn in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made couinenances to flie, but otherwise boldly holding vp their heades like men of corage, and called to the people to defende their libertie, and stayed to speake with euery great personage whom they met in their way. Of them, some followed this troupe, and went amongst them, as if they had bene of the conspiracie, and falsely challenged parte of the honor with them: amonge them was Caius Octavius, and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their valie & couetousnes of honor, by Antonius, and Octavius Cæsar the younger: and yet had no parte of that honor for the which they were put to death, neither did any man beleue that they were any of the confederates, or of counsell with them. For they that did put them to death, tooke reuenge rather of the will they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market place to speake vnto the people, who gaue them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reprobred, nor allowed the fact: for by their great silence they showed, that they were sorry for Cæsar's death, and also that they did reuerence Brutus. Nowe the Senate graunted generall pardon for all that was past, and to pacifie euery man, ordained besides, that Cæsar's funerals should be honored as a god, and established all things that he had done: and gaue certaine promises also, and conuenient honors vnto Brutus and his confederates, whereby euery man thought all things were brought to good peace & quiemes againe. But when they had opened this testamēt, and found a liberall legacie of money, bequeathed vnto euery citizen of Rome, and that they saw his body (which was brought into the market place) all bemangled with gashes of swordes: then there was no order to keepe the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, and stools, and layed them all about the body, & setting them a fire, burnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the firebrandes, and went vnto their houses that had slaine Cæsar, to set them a fire. Other also ranne vp and downe the cite to see if they could meete with any of them, to cut them in peeces: howbeit they could meete with neuer a man of them, bicause they had locked them selues vp safely in their houses.

D There was one of Cæsar's friends called Cinna, that had a maruelous strange & terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that Cæsar had him to supper, & that he refused, and would not goe: then that Cæsar tooke him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna hearing at that time, that they burnt Cæsar's body in the market place, notwithstanding that he feared his dreame, and had an agew on him besides: he went into the market place to honor his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane sorte asked what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to an other, and that other vnto an other, so that it ranne straight through them all, that he was one of them that murdered Cæsar: (for in deede one of the traitors to Cæsar, was also called Cinna as him selfe) wherefore taking him for Cinna the murderer, they fell vpon him with such furie, that they presently dispatched him in the market place. This sturre and furie made Brutus and Cassius more affrayed, then of all that was past, and therefore within fewe dayes after, they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deatnes, we haue written it at large, in the life of Brutus. Cæsar dyed at six and fifty yeres of age: and Pompey also liued not passing foure yeres more then he. So he reaped no other frute of all his raigne & dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreme daunger: but a vaine name only, and a superficial glory, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his contrie. But his great prosperitie and good fortune that fauored him all his life time, did continue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, pursuing the murderers both by sea & land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chaunces that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to Cassius about all other, is most to be wondered at. For he being overcome in battell at the iorney of Philippes, slue him selfe with the same sword, with the which he

The mur-
der of Cæsar
dugges to the
Capitoll.

Cæsar's fune-
ralls.

Cinna's
dreame of
Cæsar.

The murder
of Cinna.

Cæsar's yere
olds at his
death.

The reuenge
of Cæsar's
death.

Cassius being
overthrowen
at the battell

of Philipps,
saw him selfe
with the selfe
same sword
wherewith he
strake Caesar.
Vnder
seent in the
element after
Caesars death.
A great Co-
met.
Brutus vision.

A spirit ap-
peared vnto
Brutus.

The second
appearing of
the spirit, vnto
Brutus.

strake *Caesar*. Again, of signes in the element, the great comet which seuen nightes together was seene very bright after *Caesars* death, the eight night after was neuer scene more. Also the brightnes of the sunne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gaue but small heate: therefore the ayer being very cloudy & darke, by the weakenes of the heate that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and vnripe frute, which rotted before it could ripe. But aboue all, the ghost that appeared vnto *Brutus* shewed plainly, that the goddes were offended with the murder of *Caesar*. The vision was thus. *Brutus* being ready to passe ouer his army from the citie of *Arduos*, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept euery night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by reporte he was as carefull a Captaine, and liued with as litle sleepe, as euer man did) he thought he heard a noyse at his tent dore, & looking towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatnes, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him maruelously afraid. But when he sawe that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bedde side, and sayd nothing: at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him: I am thy ill angell, *Brutus*, and thou shalt see me by the citie of *Philippes*. Then *Brutus* replied againe, and sayd: well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time *Brutus* being in battell neere vnto the citie of *Philippes*, against *Antonius* and *Octavius Caesar*, at the first battell he wan the victorie, and ouerthrowing all them that withstood him, he draue them into young *Caesars* campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared again vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereupon *Brutus* knowing he should dye, did put him selfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowen, he ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre of, and there setting his swordes point to his brest, fell vpon it, and slue him selfe, but yet as it is reported, with the helpe of his friend, that dispatched him.

The end of *Caesars* life.

THE LIFE OF *Phocion*.



He Orator *Demades* on a time flourished in *Athens*, because in all his doings and sayings in the administration and gouernment of the common wealth, he alwayes fauored the *Macedonians* and *Antipater*: in respect whereof he was easilones compelled, both in his counsell and lawes, to preferre many things to the dishonor of his city, saying, that they must pardon him, because he gouerned the shippewracks of his contrie. This was an arrogant speache: but yet referring it to the gouernment of *Phocion* he sayd truly. For in dedde *Demades* selfe was the shippewracke of the common weale, because he liued so insolently, and gouerned so lowly. In somuch as *Antipater* sayd of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beast sacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of *Phocion*, which had to fight against the cruell and bitter enemy of the time, were obscured by the calamities of *Greece*: that his fame was nothing so great as he deserved. For we must not credit *Sophocles* words, making vertue of it selfe but weake, in these verses.

When stormes of fore aduersities (o king) doe men assaile,

It dauntes their courage, cuts their combs, and makes their harts to quail.

But we must onely geue place to fortune, who when she frowneth vpon any good and vertuous men, her force is so great, that where they deserue honor and fauor, she violently heapeth false & malicious accusations against them, which maketh their vertue lame, & not of that credit which in dedde it deserueth. And yet it seemeth to many, that free cities are most cruel vnto their good citizens in time of prosperity: because they flow in wealth & live at ease, which maketh them of haughty mindes. But it is cleane contrary. For aduersity commonly maketh mens maners fower, chollericke, and very haisty: besides, slow to heare, churlish, and offended with euery litle sharpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, seemeth to cast their aduersity in their teeth: and he that telleth them plainly of their fautes, seemeth also to despise them. For like as honnie sweete by nature, applied vnto woundes, doth bring both smart and paine: euen so, sharpe wordes, though profitable, doe bite the vnfortunate man, if they be not tempered with discrecion & curtesie. And therefore *Homer* the Poet calleth sweet

and pleasaunt thinges *μικράτα*, as yeelding and not struing with contrariety, against that parte A of the minde, whereby we be angrie and froward. For euen as fore eyes doe like to looke on blacke and darke colours, and can not abide the bright and glazing: so in a city, where for want of foresight and gouernment, things goe not well, men be so diuers and vnwilling to heare of their owne fault and estate, that they had rather continue in their follie and danger, then by sharpnes of words to be rebuked and restored. So that it being impossible to amend one fault with a greater, that common wealth must be in great danger, that when it hath most nede of helpe, is loseth to receiue any: and he also hazardeth him selfe, that plainly telleth them their faulces. Like as therefore the Mathematician sayth, that the sunne doth not altogether follow the motion of the highest heauen, nor yet is moued directly contrary, but fetching a compase a litle ouerthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approaching and departing pre- serueth all things, & kepeth the world in good temperature. Euen so, too seuerer gouernment, contrarying the peoples mindes in all things, is not good: as also it is maruelous dangerous, not to correct offenders when they offend, for feare of the peoples displeasure. But the meane, sometime to yeelde vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to graunt them things of pleasure, to demand of them againe things profitable: that is a good way to gouerne men the better by. For, by gentlee meanes they are brought to doe many profitable things, when they seeke it not of them, by rigor & authority. In deede this meane is very hard to be obserued, because authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meete together, there is no harmony more muscical, nor concordance more perfite then that: and therefore it is said, that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary, then a forced C obedience in men. But this fault of feuerenes was in *Cato* the younger, for he could not fashion him selfe to the peoples maners, neither did they like him: neither did he win his estimation in the common wealth by flattering of them. And therefore *Cicero* sayd, that he was put by the Consulship, for that he behaued him selfe as though he liued in the common wealth deuised by *Plato*, & not amongst the disordered and corrupt posterity of *Romulus*. We thinke him A like him properly vnto vntime frute: the which though men doe take pleasure to see and wonder at, yet they eate them not. Euen so, the auncient simplicitie of *Cato*'s maner (hauing so long time bene out of vse, & coming then to shew it selfe in that corrupt time & ill maners of the city) was in deede much praiseworthy: but yet not the conuenientest, nor the fittest for him, because it answered nor respected not the vse and maners of his time. For he found not D his contray (as *Phocion* did) utterly destroyed, but tossed in a dangerous tempest: & being not of authority like the pilot to take the sterne in hand, & gouerne the shippe: he tooke him selfe to tricking the failes, and preparing the racle, so to assist men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he so thwarted fortune (which seemed to haue sworne the ouerthrowe of the estate of *Rome*) that with much a doe, with great difficulty, & a long time after, she executed her malice. And yet the common wealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by meanes of *Cato* & his vertue: with whom I doe compare the vertue of *Phocion*, who yet in my opinion, were not in all things alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of gouernment. For there is difference betwixt manhood & manhood, as there was betwixt that of *Alcibiades*, and that of *Epaminondas*: betwixt wisdom & wisdom, as betwixt that of *Aristides*, & that of *Themistocles*: & betwixt iustice & iustice, as betwixt that of *Numa*, & that of *Agesilanus*. But the vertues E of these men (to him that shall superficially regard, & slightly consider them) seeme all one in quality, in maner, & vse, both alike in temperance of curtesie with severity, & manhood with wisdom: a vigilant care for others, with presence of corage & security of mind for them selues, abhorring all filthines & corruption, & imbracing constancy & loue of iustice: that for any man to discern the difference betweene the, it requireth an excellent good wit & iudgement. Now touching *Cato*, euery man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we will shew you hereafter in his life: but for *Phocion*, I gesse he came of no base parentage. For if he had bene the sonne of a spoonemaker, as *Idomeneus* testifieth: *Glauippus* the sonne of *Hyperides*, hauing in an inuective he wrote against him, reherfed all the mischiefs he could of him, he would not haue forgottē F to haue vpbraided him with his base paréage, neither he him selfe also (if that had bene true) had bene so well brought vp as he was. For when he was but a young man, he was *Plato*'s Scholler, and

Cicero saying of *Cato*, that the common wealth as *Rome*, *Cato*'s plain maner, became not the corrupt and fustie time.

The paréage of *Phocion*.

And afterwards *Xenocrates* scholler, in the schoole of *Academia*: and so, euen from his first beginning, he gaue him selfe to followe them that were learned. For as *Darius* writeth, neuer A *THENTIAN* saw him weepe nor laugh, nor washe him selfe in any common bathe, nor his hands out of his sleeues when he ware a long gowne. For when he went to the warres, he would alwaies goe afoote, and neuer wore gowne, vnles it were extreme cold: and then the souldiers to mocke him withall, would say it was a signe of a sharpe winter, when they sawe *Phocion* in his gowne. Nowe, though in deede he was very curteous and gentle of nature, yet he had of his familiar acquaintance. And therefore when *Chares* the Orator one day mocked him for the bending of his browes, and that the *ATHENIANS* fell in a laughter withall: My Maisters, *Phocion*, the bending of my browes haue done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of these flatterers, haue made ye oftentimes to weepe. Furthermore, his maner of speech was very profitable, for the good sentences and counsells he vttered: but it was mixed with an imperious, austere, and bitter shortnes. For as *Zeno* the Philosopher sayeth, that the wise man should temper his wordes with witte and reason, before he vtter them: euen so was *Phocion*'s speech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it seemeth that *Polyarchus* *SPHETTIAN* sayd, that *Demosthenes* was an excellent Orator, but in speech, *Phocion* was very wittie. For like as coynes of gold or siluer, the lighter they waye, the finer they be of goodnes: euen so the excellencie of speeche consisteth in signifying much, by fewe wordes. And touching this matter, it is reported, that the Theater being full of people, *Phocion* walked C all alone vpon the scaffold where the players played, and was in a great muse with him selfe: whereupon, one of his friendes seeing him so in his muses, said vnto him, Surely *Phocion*, thy minde is occupied about somewhat. In deede so it is, sayd he: for I am thinking with my selfe, if I could abridge any thing of that I haue to say to the people. For *Demosthenes* selfe little esteeming all other Orators, when *Phocion* rose vp to speake, he would round his friendes in their eares, and told them: See, the cutter of my wordes riseth. Peraduenture he ment it by his maners also: For when a good man speaketh, not a word onely, but a wincke of an eye, or a nod of his head, doth counteruaile many artificiall wordes & speeches of Rethoricians. Furthermore, when he was a young man, he went to the warres vnder Capitaine *Chabrias*, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfite souldier, and in recompence thereof, he reformed many of D his Capitaines imperfections, and made him wiser then he was. For *Chabrias* otherwise beeing very dull and slothfull of him selfe, when he came to fight, he was so hotte and courageous, that he would thrust himselfe into danger, with the desperatest persons: & therefore for his rashnes, it afterwards cost him his life, in the cite of *Chio*, where launching out with his gally before the rest, he pressed to land in despite of his enemies. But *Phocion* being wise to loke to him selfe, and very quicke to execute: on the one side quickened *Chabrias* slownes, and on the other side also, by wisdom cooled his heate and furie. *Chabrias* therefore, being a good man & curteous, loued *Phocion* very well, and did preferre him in matters of seruice, making him famous amongst the *GRECIANS*, and employed him in his hardiest enterprises. For by his meanes he achieved great fame and honor in a battell by sea, which he wanne by the Ile of *Naxos*, E giuing him the left winge of his armie: on which side the fight was sharpest of all the battell, and there he soonest put the enemies to flight. This battell being the first which the cite of *ATHENS* wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene taken: gaue the people cause to loue *Chabrias*, and made them also to make accompt of *Phocion*, as of a noble souldier, & worthy to haue charge. This victory was gotten on the feast day of the great misteries, in memory whereof, *Chabrias* did yearly, on the sixteenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called August) make all the people of *ATHENS* drinke. After that time, *Chabrias* sending *Phocion* to receive the tribute of the Ilanders, their confederats, and the shippes which they should send him: he gaue him twenty gallies to bringe him thither. But *Phocion* then (as it is reported) said vnto him: if he sent him to fight with his enemies, he had neede to haue moe shippes: but if he F sent him as an Ambassador vnto his friendes, then, that one shippe would serue his turne. So he went with one gallye onely: and after he had spoken with the cities, and curteously dealt with the gouernors of euery one of them, he returned backe, furnished of their confederats, XXX iiii

Phocion never wept nor laughed.

Phocion manner.

Wherein excellencie of speech consisteth.

Phocion's fitt souldierlike.

The victory of *Chabrias* and *Phocion*, in the Ile of *Naxos*.

with a great fleet of shippes and money, to cary vnto ATHENS. So Phocion did not onely in-
uenerence Chabrias while he liued, but after his death also he tooke great care of his friends and
kinfmen, and fought to make his sonne Ctesippus, an honest man: whom, though he sawe very
wilde and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is sayde also, that
when this young man did trouble him much with vaine frivolous questions, seruing then vnder
him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counsell, to reprove him, and
to teache him the dutie of a Captaine: he could not but say, O Chabrias, Chabrias: now doe I
paye for the loue thou didst beare me when thou wert aloue, in bearing with the folly of thy
sonne. But when he saw that the heads of the citie of ATHENS had as it were by lot deuised a-
monge them selues the offices of warre and peace, and that some of them, as Eubulus, Aristo-
phon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were common speakers and preferers of matters in
counsell and Senate: and that others, as Diopithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, became
great men by the warres, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the man-
ner of government, of Pericles, Aristides, & Solon, as being mingled of both. For either of them,
seemed (as the Poet Archilocus sayth)

To bee both Champions stout, of Mars his warlike band,
And of the Muses eke, the artes to vnderstand.

He knew also, that Pallas the goddesse and protector of ATHENS, was called *Polemica*, and
Politica: to wit, skillfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, hauing thus disposed of him selfe in
government, he alwaies perswaded peace and quietnes, and yet was often chosen Captaine,
and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his
time, did neuer sue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serue
the common wealth. It is certain that he was chosen siue and forty times Prator, and was al-
waies absent at the elections, but yet sent for. Whereuppon all the wise men wondred to see
the manner of the people towards him, considering that Phocion had neuer done nor sayd any
thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had bene against their desires: and how they v-
sed other gouernours notwithstanding, that were more pleasant and delightfull in their ora-
tions, like men to sport at, as it is sayd of kings, who after they haue washed their hands to goe
to their meate, doe vse to haue lessers and flatterers to make them mery: but on thother side
when they had occasion of warres in deede, how then like wise men they could bethinke them
selues, and choose the wisest and stowrest man of the citie, & that most would withstand their
minde and desires. For on a time an oracle of *Apollo Delphicus*, being openly red before them,
which sayd, that all the other ATHENIANS being agreed, yet there was one amongst them that
was contrary to all the rest of the citie: Phocion stepping forth before them all, bad them ne-
uer seeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of all their doings. Another time he
chaunced to say his opinion before all the people, the which they all praised and approoued:
but he saw they were so fodeinly become of his minde, he turned backe to his friends, and as-
ked them: alas, hath not some euill thing slipped my mouth vnwares? Another time a gene-
rall collection being gathered of the people at ATHENS, towards the solemnizing of a sacri-
fice: other men of his estate hauing payd their part, he was often also called vpon to pay his.
But he answered them againe, aske them that be rich, for it were a shame for me to giue you
any thing, being yet in this mans debt: pointing to *Callicles* the Viceroy, who had lent him mo-
ney. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out upon him for the contribution, he began
to tell them this tale: that on a time there was a coward preparing to goe to the warres, and
as he was ready to depart, he heard the Rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for an
ill signe, he put of his harness, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harness againe,
he went on his way towards the campe: the Rauens beganne againe to make a goodlier cry be-
hind him. But thereuppon he staid straight, and at length sayd: ye shall crooke as low as ye
list, before ye feede of my carcas. An other time the ATHENIANS being in warre vnder his
charge, would needes haue him to leade them to giue charge vpon their enemies, but he
would not: thereuppon they called him coward, and sayd he durst not. Well, sayd he againe,
it is not you can make me valiant, no more then my selfe can make you cowards: and yet one
of vs know an other. Another time in a maruelous dangerous time, the people handled him

very

A very churlishly, and would needes haue him presently deliuer account of his charge: but he
answered them, O my friends, first saue your selues. Furthermore, the people being very
lowly and humble, for feare, in time of warres: and presently in peace againe waxing braue in
wordes against Phocion, charging him that he had taken the victorie out of their hands: he
onely sayd this to them, you are happy that haue a Captaine that knowes you, els you would
tinge a new longe. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the BOEOTIANS, and them, a-
bout their bounds and frontiers: the which they would not try by lawe, but by battell. But Ph-
ocion told them, they did they wist not what, & counselled them rather to fight it out in words,
in which they were the stronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another
time they so much misliked his opinion in the assembly, that they would not abide to heare
him, nor suffer him to speake. Well, my Maisters, he then, you may make me doe that which
is not to be done: but you shall neuer compell me, against my minde, to say that which is not
to be spoken. He would as gallantly also gird the Orators his aduersaries, when they were but
sie with him. As on a time he answered Demosthenes, that sayd vnto him: the people, Phocion,
will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heades. Yea thee, he, if they be wise. Agayne,
when Polyechus SHERETIAN, in a hotte day perswaded the people of ATHENS to make warre
with king Philip, sweating, and with much a doe fetching his breath, being a fatte man, that he
was driuen oftentimes to drinke water, to ende his oration: surely sayd Phocion, ye shall doe
maruelous wisely, to make warre at such a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he doe,
when he hath his curats and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that
now in making an oration onely before you, which he hath studied long before, is almost ti-
fied? Another time also when Lycurgus in his oration had openly reproued him for many things
before the people, and among the rest, for that Alexander demanding tenne Citizens of A-
THENS to do with them what he thought good, that he had counselled them to deliuer them:
Phocion answered him, I haue oftentimes counselled them for the best, but they would neuer
follow my counsell. There was one Archibiades at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeited
the LACEDÆMONIAN, with a maruelous long beard, a beggerly cloke, and a fower looke. Pho-
cion being cheere one day before the people, appealed vnto Archibiades for a wimes, to con-
firme that he spake. But he rising vp, counselled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall.
Phocion perceiuing it, tooke him by the beard, and sayd vnto him: alas Archibiades, why diddest
thou not then clippe thy beard, seeing thou wouldst needes flatter? There was another great
pleader, one Aristogiton, that in all assemblies of the citie, did nothing but bustle warres con-
tinually in their eares. Afterwards when men were to be leauied and mustered, and their names
entered that should goe to the warres: Aristogiton came halting into the market place with a
staffe in his hand, and both his legges bound vp, to make the people beleue that he was sicke
and diseased. Phocion spying Aristogiton fatte of, cryed out to the Clarke that wrote the bills
put in Aristogiton, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me muse, howe, or where-
fore so sharpe and seuer a man (as by these examples it appeareth he was) could come to the
surname of good. Notwithstanding, in the ende I find it a hard thing, but not impossible, that
a man should be like wine, both sweete and sharpe together: as there are others to the contra-
ry, that at the first sight, seeme very courteous and gentle of conuersation, and upon better ac-
quaintance, proue churlish and dogged. It is reported also, that Hyperides the Orator one day
should say to the ATHENIANS: I pray you (my Lords) not come not for my sharpenes, but con-
sider if my sharpenes be without profit. As who should say, men were not to troublefom, but for
courteousnes onely, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, than of insolencie
& malice did abuse & contemne their authority. Phocion on thother side, he neuer did Citizens
hurt, for any private malice he bare him: but was euer sharpe and cruell to them, which were
against any matter he preferred for the benefit of the common wealth. For in all other things,
he shewed him selfe maruelous lowly and courteous to euery body, and would be familiar with
his aduersaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwise in danger of displeasing
with the state. In somuch as his friends therefore reproued him on a time, when he spake in
the behalfe of a naughty man, an offender: O sayd he, honest men neede no helpe. An other
time, Aristogiton the Sycophant, being clapped vp in prison, sent vnto Phocion to pray him so

Phocion no-
table sayng.

Aristogiton, a
Sycophant, &
coward.

Phocion cal-
led by sur-
name, good.

come and speake with him, after he was condemned. *Phocion* went into the prison to him. A though his friends perswaded him the contrary, and answered them: O let me alone, sayd he, for where could I see *Aristogiton* more gladly then in prison? Furthermore, when there went any army to sea out of *Athenis*, if there were any other chosen general but *Phocion*: the townes and Ilandes all alongst the sea coast, (which were friends and confederats of the *Athenians*) fortified their walls, filled up their hauens, and brought their wiues, slaues, and cattell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemies, & open warre proclaimed. Contrarily also, if *Phocion* had bene Capteine and general: they would send out their shippes to the sea to meete him farre of, crowned with garlands in token of common ioy, and so would bring him to their cities. King *Philip* secretly seeking to winne the Ile of *Euboea*, sent an armie thither out of *Macedon*, and intised the townes by tyrannes to rebell: whereuppon, *Plutarke* *Eretrian* praied in ayde of the *Athenians*, to take this Iland from the *Macedonians*, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not presently to ayde them. So *Phocion* was sent general thither, but with a fewe men onely, because they made account the men of that contry would straight ioyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all traitors, and rebels, and brybed with king *Philippes* money, which he launified out amonge them: so that he was brought into great daunger. Thereupon he retyred to a litle hill that is feuered from the fieldes of *Tamynes*, with a great large valley, and there fortified him selfe with that litle armie he had. Then he perswaded his Capitaines not to care for all those rebels, praters, and cowards which fled out of their tents, and forsooke their ensignes and Capitaines, but that they should let goe out of the campe where they would. For, sayd he, such disobedient fouldiers here will doe vs no seruice, and moreouer will hinder them that haue good will to serue well: and at home also, knowing them selues in faulte, for that they forsooke the campe without licence, they dare not compleyne apon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to set apon him, he commaunded his men to arme, and put them selues in readines, and not to sturte, vntill he had done sacrifice: but he stayed long before he came, either because he could haue no lucky signes of the sacrificies, or els for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereuppon *Plutarke* *Eretrian* supposing he deferred to marche for feare, went him selfe first into the field, with certen light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes seeing them giue charge, could hold no longer, but followed him also, stragling out of the campe one after another disorderly, and so did set apon their enemies. The first being ouerthrowen, all the other disperfed them selues, and *Plutarke* him selfe fled. Then certen bandes of the enemies thinking all had bene theirs, followed them euen into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time, *Phocion* hauing ended his sacrifice, the *Athenians* came out of their campe, and set apon them, and made part of them die immediatly, and part of them also they slue hard by the trenches of their campe. Then *Phocion* commaunded that the battell should stand still, to receiue their men that were scattered vp and downe the fieldes: and in the meane space, he him selfe, with the choicest men of his armie, gaue charge apon the enemies. The fight was cruell betwene them. For the *Athenians* fought very valiantly, ventring their persons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their general, *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Polymedes*, and *Thallos*, the sonne of *Cineas*, caried the praise away. And so did *Cleophanes* that daye also shewe him selfe very valiant. For he crying out still apon the horsemen that fled, & perswading them to come and helpe their general that was in daunger: brought them backe againe, and thereby gotte the footemen the victorie. After this battell he draue *Plutarke* out of *Eretria*, and tooke the castell of *Zabryta*, standing in a very commodious place for this warre, where the Ile draweth to a straightnes, enuyronned on either side with the sea: and would not suffer his men to take any *Greecians* prisoners, fearing least the Orators at *Athenis* might moue the people sodeinly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these thinges were done, *Phocion* returned backe to *Athenis*. But then did the confederats of the *Athenians* straight wishe for his iustice and curtesie: and the *Athenians* them selues also knewe his skillfulness and manhood. For his succesor *Molossus*, that was general for the rest of the warre, delt so vndiscreetly that he him selfe was taken prisoner there. Then king *Philip* beeing put in maruailous great hope,

Phocion voy-
ney into *Eu-
boea*.

Phocion per-
suadeth his
Capitaines, to
suffer the mu-
sinous fould-
ers & cowards
to depart the
campe.

Phocion vi-
sitory in *Eu-
boea*.

A went with all his armie into *Hellespont*, perswading him selfe, that he should straight take all *Cherronesus*, the cities of *Perinth* and *Byzantium*. The *Athenians* thereupon determining to send ayde, to preuent king *Philippes* comming: the Orators made great sute, that *Chares* might be chosen Capteine. But he being sent thither with a good number of shippes, did no seruice worthy commendacion, neither would the cities receiue his naue: into their hauens: but being suspected of euery man, and despised of his enemies, he was driuen to sayle vp and downe, and to get money of the allies. The people being incensed by the Orators, were maruelously offended, & repented them selues that they had sent ayde vnto the *Byzantines*. Then *Phocion* rising vp, spake vnto the people, & told them, that it was no reason that mistrusting their confederats they should be offended with them: but to be angry with their Capitaines that deferred to be mistrusted. For they, said he, doe make your confederats affraide of you, who without you notwithstanding can not saue themselues. The people chaunging their mindes by his oration, made *Phocion* againe their Capteine, and sent him with an armie into *Hellespont* to helpe their confederats there, which was of great importance to saue the citie of *Byzantium*. Furthermore, *Phocion* came was so great, that *Cleon*, the greatest man of vertue and authoritie in *Byzantium*, and had before bene *Phocion*s companion and familiar in the Academy: he made sute for him vnto the citie. Then the *Byzantines* would not suffer him (though he desired it) to campe without the walls of their citie, but opening their gates, receiued him in, and mingled the *Athenians* amongest them. Who, perceiving how much the Citizens trusted them, did so honestly behaue them selues in their conuersation amongest them, that they gaue them no maner of cause to complaine of them: and shewed them selues so valiant besides in all battells and conflicts, that *Philip* (which before was thought dreadfull and inuincible, euery man beeing affraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of *Hellespont* without any thinge done, and to his great discredit: where *Phocion* wanne some of his shippes, and recovered againe the strong holds, in the which he had placed his garrisons. Furthermore, making diuers inuasions into his contries, he destroyed his borders: till that at length he was sore hurt there, and so driuen to returne home againe, by meanes of a great armie that came against him, to defend the contry: Shortly after, the *Megarians* secretly sent vnto him, to deliuer their citie into his hands. *Phocion* fearing if the *Boeotians* vnderstood it, that they would preuent him: he called a common assembly early in the morning, & told the people what message the *Megarians* had sent vnto him. The people apon his motion being determined to ayde them: *Phocion* straight founding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the assembly, gaue them no further leysure, but to take their weapons, and so led them incontinently to *Megara*. The *Megarians* receiuing him, *Phocion* shut vp the haue of *Nisaea*, and brought two long walls from the citie vnto it, and so ioyned it vnto the sea: Whereby he stood not greatly in feare of his enemies by land, and for the sea, the *Athenians* were Lordes of it. Now when the *Athenians* had proclaimed open warre against king *Philip*, and had chosen other Capitaines in his absence, and that he was returned from the Iles: about all thinges, he perswaded the people (king *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the daunger) to accept the condicions of peace. Then one of these busy Orators that was still accusing one or other, said vnto him: why, *Phocion*, how darest thou attempt to turne the *Athenians* from warre, hauing now their swordes in their hands: yes truly, said *Phocion*: though in warre I know I shal commaund thee, & in peace thou wilt commaund me. But when the people would not harken to him, and that *Demosthenes* caried them away with his perswasions, who counselled them to fight with king *Philip*, as farre from *Attica* as they could: I pray thee friend, & *Phocion* vnto him, let vs not dispute where we shall fight, but consider how we shall ouercome, the which if we can so bring to passe, be sure we shall put the warre farre enough from vs. For men that are ouercome, be euer in feare and daunger, where soeuer they be. When the *Athenians* had lost a battell against *Philip*, the seditious Orators that hunted after inuocation, preferred *Chabrias* to be chosen general of the *Athenians*: whereuppon, the Magistrates & Senators being affraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the *Areopagits*, they made such earnest sute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at last (but with much a doe) they obteyned, that the affaires of the citie might be put into *Phocion*s handes & gouernment.

Phocion se-
cured the citie
of *Byzantium*.

Phocion draue
Philip out of
Hellespont.

Phocion ioyn-
ed *Megara*
vnto *Athenis*.

He thought good to accept the articles and gentle conditions of peace which *Philip* offered them. But after that the Orator *Demades* moued that the cite of *ATHENS* should enter into the common treatie of peace, & common assembly of the states of *GREECE*, procured at king *Philip* request: *Phocion* would not agree to it, vnill they might vnderstand what demands *Philip* would make at the assembly of the *GREECIANS*. When his opinion through the perversities of time could not be liked of them, & that he saw the *ATHENIANS* soone after repented them that they did not followe his counsell, when they heard they should furnish king *Philip* with shippes and horsemen; then he told them, the feare whereof ye now complaine, made me to withstand that, which now ye haue consented vnto. But sithence it is so that you haue nowe past your consents, you must be contented, and not be discouraged at it: remembering that your auncelors in times past haue sometye commaunded, and other while obeyed others, and yet haue so wisely and discretely gouerned them selues in both fortunes, that they haue not onely saued their cite, but all *GREECE* besides. When newes came of king *Philip*'s death, the people for ioy would straight haue made bonfires and sacrifices to the goddesses for the good newes: but *Phocion* would not suffer them, and sayd, that it was a token of a base minde, to ioyce at any mans death, & besides that, the armie which ouerthrew you at *CHERONEA*, hath not yet lost but one man. And when *Demosthenes* also would commonly speake ill of *Alexander*, and specially when he was so neare *THEBES* with his armie: *Phocion* rehearsed vnto him these verses of *Homer*:

*How great a folly is it for to stand
Against a cruell king,*

*Which beeing armed and hauing sword in hand,
Seekes fame of euery thing?*

What, when there is such a great fire kindled, wilt thou cast the cite into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not suffer them to cast them selues away: for to that ende haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernment. And afterwards also, when *Alexander* had raised the cite of *THEBES*, and had required the *ATHENIANS* to deliuer him *Demosthenes*, *Lycargus*, *Hyperides*, and *Caridemus*, and that the whole assembly and counsell not knowing what answer to make, did all cast their eyes vpon *Phocion*, and cryed vnto him to say his opinion: he then rose vppe, and taking one of his friends vnto him called *Nicoles*, whome he loued and trusted aboue all men els, he sayd thus openly vnto them. These men whome *Alexander* requireth, haue brought this cite to this extremitie, that if he required *Nicoles* here, I would giue my consent to deliuer him: For I would thinke my selfe happy to lose my life, for all your safetie. Furthermore, though I am right hartely sory (sayd he) for the poore afflicted *THEBANS*, that are come into the cite for succour: yet I assure ye, it is better one cite mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is best to intreape the Conqueror for both, rather then to our certaine destruction to fight with him that is the stronger. It is sayd also that *Alexander* refused the first decree which the people offered him vpon *Phocion*'s request, and sent away the Ambassadors, and would not speake with them. But the second, which *Phocion* him selfe brought, he tooke: beeing tolde by his fathers olde seruants, that king *Philip* made great account of him. Wherevpon, *Alexander* did not onely giue him audience, and graunt his request, but further followed his counsell. For *Phocion* perswaded him, if he loued quietnes to leaue warre: if he desired fame, then that he should make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the *GREECIANS*. So *Phocion* feeding *Alexanders* humor with such talke and discourse as he thought would like him best: he lo altered and softened *Alexanders* disposition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the *ATHENIANS* should looke to their affayres, for if he should dye, he knewe no people fitter to commaund then they. Furthermore, because he would be better acquainted with *Phocion*, and make him his friend: he made so much of him, that he more honored him, then all the rest of his friends. To this effect, *Darius* the historiographer writeth, that when *Alexander* was growen very great, and had ouercome king *Darius*: he left out of his letters this worde *Charin* (to wit, ioy, and health) which he vsed commonly in all the letters he wrote, and would no more honor any other with that maner of salutation, but *Phocion*, & *Antipater*. *Chares* also writeth the same. And they

To reioyce as
any man
hert, streweth
a baste mind,
& vile na-
ture.

Alexander
pacified with
the *Atheni-
ans*, by *Phoci-
on*'s meanes.

As they all doe confesse, that *Alexander* sent *Phocion* a great gift out of *ASIA*, of a hundred silver talents. This money being brought to *ATHENS*, *Phocion* asked them that brought it, why *Alexander* gaue him such a great reward, aboue all the other Citizens of *ATHENS*. Bicause, sayd they, he onely esteemeth thee to be a good, and honest man. *Phocion* replied againe, then let him giue me leaue to be that I seeeme, & am, while I liue. The messengers would not so leaue him, but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbandrie, & thriftines: For they found his wife her selfe baking, and he him selfe drew water before them, out of the well, to wash his feete. But then they were more earnestly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings present, and were offended with him, saying it was a shame for *Alexanders* friend to liue so miserably and beggerly as he did. Then *Phocion* seeing a poore old man goe by, in a threed bare gowne, asked them, whether they thought him worse then he? No, God forbid, answered they againe. Then replied he againe, he liues with lesse then I do, and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be short, said he, if I should take this summe of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on the other side, if I occupy it, I shall make all the cite speake ill of the king and me both. So this great present was sent backe from *ATHENS*, whereby he shewed the *GREECIANS*, that he was richer than needed not such golde & silver, then he that gaue it him. But when *Alexander* wrote againe vnto *Phocion*, that he did not reckon them his friends, that would take nothing of him: *Phocion* notwithstanding would not take the money, but onely requested him for his sake, that he would set these men at libertie, which were kept prisoners in the cite of *SARDIS*, for certaine accusations layde against them: *Echeeratus* the Rhetorician, *Athenodorus* borne in the cite of *IMBROS*, and two *CORINTHIANS*, *Demetrius* and *Spartus*. *Alexander* presently set them at libertie, and sent *Craterus* into *MACEDON*, commaunding him to giue *Phocion* the choyce of one of these foure cities off *ASIA*, which he liked best: *CIOS*, *GERGITHA*, *MYLASSIS*, *ELIA*: sending him worde, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuse this offer, then he was at the first. But *Phocion* would neuer accept any one of them: and *Alexander* shortly after dyed. *Phocion*'s house is seene yet at this day in the village of *MELITTA*, set forth with plates of copper; but otherwise very meane, and without curiositie. For his wiues he married, there is no mention made of the first, sauing that *Cephisodorus* the image grauer was her brother. But for his second wife, she was no lesse famous at *ATHENS*, for her honestie, and good housewifuerie: then *Phocion*, for his iustice and equitie. And for prooffe thereof, it is reported, that the *ATHENIANS* being one day assembled in the Theater, to see newe tragedies played, one of the players when he shoulde haue comen vpon the scaffolde, to haue played his parte, asked the setter forth of the playes, the apparell of a Queene; and certaine Ladies to wayte vpon her, because he was to playe the parte of the Queene. The setter forth of the playes denying him, the player went away in a rage; and left the people staring one at another, and would not come out vpon the stage. But *Melanthius* the setter forth of the playes, compelling him, brought him by force on the stage, and cryed out vnto him: Dost thou not see *Phocions* wife, that goeth vppe and downe the cite, with one mayde onely wayting on her? and wilt thou playe the foole, and marre the modestie of the women of *ATHENS*? The people hearing his wordes, filled all the Theater with ioye and clapping of handes. The same Ladye, when a certaine gentlewoman of *ILONIA* came to *ATHENS* to see her, and shewed her all her riche iewells and precious stones she had: she answered her agayne, all my riches and iewells, is my husband *Phocion*; who these twenty yeares together, hath continually beene choosen generall for the *ATHENIANS*. *Phocion*'s sonne telling his father on a tyme, that he was desirous to contend with other younge men for the victorie, who should cunninglyest leape out, and gette vppe agayne into the charretts or coaches, running their full courie, at the feastes *Panathenaeas* at *ATHENS*: his father was contented he shoulde, not that he was desirous his sonne shoulde haue the honor of the victorie, but bicause by this honest exercise he should growe to better manner; for that he was a dissolute younge man, and much giuen to wine. Yet he wanne the victorie at that tyme; and there were diuers of his fathers friends, that prayed him to doe them that honour, that they might keepe the feast of this victorie in their houses. *Phocion* denyed them all, but one man; and him he suffered to shewe his good

Phocion's ver-
tie and inte-
grity, refusing
of *Alexan-
ders* money.

Phocion's
house and
wines.

Phocion, *Pho-
cions* sonne,
what he was,
and a kinde
of his house
and his man-
ner.

will vnto his house, and went thither him selfe to supper to him. Where amongst many fine and superfluous things prepared, he found passing bathes of wine and sweete smelling spices to washe the feete of the bydden guesstes as they came to the feast: Whereupon he called his sonne to him, and asked him, howe canst thou abyde *Phocion*, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victorie with excess? But because he would withdraw his sonne from that licentious life, he brought him to SPARTA, and placed him there amonge younge boyes brought vpp after the LACONIAN discipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it, to see that *Phocion* did so much despise his owne contrie manner and facions. Also when Demades the Orator one daye sayde vnto *Phocion*: why doe we not perswade the ATHENIANS to liue after the LACONIAN manner? As for me (sayde he) if thou wilt make one to sette it forward: I am ready to be the first man to moue the matter. In deede, *Phocion*, thou art a meete man to perswade the ATHENIANS to liue LACONIAN like, in common together at their meales, and to prayse *Lycurgus* straight lawe: that art thy selfe commonly so persumed, and fine in thy apparell. Another tyme when Alexander wrote letters vnto ATHENS to sende him some shippes, and that the Orators perswaded them not to graunt him, the people called vpon *Phocion* chiefly to saye his opinion: then *Phocion* tolde them plainly, me thinks ye must eyther make your selues the strongest in warres, or beinge the weaker, procure to be friendes vnto the stronger. *Pythias*, a newcome Orator, beinge full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speake in euery matter: Wherefore *Phocion* sayde vnto him, good goddes, will this noues neuer leaue babling? And when *Harpalus* king Alexanders Lieutenent of the prouince of BABYLON, fledde out of ASIA, and came to ATTICA with a great summe of golde and siluer: straight these men that solde their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a figne of swallows. And he stucke not to giue euery one of them a peece of money to baste them with: for it was a trifle to him, considering the great summes of money he brought. But to *Phocion* him selfe, he sent vnto him seuen hundred talents, and offered him selfe and all that he had into his bandes of trust. But *Phocion* gaue him a sharpe aunswer, and tolde him, that he woulde make him repent it, if he corrupted the cite of ATHENS in that manner. So *Harpalus* beinge amared therewith, left him at that tyme, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIANS late in counsell about him, he perceived that those which had taken his money, were thronge from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should haue excused him, to bleere the world, that men should not suspecte them they had beene corrupted; and that *Phocion* on thother side which had refused his money, hauing respect to the common wealth, had also some regarde to saue his life: he once more attempted all the wayes he could to wyne him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could cary the man. Then *Harpalus* falling in friendship with *Charicles* (*Phocions* sonne in lawe) he made him to beill spoken of, and greatly suspected, because men sawe that he trusted him in all things, and employed him in all his assayres. As, in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous tombe for *Pythias*, the famous Curisan that was deade, whom he loued, and by whome he had a Daughter: the taking upon him whereof was no lesse shame vnto *Charicles*, then the finishing thereof was disgrace vnto him. This tombe is seene vnto this daye in a place called Hermium, in the hie waye from ATHENS to ELEVSIN: the workman shippes thereof beinge nothing like neare the charge of thirtie talents, which was reported to be giuen by *Harpalus* vnto *Charicles*, for the finishing of the same. Furthermo, after *Harpalus* death, *Charicles* and *Phocion* tooke his Daughter, and carefully brought her vpp. Afterwards also, *Charicles* beinge accused for the money he had taken of *Harpalus*, he besought his father in lawe *Phocion*, to helpe to ease him in his iudgement. But *Phocion* flatly denyed him, and sayde: *Charicles*, I tooke thee for my sonne in lawe, in all honest and iust causes onely. Furthermore, when *Alepiades*, the sonne of *Hipparchus*, brought the first newes of the deathe of Kinge Alexander, Demades the Orator would not beleue him: for, sayde he, if it were true, all the earthe woulde smell of the saour of his corse. *Phocion* then perceyuing the people beganne to bee highe minded, and sought innouation: he went about to brydle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators gotte vpp

*Phocion de-
spised Har-
palus money.*

*Phocion re-
fused to de-
fend his sonne
in law in an
ill cause.*

TO

At the pulpit for orations, and cryed out, that *Alepiades* newes were true of Alexander: deathe: well then, *Phocion*, if it bee true to daye, it shall be true also to morrowe, and the next day after. And therefore my Maisters, bee not too hasty, but thinke of it at better leysure, and sette your assayres at a sure staye. When *Leosthenes* also by his practise had brought the cite of ATHENS into the warre called the GREEKES warre, and in skorne asked *Phocion*, that was offended at it, what good he had done to the common wealth so many yeares together as he had beene Generall ouer the ATHENIANS: *Phocion* answered him, no small good, sayde he, for all my contrye men haue beene buried at home in their owne graues. Another tyme *Leosthenes* speaking proudly and insolently to the people, *Phocion* one daye sayde vnto him: younge man my friende, thy wordes are lyke to a Cypres tree, which is highe and greate, but beareth no frute. Then *Hyperides* rising vpp, asked *Phocion*: when wilt thou then counsell the ATHENIANS to make warre? when I shall see younge men, sayde he, not forsake their ranks, tiche men liberall, and Orators leaue to robbe the common wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondred to see suche a goodly greate armie as *Leosthenes* had leauied: and that they asked *Phocion* howe he lyked it. A goodly armie, *Phocion*, for a furlonge, but I feare their returne; and the continuance of this warre: for I doe not see the cite able to make any more money, nor moe shippes; neyther yet any moe fouldiers than these. The which proued true, as it fell out afterwards: For at the first, *Leosthenes* did notable exploits. He ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and draue *Antipater* into the cite of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in suche a hope and iolitie, that they made continuall feastes and sacrifices through the cite, to thanke the gods for these good newes. And there were some amongst them, that to take *Phocion* in a trippie, asked him if he did not wish that he had done all those things? yes in deede, answered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not haue giuen the counsell to haue done them. Another tyme also when letters came, dayly, one after another, bringing good newes, good gods, sayde he, when shall we leaue to ouercome. When *Leosthenes* was deade in this voyage, they that feared *Phocion* shoulde bee appoynted Capayne in his place, and that he woulde pacifie the warre: did thrust in a man of meane hatur, and unknown, that sayde in the assemblie, he was *Phocions* friende and schoolefellowe, and therefore besought the people that they woulde spare *Phocion*, because they had not suche another man as he; and that they woulde make *Antipater* Generall of their armie. The people were contented withall. But then *Phocion* stood vpp, and sayde, that this man was neuer schooller with him, neyther did he euer knowe him before that tyme: but now sayde he; from henceforth I will take thee for my friende, for thou hast giuen the people the best counsell for me. The people notwithstanding determining to make warre with the BOEOTIANS, *Phocion* spake agaynst it all he coude. Thereupon, his friendes bidding him beware of suche speeches; howe he did offende the people, least they killed him: he answered them, they shall wrongfully put me to death; *Phocion*, speaking for the benefite of my contrye, but otherwise they shall haue reason to doe it, if I speake to the contrarye. But when he sawe nothing woulde pacifie them, and that they went on still with their intent: then he commaunded the Herald to proclaim by sounde of tromper, that all Citizens from foureteene yeares to thre score, able to cary weapon, shoulde presently vpon breaking vp of thassembly, arme themselves, and followe him with fve dayes prouision for vittells. Then was there greate sturte amonge them in the cite, and the olde men came and complained vnto him: for his ouer straight commaundement. He tolde them agayne, I doe you no wronge: for I am foure score my selfe, and yet will goe with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that tyme, and quenched their fond desire of warre. But when all the sea coast was full of fouldiers; both of the MACEDONIANS, and other straungers which were ledde by *Attilus* their Captain; that landed in the territorie of the village RHAMNYS; and spoyled the countrey thereabouts: then *Phocion* ledde the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, diuers taking vpon them the Office of a Lieutenent, and going about to counsell him, some to lodge his campe ypon such a hill, and others to send his horsemen to such a place, and others to campe here. O Hercules, *Phocion*, how many Capitaines doe I see, and how fewe fouldiers? Afterwards when he had set

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his footemen in battell raye, there was one amongst them that left his rancke, and stepped A out before them all. Thereupon one of his enemies also made towards him, to fight with him: but the A THENIANS hart failed him, and he went backe againe to his place. Then sayd Phocion vnto him: art thou not ashamed young lowte to haue forsaken thy rancke twice? the one, where thy Captaine had placed thee, and the other in the which thou haddest placed thy selfe? So Phocion giuing charge apon the enemies, he ouerthrew them, and slue Micion their Captaine, with diuers others. Furthermore, the armie of the G RECIANS being at that time in THESALY, wanne a battell against Antipater, and Leonatus, that ioyned with him with the MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of ASIA: where Leonatus was slaine in the field, Antiphilus being general of the footemen, and Menon T HESSALIAN, Colonell of the horsemen. Shortly after, Craterus coming out of ASIA into EVROPE with a great armie, they fought a battell by the citie of CRANON, where the G RECIANS were ouerthrowen: yet was not the ouerthrowe nor slaughter greate, although it came through the disobedience of the soldiers to their Captaines, which were but young men, and vsed them ouer gently. Moreover, when Antipater practised to make their cities reuolt, they betrayed them, and shamefully forooke to defend their common libertie: Whereupon Antipater marched forth with his armie, to the citie of A THENS. Demosthenes and Hyperides vnderstanding that, forooke the citie. Then Demades, that was in disgrace and defamed for lacke of payment of such fines as were set vpon his head (being seuen severall times condemned, because he had so many tymes moued matters contrary to the law) and could not therefore be suffered any more to speake in the assembly, was then dispensed withall, and licenced to speake: whereupon he moued the people to send Ambassadors vnto Antipater, with full commission & authoritie to treat with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans trust this absolute authoritie to treat of peace: they called for Phocion, saying, that he onely was to be trusted with the ambassade. Then Phocion answered them: if you had beleueed my former counsell I alwaies gaue you, such weighty matters should not now haue troubled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by the people, Phocion was sent Ambassador vnto Antipater, that laye then in the castell of Cadmea, being ready at that time to invade the contrye of ATTICA. Phocion first requested him, that before he remoued from thence, he would make peace with the A THENIANS. Craterus presently answered him: Phocion, thy request is vnreasonable, that lying here we should ease out our friendes, and destroy their contry: when we may liue of our enemies, and enrich our selues with their spoyle. But Antipater taking Craterus by the hand, tolde him: we must needs doe Phocion this pleasure. And for the rest, touching the capitulations of peace, he willed that the A THENIANS should send them a blanke, and referre the condicions of peace vnto them: like as he him selfe being beleaged in the citie of LAMIA, had referred all capitulations and articles of peace, vnto the discretion of Leosthenes their generall. So when Phocion was come backe to A THENS, the A THENIANS seeing there was no remedie, were compelled to be contented with such offer of peace, as the enemye made them. Then Phocion was sent backe againe to Antipater at THEBES, with other Ambassadors ioyned in commission with him: amongst whom also, was that famous Philosopher Xenocrates. The estimation of his vertue was so great with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing man so prowd, cruel, disdainfull, nor hasty E of nature, but that the onely looke of Xenocrates would soften and qualifie him, and make him to reuerence him. But yet with Antipater it fell out contrary, by his peruerse nature, which hated all vertue: for he embraced all the rest, & would not once salute Xenocrates. Whereupon, some say, that Xenocrates said then: Antipater doth well to be ashamed, to see me a wimes of the discurtellie and euill he meaneth vnto the A THENIANS. So when Xenocrates beganne to speake, Antipater would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the ende commaunded him to holde his peace. When Phocion had spoken, Antipater answered them: that he would make peace with the A THENIANS, so they deliuered him Demosthenes and Hyperides: that they should keepe their auncient lawes and gouernment, that they should receive a garrison into the haven of Munichia, that they should defray the charges of this warre, and also paye a ranfome besides. All the other Ambassadors but Xenocrates, willingly accepted these condicions of peace, as very reasonable and fauourable: but he sayde, that

Phocion vi-
sory of the
Macedonians

The Greci-
ans ouercom
by Antipater.

Phocion Am-
bassador vnto
Antipater.

Xenocrates
authoritie.

Xenocrates
disposed of
Antipater.

A that for slaues, Antipater did handle them fauorably: but for free men, he delt too hardly with them. Then Phocion besought him that he would yet release them of their garrison. But Antipater (as it is sayde) answered him: Phocion, we would gladly graunt thee any thing, sa- uing that which should vndoe thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithstanding, that An- tipater sayd not so, but asked him, if he would become surtiet for the A THENIANS, that they should attempt no alteration, but faithfully keepe the articles and condicions of this peace, if he did release them of this garrison. Phocion then holding his peace, & delaying answer, there was one Callimedes furnished Carabos, (a bolde man, and hated the libertie of the people) that brake forth in these words: if Phocion were so fond to giue his word for the A THENIANS, wouldest thou, Antipater, beleue him therefore, and leaue to doe that thou hast determined? Thus B were the A THENIANS driue to receive the garrison of the MACEDONIANS, of the which Menyllus was captaine, an honest man, and Phocians friend. This commaundement to receive the garrison within the haven of Munichia, was found very stately, and done by Antipater, rather of a vaine glory to boast of his power: then for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke possession of the castell, he further increased their griefe: because the garrison entred the twenty day of Boedromion (to wit, the moneth of August) on the which the feast day of their militaries was celebrated, at what time they make their proces- sion called Iacchus, from the citie of A THENS, vnto ELEVSIN. Therefore the solemnitie of this holy feast being thus confused, many beganne to consider, that in olde tyme when their Realme did flourish, there were heard and seene voyces and images of the goddes on that day, which made the enemies both afraid, and amazed: and nowe in contrary manner, in the very selfe same solemnitie of the gods, they sawe the greatest calamitie that could haue hap- pened vnto G RECE. And the holiest feast which was kept all the yere through before, became then too prophaned with the title of the greatest misfortune and euent, that euer happened vnto the G RECIANS, which was, the losse of their libertie. For not many yeares before, there was brought an oracle from DODONA vnto A THENS: that they shoulde looke well to the rockes of DIANA, that straungers shoulde not possesse them. And about that tyme also, the couerings with the which they doe adorne the holy beddes of the mysteries, beinge wetted with water, became from a purple culler which they had before, to looke yellowe and pale, as it had bene the couering of a deade bodie. Yea, and that which was most to bee won- dered at of all other, was this: that taking other couerings which were not holy, and put- ting them in the same water, they did without changing keepe their culler they had before. When one of the Ministers of the temple also did washe a litle pygge in the sea, in a cleane place by the wharfe: there sodainly came a greatesse the that byte at it, and caryed the hin- der partes of the pygge cleane away with it. Whereby men coniectured, that the goddes did signifie vnto them, that they should lose the lowest parte of their citie nearest to the sea, and should keepe the highest partes thereof. This notwithstanding, the garrison did not of- fend nor trouble the A THENIANS, because of the honestie of their Captaine Menyllus. Nowe there were about twelue thousand Citizens; that for their poetrie lost the benefit of their freedome: of the which, parte of them remayned at A THENS, vnto whom it seemed, they E offered great wronge and iniurie: and parte of them also went into THRACIA, where Anti- pater assigned them townes and landes to inhabit. They seemed to be menlike vnto them that had bene taken by assaulte, or by seerge within a citie, which had bene compelled to forsake their contrie. Furthermore, the shameful death of Demosthenes in the Ile of CA- LAVRIA, and of HYPERIDES, by the citie of CELONES, (whereof we haue written hereto- fore) were almost occasion giuen them to lament the tymes of the raigne of king Philip and Alexander. As it is reported, that when Antigonus was slayne, they that had ouercomen him, were so cruell vnto their subiectes: that a laborer in the contrie of PHRYGIA digging the earthe, beinge asked what he sought for, answered, sighing: I seeke for Antigonus. Then many men beganne to say as much, when they remembered the noble mindes of those F two great Princes, howe mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their dis- pleasure: not like Antipater, who craftily cloyed his tyrannicall power which he vsurped, by beeing famillier, going simply appparelled, and faring meanelly: and yet showed him

Prisages of
the mysteries
of the Athen-
ians.

The crueltie
of Antipater.

selfe notwithstanding a more cruell Lorde and tyrant vnto them whome he had ouercome. A Neuertheles, *Phocion* obtayned of him the restoring agayne of diuers men, whome he had banished: and those whome he could not gette to bee restored, yet he procured that they shoulde not be banished into so farre contries, as others which had bene sent beyonde the Mountaines Acroceranians, and the head of *Tanarus* out of *Greece*, but that they had libertie to remayne within the contrie of *Peloponnesus*: amonge the which, was one *Agonides* a Sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remayned in *Athens* with great iustice and lenitie, and such as he knewe to be good men and quiet, them he alwayes preferred to some office: but such as he sawe were fantastike people, and desirous of chaunge, he kept them from office, and tooke all occasion from them, so that they vanished awaye of them selues, and learned in tyme to loue the contrye, and to followe tilage. When he sawe *Xenocrates* also paye a certeine pension or tribute to the common wealth, which all straungers dwelling in *Athens* diuide yearly to paye: he woulde haue made him a free man, and offered to put his name amongst the number of free Citizens. But *Xenocrates* refused it, saying, he woulde haue no parte of that freedome, for the hinderance whereof, he had bene sent Ambassador. And when *Menyllus* had sent *Phocion* money, he made him answer: that *Menyllus* was no greater Lorde then *Alexander* had bene, neyther had he at that tyme any greater occasion to receyue his present, then when he had refused King *Alexanders* gyfte. *Menyllus* replying agayne, sayde: that if he had no neede of it for him selfe, yet he might let his sonne *Phocion* haue it. But *Phocion* answered: if my sonne *Phocion* will leaue his naughtie lyfe, and become an honest man, that which I will leaue him, shall serue his turne very well: but if it bee so that he will still holde on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. An other tyme also he answered *Antipater* more roundly, when he woulde haue had him done an vnholiest thinge: *Antipater*, sayde he, can not haue me his friende, and flatterer both. *Antipater* selfe was wont to saye, that he had two friendes in *Athens*, *Phocion* and *Demades*: of the which, he coulde neuer make the one to take any thinge of him, and the other, he coulde neuer satisfie him. And truly *Phocions* poeurye was a greates glorie of his vertue, sythe he was growen olde, continuing in the same, after he had bene so many tymes generall of the *Athenians*, and had receyued suche friendshippe and curtesie, of so many Kinges and Princes. Where *Demades* to the contrarye delighted to shewe his riches in D things that were contrarye to the lawes of the cite. For, a decree beeing made at *Athens*, commanding that no straunger, vpon forfeiture of a thousand Drachmas to bee payed by the defrayer of the daunces to the cite, shoulde bee any of the Dauncers that daunced at any common playes or sportes: *Demades* one daye making certeyne games and sportes at his owne charges, brought a hundred Dauncers of straungers at one tyme, and with all, brought also a hundred thousand Drachmas to paye the forfeiture thereof. Another tyme when he maryed his sonne *Demas*, he sayde vnto him: sonne, when I maryed thy mother, there was so small roste, that my next neighbour knewe not of it: where now at thy maryage, Kinges and Princes are at the charge of the scalfe. Furthermore, when the *Athenians* were importunate with *Phocion* to goe to *Antipater*, to intreate him to take E his garrison out of their cite: he still refused the ambassade, eyther bycause he had no hope to obtayne it, or for that he sawe the people more obedient vnto reason, for feare of the garrison. Howebeit he obtayned of *Antipater*, that he shoulde not bee too hastye in demanding of his money, but shoulde deferre it tyll a further tyme. So the *Athenians* perceiuing they could doe no good with *Phocion*, they intreated *Demades*, who willingly tooke the matter vpon him, and went with his sonne into *Maccedon*, whether doubtles his destinie caried him to his vtter destruction, euen at that very tyme when *Antipater* was fallen sicke of a discaise whereof he dyed: Whereby the affayres of the Realme went through the handes of *Cassander* his sonne, who had intercepted a letter of this *Demades*, which he had sent vnto *Antigonius* in *Asia*, willing him to come in all possible speede to winne *Greece* and *Maccedon*, F which hong but of an old rotte threde, mocking *Antipater* in this maner. Wherefore *Cassander* being aduertised of his arrival, he made him presently to be apprehended, & setting his sonne hard

*Phocion re-
fuseth Menyl-
lus gyfte.*

*Phocion de-
and poeurye.
The infam-
e of Dema-
des the Orator*

*Cassander
king Antipa-
ters sonne.*

A hard by him, slue him before his father, so neere him, that the blood of his sonne sprang vpon him: so that the father was all bloodied with the murder of his sonne. Then *Cassander* calling in *Demades* teeth his ingratitude, and trecherous treason against his father, geuing him all the reproachfull words he could deuise: at the length he slue him with his owne hands. Now *Antipater* before his death, had established *Polyperchon* General of the armie of the *Maccedoni-
ans*, & *Cassander* his sonne, only Colonell of a thousand footemen. He notwithstanding, after his fathers decease, taking vpon him the gouernment of the realme: sent *Nicanor* with speede: to succede *Menyllus* in the Captaine ship of the garrison of *Athens*, before his death shoulde be reuealed, commanding him first in any case, to take the castell of *Munychia*, which he did. Shorly after, the *Athenians* vnderstanding of the death of *Antipater*, they accused *Phocion*, for that he had known of his death long before, and yet kept it secret to please *Nicanor*. But *Phocion* regarded not this accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with *Nicanor*: whom he handled so wisely, that he made him not only frendly vnto the *Athenians*, but furthermore perswaded him to be at some charge to geue the people the pastime of common playes, which he made to be done at his cost. In the meane time, *Polyperchon*, who had the gouernment of the kings person, meaning to geue *Cassander* a stampant and blurt, he sent letters pattentes vnto the people at *Athens*, declaring how the young king did restore vnto them their popular state againe, and commanded that all the *Athenians* should vie their former auncient lawes of their cite. This was a vile & craftie fetch against *Phocion*. For *Polyperchon* desiring this practise to get the city of *Athens* into his hands (as it fel out afterwards C by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpose, vnles he found meanes first to banish *Phocion*: and thought that he shoulde easily bring that to passe, when suche as had before bene put of their freedom, by his meanes, should come againe to haue voyces in thassembly, and that the seditious Orators and accusers might be turned at liberty againe, to say what they woulde. The *Athenians* hauing heard the contentes of these letters pattentes, beganne to be somewhat quickened, and moued with all: whereupon *Nicanor* desiring to speake with the *Athenians* in their Senate, which was assembled in the haue of *Piræa*: he went and hazarded his person amongst them, upon *Phocions* faith and word. *Dercyllus* Captaine for the king, being secretly aduertised thereof, and in the field, not farre from the cite, did what he could: to take *Nicanor*: but *Nicanor* hauing warning of it in tyme, saued him selfe. Then it appeared, that *Nicanor* would presently be reuenged of the cite, and they accused *Phocion* because he kept him not, but did let him goe. Whereunto he answered: that he trusted *Nicanors* word, and that he did not thinke he would offer the cite any hurt, but if it should fall out otherwise, he had rather the world should know, that he had the wrong offered him, then that he should offer any. This truly appeared to be nobly spoken, in respect of him selfe. But considering that he being then General, did thereby hazard the safety of his contrie: I can not tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to haue had, to the safety of his contriemen. Neither coulde he also alleage for his excuse, that he did not laye handes on *Nicanor*, for feare to bring the city into manifest warre: but that for a colour he did preferre the faith which he had sworne and promised vnto him, and the iustice that he would obserue in his behalfe: that for E his sake, *Nicanor* should afterwards keepe him selfe in peace, and doe no hurte to the *Athenians*. Howebeit in troth it seemed, that nothing deceived *Phocion*: but by the ouer trust he had in this *Nicanor*. The which seemeth to be so, because when diuers came to him to complaine of *Nicanor*, that he sought all the secret meanes he coulde to surpris the haue of *Piræa*, and that he dayly passed ouer souldiers in the Ile of *Salamina*, and practised to bribe certaine of the inhabitants within the precinct of the haue: he would neuer heare of it, and muche lesse beleue it. Furthermore, when *Philomedes* *Lamprian* made a motion, that the *Athenians* should prepare to be in readines to waite upon their Captaine *Phocion*, to do as he commanded them: he made no account of it, vntill he saw *Nicanor* come out with his souldiers from the fort of *Munychia*, and that he beganne to cast trenches to compasse in the ha F uen of *Piræa*. But then, when *Phocion* thought to lead out the people to preuent him: he found they mutined against him, and no man would obey his commaundement. In the meane time, *Alexander* the sonne of *Polyperchon* came with an armie, pretending to aide them of the cite

*The inform-
ation end of
Demades.*

*Polyperchon
Generall of
the armie of
the Macce-
donians.*

*Polyperchon
compraisit a-
gainst Pho-
cion.*

*Reason to re-
scue them to
offer an in-
iury.*

Alexander,
the Sonne of
Polyperchon,
practiseth
treason a-
gainst the A-
thenians.

Phocion ac-
cused of trea-
son.

Polyperchon
did put Di-
marchus to
death.

Phocion first
prisoner to A-
thenians to be
condemned.

against *Nicanor*, where in deede he meint (if he could) to get the rest of the city into his hands. A then specially, when they were in greatest broile one against an other, and the rather, because the banished men entred hand other head with him, and diuers strangers also, and other defamed men: so that there was a confused counsell and assembly of Omnigatherum kept within the citie, without any order, in the which *Phocion* was deprived of his office of General, and others were also chosen Captaines in his place. And had they not seene this *Alexander* talking alone with *Nicanor*, and returning many times hard to the wallies of the citie, which made the *ATHENIANS* affrayed and mistrustfull: they had neuer saued it from taking. At that time *Phocion* was presently accused of treason by the Orator *Agonides*: the which *Callimedes* and *Pericles* fearing, got them out of the citie betimes. And *Phocion* also with his friends that were not fled, went vnto *Polyperchon*: with whom also *Solon PLATYAN*, and *Dinarchus CORINTHIAN*, went for company, who thought to haue found frendshipp and familiarity with *Polyperchon*. Howbeit *Dinarchus* falling sicke by the way, in the citie of *ELATIA*, they stayed there many dayes, hoping of his recouerie. But in the meane time, the people at the perswasion of the Orator *Agonides*, and at the request of *Archeistrates*, stablished a decree, to sende Ambassadors vnto *Polyperchon*, to accuse *Phocion*: inasmuch as both parties met at one selfe time, and found him in the field with the king about a village of the contrie of *PHOCIE*, called *PHARYGES*, standing at the foote of the mountaine *Acronion*, which they surname also *Galaten*. There *Polyperchon* commaunded a cloth of gold to be set vp, and caused the king to be set vnder the same, and all his chieffest frendes about him. But to beginne withall, he made *Dinarchus* to be taken, and commaunded them to put him to death after they had racked him: C then he willed the *ATHENIANS* to tell what they had to say. Then they beganne to quarrell, and to be lowde one with an other, accusing one an other in the presence of the king and his counsell: vntill *Agonides* at length stepped forth, and sayd: my Lordes of *MACEDON*, puts all in prison, then send vs bound handes and feete to *ATHENS*, to geue account of our doinges. The king laughed to heare him say so. But the noble men of *MACEDON* that were present then, and diuers strangers besides to heare their complaints: made signe to the Ambassadors to viter their accusations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at *ATHENS*. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for *Polyperchon* checked vp *Phocion* oftentimes, and did still cut of his tale, as he thought to purge him selfe: inasmuch as in anger, he beat his staffe he had in his hand against the ground, and commaunded him at length to hold his peace, & to get him thence. And when *Hegemon* also told *Polyperchon*, that he him selfe could best witnesse, howe *Phocion* had alwayes faithfully serued and loued the people: he angrily answered him, come not hether to lye falsely vpon me, in the presence of the king. Therewith the king rose out of his seate, and tooke a speare in his hand, thinking to haue killed *Hegemon*: had not *Polyperchon* sodainly embraced him behinde, and stayed him. So the counsell rose, and brake vp, but presently *Phocion* was apprehended, and they that stood by him. Certaine of his friends seeing that, which stood further of, misseled their faces, and straight conueyed them selues away. The rest were sent prisoners to *ATHENS* by *Clitus*, not so muche to haue their causes heard there, as to haue them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carying of them to *ATHENS* was shameful. F For they were caried vpon carres through the great streete *Ceramicum*, vnto the Theater: where *Clitus* kept them, vntill the Senate had assembled the people, excepting no bondman, no stranger, nor defamed person out of this assemble, but left the Theater wide open to all comers in whatsoever they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for euery man that would speake against them. So first of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he did aduerse the people, that he had found the offenders conuicted of treason: notwithstanding, that he referred the sentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were free men. Then *Clitus* brought his prisoners before the people, where the noble men when they saw *Phocion*, were affrayed, and hiding their faces, wept to see him. Howbeit, there was one that rose vp, and sayd: my Lordes sith the king referreth the iudgement of so great persons E vnto the people, it were great reason all the bondmen and strangers which are no free citizens of *ATHENS*, should be taken out of this assemble. The people would not agree to it, but cried

A cried out, that such traitors should be stoned to death, that fauor the authoritie of a few, and ate enemies of the people: whereupon silence was made, and no man durst speake any more for *Phocion*. Neuertheless when *Phocion* with muche a doe had obteyned audience, he asked them: my Lordes, will ye iustly, or wrongfully put vs to death? Some answered him: iustly. Howe then can ye doe it, & he, that will not heare our iustificacions? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then *Phocion* comming neerer, sayd vnto them. For my selfe, my Lordes, I confesse I haue done you wrong, & haue in gouernment committed faults deseruing death: but for these prisoners with me, what haue they done, why you shoulde put them to death? The common people answered him: because they are thy frends. With this answer *Phocion* departed, and spake neuer a word more. Then the Orator *Agonides* holding a decree in his hand ready wrytten, red it openly to the people, declaring how they should be iudged by voyces, whether the offenders had deserued death or not: and if it were found they had, then that they should all be put to death. And there were that when this decree was red, cried out, that they should adde further vnto the decree, that before *Phocion* should be put to death, they should first torment him: & therewithall commaundement was geuen that the wheele should be sette vp to breake his ioints apon it, and also that the hangman should be sent for. But then *Agonides* perceiving that *Clitus* was offended with it, and thinking besides it were too beastly and barbarous a parte to vse him in that sorte, he sayd openly: my Lordes, when you shall haue such a varlet in your handes as *Callimedes*, then you may cast him on the wheele: but against *Phocion*, I would not with such cruelty. Then rose vp a noble man among them, and added to his words: thou hast reason to say so, *Agonides*: for if *Phocion* should be layed on the wheele, what should we then doe with thee? The decree being confirmed, according to the contents thereof, iudgement was geuen by voyces of the people, no man fitting but all standing vp, and most of them with garlandes on their heades, for the ioy they had to condemne these prisoners to death. With *Phocion* there were condemned, *Nicoles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*: but *Demetrius PALERIAN*, *Callimedes*, and *Chariletes*, were also in their absence condemned to dye. Now when the assembly was broken vp, and that the persons condemned were caried backe to prison, from thence to be conueyed to execution: others imbracing their frends, and taking their last leaue of them as they went, wept, and lamented their cursed fortune. But *Phocion* looking as cheerefully of it as he was wont to doe being General, when D they honorably waited on him to his house, from the assembly: he made many of them pitie him in their hearts, to consider his constancie, and noble corage. On thother side also, there were many of his enemies that came as neere vnto him as they could, to reuile him, amongst whom there was one that stepped before him, and did spit in his face. Then *Phocion* turning him vnto the Magistrates, sayd: will you not cause this impudent fellow to leaue his rayling? When they were in prison, *Thudippus* seeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a mortar to geue them to drinke: he beganne desperately to curse and banne, saying, that they wrongfully put him to death with *Phocion*. Why, sayd *Phocion* againe: and doost thou not rather reioyce to dye with me? When one that stood by asked *Phocion*, if he would any thing to his sonne *Phocus*: yes, & he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the *ATHENIANS* do me. Then E *Nicoles* one of *Phocions* dearest frendes, prayed him to let him drinke the poyson before him. *Phocion* answered him, thy request is grieuous to me, *Nicoles*: but because I neuer denyed thee any thing in my life, I wil also graunt thee this at my death. When all the rest had dronke, there was no more poyson left, and the hangman sayd he would make no more vlesse they gaue him twelue Drachmas, for so much the pound did cost him. *Phocion* perceiving the that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his frends vnto him, and prayed him to geue the hangman that litle money he demanded, sith a man can not dye at *ATHENS* for nothing, without cost. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of *Munichion*, (to wit, *Marche*) on which day the Knights were wont to make a solemne procession in the honor of *Iupiter*: howbeit some of them left of the garlandes of flowers which they shoulde haue worn on their F heades, and others also looking towards the prison dore as they went by, burst out a weeping. For, they whose hearts were not altogether hardned with cruelty, & whose iudgements were not wholly suppressed with enuie, thought it a grieuous sacriledge against the goddess, that

The swine of
the Atheni-
ans against
Phocion.

The cruelty
of the Athe-
nians vnto
Phocion.

Phocion con-
demned to
death.

The constan-
cy and corage
of Phocion,
being con-
demned to
dye.

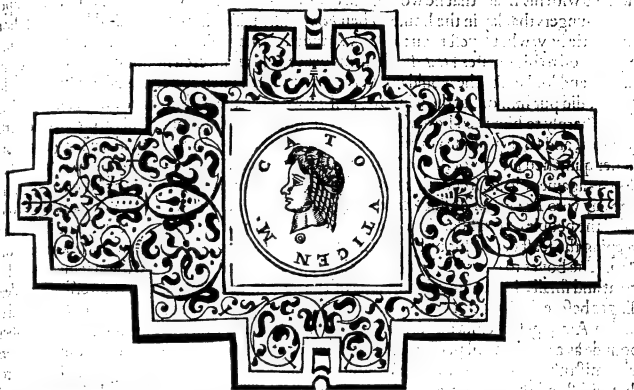
Phocion gaue
money to be
put to death.

they did not let that day passe, but that they did defile so solemne a feast, with the violent death of a man. His enemies notwithstanding, continuing still their anger against him, made the people passe a decree, that his bodie should be banished, and caried out of the bondes of the contry of ATTICA, forbidding the ATHENIANS that no fire should be made for the solemnising of his funeralls. For this respect no friend of his durst once touch his body. Howbeit a poore man called *Comopion*, that was wont to get his living that way, being hyered for money to burne mens bodies: he tooke his corse, and caried it beyond the city of ELEUSIN, and getting fire out of a womans house of MEGARA, he solemnised his funeralls. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of MEGARA, who comming by chance that way, with her gendemen, where his body was but newly burnt: she caused the earth to be cast vp a litle where the body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, whereupon she did vse such sprinklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the funeralls of the dead: & then taking vp his bones in her lappe in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her harth, saying: O deare harth, to thee I bequeath the reliques of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keepe them faithfully, to bring them one day to the graue of his auncesters, when the ATHENIANS shall come to confesse the fault & wrong they haue done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the vntowardnes of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who only maintained iustice, and honesty at ATHENS. Whereupon they made his image to be set vp in brasse, and gaue honorable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accusers, they condemned *Agnonides* of treason, and put him to death them selues. The other two, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus* being fled out of the citie, were afterwards met with by his sonne *Phocion*, who was reuenged of them. This *Phocion* as men reporte, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young maide which a bawde kept, comming by chance one day into the schoole of *Lycæum*, he heard *Theodorus* the Atheist (to wit, that beleued not there were any goddes) make this argument. If it be no shame, sayd he, to deliuer a mans friend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeeme his leman which he loueth: euen so it is all one to redeeme a mans leman, as his frende. This young man taking this argument to serue his turne, beleuing that he might lawfully doe it, got the young maide he loued from the bawde. Furthermore, this death of *Phocion* did also reuiue the lamentable death of *Socrates* vnto the GREGIANS; for men thought that it was a like hairous offence and calamitie vnto the citie of ATHENS.

The end of Phociens life.

Phociens funeral.

THE LIFE OF Cato Vtican.



THe family and house of *Cato*, tooke his first glorie and name of his great grandfather, *Cato* the Censor: who for his vertue (as we haue declared in his life) was one of the famoussest and worthiest men of ROMA in his time. This *Cato* whom we nowe wryte of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother *Cepio*, and *Porcia* his sister. *Servilia* was also *Catoes* halfe sister, by his mothers side. All these were brought vp with their vncke *Lucius Drusus*, at that time the greatest man of the citie: for he was passing eloquent, and verie honest, and of as great a courage besides, as any other ROMANE. Men report, that *Cato* from his childhood shewed him selfe both in word and countenance, and also in all his pastimes and recreations, verie constant, and stable. For he would goe through with that he tooke upon him to doe, and would force him selfe about his strength: and as he could not away with flatterers, so was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh, and yet had euer a pleasaunt countenance. He was not chollerike, nor easie to be angred: but when the blood was vp, he was hardly pacified. When he was first put to schoole, he was verie dull of vnderstanding, and slow to learne: but when he had once learned it, he would neuer forget it, as all men else commonly doe. For such as are quicke of conceits, haue commonly the worst memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, doe keepe that better which they haue learned. For euery kind of learning is a motion and quickening of the minde. He seemed besides not to be light of credit, & that may be some cause of his slownes in conceits. For truly he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth, that they that haue least reason to resist, are those which doe giue lightest credit. For young men are easely persuaded then old men, and the sicke then the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his doubts: there he is soonest brought to beleue any thing. This notwithstanding, it is reported that *Cato* was obedient vnto his schoolemaister, and would doe what he commanded him: howbeit he would aske him still the cause and reason of euery thing. In deede his schoolemaister was very gentle, and readier to reach him, then to strike him with his fist. His name was *Sarpedo*. Furthermore, when *Cato* was but a young boy, the people of ITALIA which were confederates of the ROMANS, sued to be made free citizens of ROMA. At that time it chaunted one *Pompeius Silo*, a valliant souldier, and of great estimation among the confederats of

The parentage of Cato.

Lucius Drusus, Catoes vncke, Calpurnius.

Why quicke vnderstanding neuer good memory.

Sarpedo, Catoes schoolemaister.

the ROMANS, and a great friend besides of *Drusus*: to be lodged many dayes at his house. He A in this time falling acquainted with these young boyes, sayd one day vnto them: good boyes, intreate your vncle to speake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of ROME. *Capio* smiling nodded with his head, that he would. But *Cato* making no answer, looked very wisely upon the strangers that lay in the house. Then *Pompedius*, taking him aside, asked him: and thou, my pretie boy, what sayest thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle, as well as thy brother, to be good to his guesstes? *Cato* still held his peace, and answered nothing, but shewed by his silence and looke, that he would not heare their request. Then *Pompedius* taking him vp in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would haue let him haue gone: and speaking more sharply to him then he did before, he cast him many times out of his armes without the window, and sayd, promise vs then, or else I will let thee fall. But *Cato* abid it a long time, and neuer quinned for it, nor shewed countenance of feare. Thereupon *Pompedius* letting him downe againe, told his friends that stood by him: O what good happe doth this child promise one day vnto *TRAIAN*, if he liue? sure if he were a man, I beleue we should not haue one voice of all the people of our side. An other time, there were some of *Catoes* neere kinsmen, that keeping the feast day of his birth, had many young boyes to supper, & amongst others this *Cato*. The boyes to occupie them selues till supper was ready, gathered them selues together great and small, into some priuate place of the house. Their play was, counterfeiting pleadings before the iudges, accusing one an other, and carying them that were condemned to prison. Amongst them, a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a litle chamber, bounde as a condemned person. The boy perceiuing he was locked vp, cried out vnto *Cato* C who mistrusting what it was, went straight to the chamber dore and putting them by force that withstood him to come vnto it, he tooke out the young boy, and caried him very angrily with him to his owne house, and all the other young boyes followed him also. So *Cato* had such name among the young boyes, that when *Sylla* made the game of young boyes running a horsebacke, which the ROMANS call *Troia* to appoint them before that they might be ready at the day of the show, he hauing gotten all the young boyes of noble houses together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, because of his mother *Metella*, which was the wife of *Sylla*: but they would none of the other called *Sextus*, who was nephew to *Pompey* the great, neither would they be exercised vnder him, nor follow him. Wherefore *Sylla* asked them, which of them they would haue: they all cried then *Cato*, and D *Sextus* him selfe did willingly geue him the honor, as the worthier of both. *Sylla* was their fathers friend, and therefore did send for them many times to come vnto him, & he would talke with them: the which kindnes he shewed to few men, for the maiestie and great authority he had. *Serpedo* also (*Catoes* schoolemaister) thinking it a great preferment and safetie for his schollers, did commonly bring *Cato* vnto *Syllas* house, to waite vpon him: the which was rather like vnto a tayle or prison, for the great number of prisoners which were dayly brought thither, and put to death: *Cato* being then but foureteene yeares of age, and perceiuing that there were many heades brought which were sayed to be of great men, and that euery bodie sighed and mourned to see them: he asked his schoolemaister, how it was possible the tyrant escaped, that some one or other killed him not? Because, *Serpedo*, that all men feare him, more E then they hate him. Why then, replied *Cato* againe, diddest thou not geue me a sword that might kill him, to deliuer my contry of this slavery and bondage? *Serpedo* hearing the boy say so, and seeing his countenance and eyes on fire with choller, he maruelled muche at it, and afterwards had a very good eye vnto him, least rashly he should attempt some thing against *Sylla*. When he was but a litle boy, some asked him whom he loued best? My brother, sayd he. Then the other continuing still to aske him, & who next he answered likewise, his brother. Then the third time againe, likewise his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him so oft. Yea and when he was comen of age also, he then confirmed the loud he bare to his brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he neuer supped without his brother *Capio*, neither went he euer out of his house into the market place, nor into the fields F without him: but when his brother did noynt him selfe with sweete oyles of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things else, he led a straight and hard life. So that his brother

Capio

A *Capio* being commended of euery man for his temperance, honesty, and sober life: he grained in deede that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate life: but when I doe (sayd he) compare my life with my brother *Catoes*, me thinks then there is no difference betwixt me and *Sippius*. This *Sippius* was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that *Cato* was once chosen *Apollones* Priest, he went from his brother and tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the summe of a hundred and twentie talentes. Then he liued more hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintance with *Antipater* *TRAIAN*, a Stoicke Philosopher, and gaue him selfe chiefly vnto the studie of morall and ciuill Philosophie, imbracing all exercise of vertue with such an earnest desire, that it seemed he was prickt forward by some god: but about all other vertues, he loued the B severity of iustice, which he would not wrest for any gift nor fauor. He studied also to be eloquent, that he might speake openly before the people, because he would there should be certain warlike forces entertained in ciuill Philosophie, as also in a great cite. Notwithstanding, he would not exercise it before any bodie, neither would he euer haue any man to heare him speake when he did learne to speake. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did mislike he spake so litle in company: it skilleth no matter, *Capio* he, so they can not reprove my life, for I will beginne to speake, when I can say some thing worthy to be spoken. Hard by the market place there was the common pallace or towne house of the cite, called *Basilica* *Porcia*, the which *Porcius Cato* the elder had built, in the time of his Censorship. There the Tribunes went to keepe their audience: and because there was a pillar that troubled their C seats, they would either haue taken it away, or else haue set it in some other place. That was the first cause that made *Cato* against his will to goe into the market place, and to gett vp into the pulpit for orations, to speake against them: where hauing geuen this first proofe of his eloquence and noble minde, he was maruelously esteemed of. For his oration was not like a young man, counterfeiting finenes of speache and affectation, but stout, full of wit and vehemency: and yet in the shortnes of his sentences, he had such an excellent grace withall, that he maruelously delighted the hearers: and furthermore, shewing in nature a certaine grauities besides, it did to please them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and audible voyce that might be heard of a maruelous number of people, and such a strong nature besides, that he neuer fainted, nor brake his speache: for many times he would speake a whole day together, and was neuer wearie. So when he had obtained his cause against the Tribunes, he returned againe to keepe his former great silence, and to harden his bodie with painfull exercises, as to abide heate, frost, and snow bare headed, and alwayes to goe a foote in the fildes, where his friends that did accompany him rode a horsebacke, and sometime he would come and talke with one, sometime with an other, as he went a foote by them. He had a wonderfull patience also in his sicknesses. For when he had any agew, he would be alone all day long, and suffer no man to come and see him, vntill he perceiued his fit was of him, and that he founde he was better. When he supped with his friendes and familiars, they drew lottes who should choofe their partes. If he chanced not to choofe, his friendes notwithstanding gaue him the preferment to choofe: but he refused it, saying it was no reason, sith the goddesse *Fama* was E against him. At the first he did not vse to sitte long at the table, but after he had dronke one draught only, he would straight rise. But when he came to be elder, he sat long at the table, so that oftentimes he would sit it out all night with his friends, till the next morning. But they seeking to excuse it, sayd, that his great busines and affaires in the common wealthe was the cause of it. For following that all the day long, hauing no leasure nor time to studie when night came, he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philosophers, at the bord. Wherefore when *Memmius* on a time being in company, sayd, that *Cato* did nothing but drinke all night: *Cicero* taking his tale out of his mouth, answered him, thou doest not adde this vnto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dyse: To be short, *Cato* thinking that the manners and facions of mens liues in his time were so corrupt, and required such great chaunge F and alteration: that to goe vprightly, he was to take a contrarie course in all things. For he saw that purple, red, & the lightest colours were best esteemed of: he in contrarie manner desired to weare blacke. And many times also after dinner he would goe abroad bare footed

Z Z Z

Catoes mother.

The marvellous confidence of Cato when he was a child.

Syllas love vnto Cato, being but a boy.

Catoes hate being a tyrant.

Catoes love to his brother.

Antipater the Stoicke Catoes Schoolemaister.

Catoes first for Basilica Porcia.

Catoes exercises.

Catoes drinking.

Ciceros saying of Cato.

without shoes, and without any gowne: not because he would be wondered at for any such a straungenes, but to acquaint him selfe to be ashamed only of shameles and dishonest things, and to despise those which were not reprobud, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talentes by the death of a cousin of his, that likewise was called *Cato*: he put it all into ready money, to lend to his frendes that lacked, and without vsury. And there were some of his frends also that would mortgage his land, or his slaues, to the chamber of the city, for their owne private busines: the which he him selfe would either giue the to mortgage, or else afterwards confirme the mortgage of them. Furthermore, when he was comen of age to marry, hauing neuer known woma before, he was made sure to *Lepida*. This *Lepida* had bene precontracted vnto *Metellus Scipio*: but afterwarde the precontract being broken, he forooke her, so that she was free, when *Cato* was contracted to her. Notwithstanding, before *Cato* married her, *Scipio* repenting him that he had refused her, made all the meanes he could to haue her againe: & so he had. *Cato* tooke it so grievously, that he thought to goe to lawe for her: but his frendes dissuaded him from it. Then seeing no other remedie, to satisfie his angrie minde, he wrote verses against *Scipio*, in the which he reuiled him all he coule: vsing the bitter tauntes of *Archilocus* verses, but not such impudent, lewde, and childishe reproaches as be there. After that, he married *Attilia*, *Soranus* daughter, being the first woman he euer knewe: yet not the onely woman whom he did knowe, as is reported of *Laelius*, *Scipios* frende, who therein was counted the happier, because all that long time wherein he liued, he neuer knewe other woman but his first wife. Furthermore, in the warre of the bondemen (otherwise called *Spartacus* warre) one *Gellius* was chosen Prator of the armie vnder whom *Cato* serued of his owne good will, for the loue he bare vnto his brother *Cappio*, who in that armie had charge of a thousand footemen. Now *Cato* could not as he wished, shewe his valliantnesse and good seruice, because of the insufficiencie of the Prator that gaue ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the middelt of al the riot & insoleny of them in the campe, he shewing him selfe a stayed man in all his doings, valliant where neede was, and very wise also: all men esteemed him to be nothing inferior vnto *Cato* the elder. Whereupon *Gellius* the Prator gaue him many honors in token of his valliantnes, which are giuen in reward of mens good seruice: howbeit *Cato* refused them, and sayd, that he was nothing wortie of those honors. These things made him to be thought a maruelous strange man. Furthermore, when there was a lawe made, forbidding all men that sued for any office in the common wealth, that they should haue no prompters in any of the assemblies, to blowe into their eares the names of private citizens: he alone making sute to be Colonell of a thousand footmen, was obedient to the law, & committed all the priuate citizens names to memory, to speake vnto euery one of them, and to call them by their names: so that he was enuid euen of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praiseworthy, by so muche more were they grieved, for that they could not followe them. So *Cato* being chosen Colonell of a thousand footmen, he was sent into *Macedon*, vnto *Rubrius*, Prator there. Some say, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to see him go: one *Munatius* a frend of his sayd vnto her, take no thought *Attilia*, and leaue weeping, for I promise thee I will kepe thy husband for thee. It is well sayd, answered *Cato*. Then when they were a dayes iorney fro *Rome*, *Cato* after supper said vnto *Munatius*: thou must looke well to thy promise thou hast made *Attilia*, that thou wouldst keepe me for her, & therefore forsake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commaunded his men that from thence forth they should prepare two beds in his chamber, that *Munatius* also might lye there: who was rather pleasantly him selfe looked vnto by *Cato*, then *Cato* by him. He had fiftene slaues with him, two free men, & foure of his frends, which rode, & he him selfe went a foote, sometime talking with one, otherwhile with an other as he went. When he came to the campe, where there were many legions of the *ROMANS*, the Prator immediatly gaue him charge of one of them: who thinking it smal honor to him for him selfe only to be valliant, sith he was but one man, he praiged to make all his souldiers vnder him, like vnto him selfe. The which he did not by feare, & terror, but by lenitie & gentle perswasion, training & instructing the in euery point what they should doe: adding to his gentle instruction and perswasions, reward to those that did well, and

Cato's marriage.

Attilia Cato's wife.

Laelius Marius, Cato's first souldier, in the warre of the bondemen.

Cato chosen Tribune militum.

Howe Cato trained his men, & made them valliant.

and punishment to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to iudge, whether he had made them more quiet, then warlike: more valliant, then iust. So dreadfull they shewed them selves to their enemies, and courteous to their frendes: fearefull to doe euill, and readie to winne honor. Whereof followed that which *Cato* least accounted of, that is, he wanne fame, and good will: for his souldiers did greatly honor and loue him, because he him selfe would euer first set his hande to any thing he commaunded them, and because also both in his diet, in his apparrell, and in any iorney or paines, he was rather like vnto the meanest souldier, then any of the other Capitaines. In contrarie maner also, in good nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he farre exceeded all the other Colonells and Capitaines. For the true loue of vertue, (to wit, the desire to followe it) taketh no roote in mens mindes, onlesse they haue a singular loue and reuerence vnto the person, whome they desire to followe. When *Cato* vnderstoode that *Athenodorus* furnamed *Cordylion*, a Stoicke Philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the city of *PERGAMVM*, being a very old man, and one that stiffely refused the friendship of kings, Princes, and noble men, desirous to haue him about them: to write to him, he thought it was but lost labor. Wherefore hauing two moneths liberty by the lawes of the *ROMANS*, to followe his owne affaires: he tooke sea, and went into *ASIA* to him, hoping he should not lose his iorney, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of diuers matters together: at length he brought him from his first determination, and caried him to the campe with him, esteeming this victorie more, then all the conquestes of *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, who had conquered the most parte of all the prouinces and realmes of the East partes of the world. In the meane time, whilest he lay at his charge in the campe, being Colonell of a thousand footmen: his brother preparing to go into *ASIA*, fell sicke in the cite of *ÆNVS*, in the contrie of *THRACIA*. *Cato* hauing speedie intelligence thereof, tooke sea presently, when it was maruelous rough and boysterous, and imbarcked in a litle crayer of a marchaunts of *THESSALIE*, with two of his frends, and three bondmen onely, and did scape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arriued safely, a litle after his brother *Cappios* death. He tooke his death more forowfully, then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, imbracing the deade corse of his brother: but also for the exceeding charge and sumptuous funerals, which he bestowed vpon him, in perfumes, sweete saours, and sumptuous filkes that were burnt with his bodie: and furthermore, in the stately tombe of *THRACIAN* marble which he made for him, and set vp in the market place of the *ÆNIANS*, that cost eight talents. Some did mislike this vaine charge that *Cato* bestowed, considering the modestie and temperance he vfed in all things else, nor regarding with iudgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinsmen, which was mingled in him with his severity and hardnes, against all voluptuousnes, feare, and shamelesse requests. Diuers cities, Princes and noble men sent him many fundrie presents, to honor the funerals of his brother *Cappio*: howbeit he tooke no money of all them, sauing only spyes, and sweete saours, & such other ornamentes, as honored the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell vnto him, and a litle daughter of his, by the death of his brother: notwithstanding the charge he had bene at, in his funerals, he did not reckon in the partition of the land, betwix him and his brother *Cappios* daughter. All the which things when they were solemnized, some write notwithstanding, that he did cleanse the imbers where his brothers body had bene burnt, through a sieue or riddell, where through they cleanse corne, & all to get out the gold & siluer that was molten there. But suche thinke that their wraynges should be as farre from conrolement, as their doings. So when *Cato*'s time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not only with ordinary praifes, vowes, and prayers to the goddesses for his health: but with imbracings, teares, and maruelous lamentations of the souldiers, which spread their garments on the ground as he went, and kissing of his hands, which honor the *ROMANS* did but to verie fewe of their Generalls. Furthermore, *Cato* being determined before he returned to *ROME* to deale in the affaires there, to go and see *ASIA*, partly to be an eye wimes of the manners, customes, and power of euery prouince as he went: and partly also to satisfie king *Deiotarus* request, who hauing bene his fathers frend, had earnestly intreated him to come and see

The loue of vertue from whence is proceedeth. *Athenodorus* the Philosopher, Cato's friend.

The death of *Cappio*, Cato's brother.

Cato's mourning for his brother *Cappios* death.

* It seemeth to be meant of *Cassius*, which wrote the booke called *Amician*.

Cato's iorney into *Asia*.

*Cato made
sue.*

him: he went the iorney, and vied it in this sorte. First, by peepe of day, he sent his baker and a cooke before, where he ment to lye that night. They comming soberly into the city or village, inquired if there were none of *Catoes* friends and acquaintance there, and if they found none, then they prepared his supper in an Inne, and troubled no man: but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Gouernors of the towne, and prayed them to helpe them to lodging, and did content them selues with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the townes men did not beleue they were *Catoes* men, and made no account of them: because they tooke all things so quietly, & made no a do with the officers. Inso much as *Cato* somtime came himselfe, & found nothing ready for him, & when he was come, they made as small account of him, seeing him set upon his cariages, and speake neuer a word: for they tooke him for some meane man, and a timorous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he called them vnto him, and tolde them. O poore men, learne to be more courteous to receiue traouelling *ROMANES* that passe by you, and looke not alwayes to haue *Catoes* to come vnto you: and therefore see that you vse them with such curtesie & entertainment, that they may bridle the authority they haue ouer you: for you shall finde many that will desire no better colour nor occasion, by force to take from you that they would haue: because you vnwillingly also do graunt them the things they would, & neede. There is a report of a pretie ieast happened him in *SYRIA*. When he came to *ANTIOTCH*, he found a great number of people deuided on either side of the streete, standing a row one by an other verie decently: the young men by them selues in fayer clothes, boyes by them selues in feemly aray, and priests & other officers of the city also, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. *Cato* thought straight they had made this solemne precession to honor him, and fell out with his men he had sent before, because they did suffer the to make such preparation for his comming. So he made his friends light from their horses, & go a foote to accompany him. But when they came neere to the gate of the city, the maiester of these ceremonies that had assembled all that company (an old man, hauing a rodde in his hand, and a crowne on his head) came to *Cato* without saluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come. This *Demetrius* had bene one of *Pompeius* flauies, & because *Pompeius* fame was great with all men, his seruant *Demetrius* also was much honored and made of aboute his deserte, for that he was in great credit with *Pompey*. *Catoes* frendes hearing what question the olde man asked him, burst out a laughing as they went through this precession. *Cato* being ashamed of it, sayd no more then: but, O vnfortunate citie. Afterwards notwithstanding, when D he told it to any body, he would laugh at it him selfe. So *Pompey* rebuked them, that through ignorance had failed to honor *Cato*. When *Cato* came to the citie of *EPHESVS*, and was comming towards *Pompey* to salute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignitie and estimation then he, who at that time also was Generall of a great and puissant armie: *Pompey* seeing him comming towards him a farre off, would not tary till he came to him, sitting in his chaire of estate, but rising vp went to meete him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of *ROME*, and taking him by the hande, after he had imbraced and welcomed him, he presently fell in praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereuppon, euerie man after that had him in great veneration for those things, which before they despised in him, when they considered better of his noble & E courteous mind. For men that saw *Pompeius* entertainment towards him, knew well enough that *Cato* was a man which he rather reuerenced, & for a kinde of duty obserued, more then for any loue he bare him: & they noted further, that he honored him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when *Cato* went from him. For he sought to kepe backe all the young gentlemen of *ROME* that went to see him, & desired them to remaine with him: but for *Cato*, he was nothing desirous of his company, for that in his presence he thought he could not commaund as he would, & therefore was willing to let him go, recommending his wife & his children to him, the which he neuer did before vnto any other *ROMANE* that returned to *ROME*: howbeit in dede *Cato* was partly allied vnto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he passed, deuided (in emulation one of the other) which of the should honor him most, & made him great feasts & bankets: in the which he prayd his frēds to haue an eye to him, least vnwares he shold proue *Curios* words true. For *Curio* sometime being his frēd, & a familiar of his, mistaking notwith-

*A laughing
maister hap-
ned vnto Cato.*

*Demetrius a
flaue, great
with Pom-
pey.*

*Cato honored
of Pompey in
Asia.*

*Pompey re-
uered
Cato, then lo-
ued him.*

A notwithstanding his seuerity asked *Cato* if he would go see *Asia*, when his charge were expired. *Cato* answered againe, that it was his full determination. Oh well sayd, *Curio* hope then thou wilt returne more pleasant and ciuill. And these were *Curios* words. But he more, *Deiotarus* king of *GALATIA*, being a very old man, sent for *Cato* to come into his countie to re- commend his sonnes & house vnto him: who, when he arrived there, had great his presents of all sortes offered him by the king, intreating him all he could to take them. This so much milked and angered *Cato*, that he comming thither in the euening (after he had taried there one whole day onely) the next morning he went his waye from thence at the thirde howe. Howbeit he had not gone one dayes iorney, but he found greater giftes that raised him, with *Deiotarus* letters, at the citie of *PESSINVS*: in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the least if he would refuse them him selfe, that then he would let them be deuied amongst his frendes, sith euery way they did deserue it, but specially for his sake; for that his goodes also were not so great, as could content all his frends. But *Cato* would not suffer them to take any iot of it more then before, although he saw well enough that there were some of them so tender harted, that they complained of him, for that he would not suffer them to take any of it. For he tolde them, that otherwise, corruption and briberie could haue had a honest colour to take: and for his frends, they should alwayes haue parte with him of that which was his owne iustly. So he returned king *Deiotarus* presentes backe againe. Nowe when he was readie to imbarke, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto *BRVDVSIVN*: some of his frendes perswaded him, that it was better to put the ashes of his brother *Capioes* bones into another shippe. But he aunswered them, that he would rather lose his owne life, then to leaue his brothers reliques. Thereuppon he presently hoied sayle, and it is reported that he passed ouer in great danger, where other shippes arrived very safely. When he was returned vnto *ROME*, he was alwayes either talking Philosophie with *Athenodorus* the Philosopher, or else in the market place to pleasure his frendes. When his turne came that he was to make sure to be *Quæstor*, he would neuer sue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the ordinance touching the office of *Quæstor*, and that he had particularly made enquerie of men of greatest experience to knowe what the authoritie of the office was. So, he no sooner came to his office, but he presently made great alteration amongst the clerkes and officers of the treasure: who hauing the lawes and records in their handes, and exercising the office commonly vnder young men which were chosen treasurers (who for their ignorance and lacke of experience, stood rather in neede of maiesters to teache them, then that they were able to correct others) they them selues were the officers, and controlled them. But *Cato* not contenting him selfe with the name and honor of the thing, did thoroughly vnderstand what the clerkes and registers shoulde be, and therefore would haue them to be as they ought to be, ministers vnder the *Quæstors* only, telling them of their briberie and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also, that fauted through ignorance. And when he sawe some insolent and impudent persons, that curried fauour with other treasurers to be against him: he caused the chieftest of them to be condemned for falsehood, in making diuision betwixt two coheires, and consequently turned him cleare out of his office, for euier doing any thing there any more. He accused an other also for forging of a will, whome *Catulus Lucilius* defending, being then *Censor*, and a man of great honor for the dignity of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the iustest man one of them in his time at *ROME*, and one of those also that highly commended *Cato*, & was conseruant with him for his honest life: when he perceived that he could not defend his man by no reason, he prayed them at his request that they would pardon him. But *Cato* would in no wise graunt it. But *Catulus* earnestly intreating still for him: then *Cato* plainly sayd vnto him, It is a shame for thee (*Catulus*) thou that art *Censor*, and shouldest reforme all our liues, thus to forget the duetie of thine office, to please our ministers. *Catulus* looking at *Cato* when he had spoken, as though he would answer him: whether it were for shame, or anger, he went his way, & sayd neuer a word more. F Yet was not the partie condemned, though there was one voyce more that did condemne then cleere him, because of the absence of one of the Iudges. For *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Catoes* colleagues in the *Quæstorship*, being sicke at that time, and absent, *Catulus* sent vnto him,

*Catoes iorney
vnto king
Deiotarus,
and his ab-
sence from
Rome.*

*Cato made
Quæstor.*

*Catulus Lu-
cilius what
he was.*

*Catulus
Lollius
one of
Catoes
colleagues*

Cato made
the Qua-
estorship of
great dignity.

Cato was re-
named of
Syllas bloody
murderer.

Cato was made
leaving of his
office.

to pray him to come and helpe the poore man: Thereupon *Lellius* being brought thither in a litter after iudgement given, gaue his last voyce, which absolutely cleared him. *Cato*, this notwithstanding, would neuer vse him as a cleake, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of *Lellius* voyce among others. Thus hauing pulled downe the pride and baggage of these cleakes, and brought them vnto reason: in short time he had all the tables and records at his commaundement, and made the treasure chamber as honorable as the Senate it selfe: that euery man thought, and sayd, that *Cato* had added vnto the Quaestorship the dignity of the Consulship. For finding diuers men indebted before vnto the common wealth, and the common wealth also vnto diuers men: he sette downe such an order, that neither the common wealth should be deceived by any man, nor that any man also should haue wrong of it. For being rough with the that were indebted to the chamber, he compelled them to pay their dett, and willingly & quickly also payed them to whom the chamber ought any thing: so that the people were ashamed to see some pay which neuer thought to haue payed any thing, and on the contrary side also others payed, which neuer looked to haue had any parte of their dettes payed them. Furthermore, diuers men did before make false billes of their detts, and brought them so to be put into the cofer of the Quaestors: and many times also his predecessors were wont of fauor and frendship to receiue false messages. For whilest he was Quaestor, he neuer did passe away matters so lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a message that was sent vnto him, to knowe whether it was true or no: albeit diuers men did witness it was true, yet would he not beleue it, vntill such time as the Consulles them selues came in their owne persons to iustifie it was true, and to sweare, that it was so ordained. Now there were many vnto whom *Lucius Sylla* being Dictator, had appointed in his second proscription twelue thousand silver Drachmas for euery citizen and outlaw which they had slaine with their owne handes. These men, though euery man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people & cruel murderers: yet no man durst offer to be reuenged of them. *Cato* called these men in suite, as those that did wrongfully detain the money of the common treasure, and compelled them to repay it backe againe: (sharply reproofing (and iustly) the wicked deuilish fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were straight accused by others for murder: & as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one iudgement, they were brought into an other, to the great ioy of all the *ROMANS*, who then thought they saw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and *Sylla* him selfe punished. Besides all this, *Catoes* continuall paines and care of the treasure, was so well thought of, and liked of the people, as could be. For he was alwayes the first that came to the cofer of the treasurers, and also the last that went from thence, and was neuer wearie of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer missed to be at any assembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, least lightly by fauor, any money due to the common wealth should be forgiven: or else that they should abate the rent of the farmers, or that they should geue no money but to the that had iustly deserved it. Thus hauing ridde all accusers, and also filled the coffers with treasure: he made men see, that the common wealth might be riche, without oppressing of any man. In deede at his first coming in to the office, his colleagues and companions founde him marvellous troublesome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and seuer: howbeit they all loued him in the end, because he only withstoode the complaints and cries of all men against them (which complained that they would not for any mans respect or fauor let go the money of the common treasure) & was contented his companions should excuse them selues vnto their friends that were importunate, and lay the fault upon him, saying, that it was vnpossible for them to bring *Cato* vnto it. The last day that he went out of his office, being very honorably brought home to his house by the people: it was told him that *Marcellus*, being in the treasure chamber, was attempted & enuironned with many of his friends, and men of great authoritie, that were earnestly in hande with him to record a certaine gift of money, as a thing that had bene due by the common wealth. This *Marcellus* had bene *Catoes* frend euen from their childhood, & whilest *Cato* was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him: but when he was left alone, he was of so gentle a nature, that he would easily be intreated, and was as much ashamed to deny any man, as he was also ouerreadie to graunt euery man that he required. *Cato* straight

Cato was
and integrity
into common
wealth.

Catoes minde
and determi-
nation to take
charge in the
common wealth

Cato drew
Clodius out of
Rome.

The authori-
tie and credit
of Cato.

Cato took
Philosophers
with him wh
he went into
the country.

A straight returned backe vpon it, and finding that *Marcellus* had yeelded vnto their importunacye, and recorded the gift: he caused the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did raise it out before his face: *Marcellus* speaking neuer a word to the contrary. After that, *Marcellus* brought *Cato* home, and neuer once repayed against that he had done, neither then nor at any time after, but continued still frendshippe with him, as he had done before. But now, though *Cato* was out of his office of Quaestor, he was not without spialls of his men in the treasure chamber: who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and passed in the treasure. And *Cato* him selfe hauing bought the bookes of accompt for the summe of fife talents conteyning the reueneue of the whole state of the common wealth, from *Syllas* time vntill the very year of his Quaestorshippe: he euer had them about him, and was the first man that came to the Senate and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarying long before they came, he went and sate downe in a corner by him selfe, and red closely the booke he had vnder his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would neuer bee out of the cite on that day when he knew the Senate should assemble. After that, *Pompey* and his consorts perceiving that it was vnpossible to compell *Cato*, and much lesse to winne or corrupt him, to fauor their vnjust doings: they fought what means they could to keepe him from coming to the Senate, and defending certeine of his friends causes, & to occupy him some other wayes about matters of arbitrement. But *Cato* finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them; he tolde his frendes once for all, whom he would pleasure: that when the Senate did sit, no mans cause could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serue the common wealth to enrich him selfe as many did; neither for any glorye or reparation, nor yet at all aduenture: but that he had aduisedly chosen to serue the common wealth, like a iust and honest man, & therefore thought him selfe bound to be as careful of his dutie, as the bee working her waxe in the honnycombe. For this respect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of his frendes which he had in euery prouince belonging to the Empire of *ROMA*: he gotte into his handes the copies of all the chiefest actes, edicts, decrees, sentences, & the notablest iudgements of the gouernors that remayned in recorde. Once *Cato* perceiving that *Publius Clodius* a seditious Orator amongst the people, did make great furre, and accused diuers vnto the assembly, as the Priestes and Vestall Nunnes: (amonge the which *Fabia Terentia*, *Ciceroes* wiues sister was accused) he taking their cause in hand, did so disgrace *Clodius* their accuser, that he was driuen to flee the cite. *Cicero* therefore giuing *Cato* thanks, *Cato* tolde him, that he must thanke the common wealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both sayd and did that he had done. Hereby *Cato* wanne him great fame. For when a certein Orator or common counsellor preferred one wimes vnto the Iudges, the counsellor on thother side tolde them, that one wimes was not to be credited, though it were *Cato* him selfe. Inasmuch as the people tooke it vp for a prouerbe among them, that when any man spake any straunge and vnlikely matter, they would say: Nay, though *Cato* him selfe said it, yet were it not to be beleued. When on a time a certaine prodigall man had made a long oration in the Senate, in praise and commendation of sobriety, temperance, & thriftines: one *Ammaus* a Senator rising vp, said vnto him, alas, frend, what thinkest thou? who can abide to heare thee any longer with patience: that fareit at thy table like *Craffus*, buildest like *Lucullus*, & speakest to vs like *Cato*? So men commonly (in sport) called them *Catoes*, which were graue and seuer in their wordes, and dissolute in their deedes. When diuers of his friends were in hand with him to sue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meete at that time for such an office (ye) of great authoritie as that, is not to be employed, but like a stronge medicine in time of neede. So, the teame and matters of lawe ceassing for that tyme, *Cato* went into the contry of *LYXIA* to take his pleasure there; where he had pleasant houses: and tooke with him both his bookes & Philosophers to keepe him company. Because, meeting as he went, with diuers sumpters and great cariage, and a great traine of men besides, he asked them whose cariage it was: they told him it was *Metellus Nepos* that returned to *ROMA*, to make sute to be Tribune. Thereupon *Cato* stayed sodainly, and bethinking him selfe, commaunded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruailling at it, he answered them: Doe not you know that *Metellus* is to be feared of him selfe, for his rashnes and folly? & now that he commeth instructed by *Pompey*, like a lightning he would

for all the common wealth a fire? for this cause therefore, we must not now goe take out plea. A fire in the contry, but overcome his folly, or otherwise dye honorably in defence of our libertie. Yet at his friends persuasions, he went first vnto his house in the contry, but tarried not long there, and returned straight againe to Rome. When he came thither ouernight, the next morning betimes he went into the market place, & sued to be Tribune of the people, purpose-ly to crosse *Metellus* enterprise, because the power & authoritie of the Tribune consisteth more in hindring, then doing any thing: for if all men els were agreed of a matter, and that he onely were against it, the Tribune would carry it from them all. *Cato* at the first had not many of his friends about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made sure for the Tribune ship, all his friends and noble men straight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and incouraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to serue the common wealth, then his owne turne, considering, that where many times before he might (without resistance or deni- all) haue obtained the same, the state being toward no trouble, he then would neuer sue for it, but now that he saw it in danger, where he was to fight for the common wealth, and the pro- tection of her libertie. It is reported that there was such a number of people about him to fa- uor his sute, that he was like to haue ben stifled among them, & thought he should neuer haue comen to the market place, for the preasle of people that swarmed about him. Thus when he was chosen Tribune with *Metellus* and others, he perceived how they bought & sold the voy- ces of the people when the Consuls were chosen: whereupon he made an oration, & sharply tooke them vp for this detestable marchandise, and after his oration ended, solemnly protested by othe, that he would accuse him, & bewray his name, which had giuen money to be chosen Consul. Howbeit he spake nothing of *Syllanus*, whose sister, *Seruilis*, he had married: but he flatly accused *Lucius Murena*, that had obtained to be Consul with *Syllanus*, by means of his money. Now a law being provided, that the party accused might haue a keeper or spiall to follow the accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with, that he might the better be able to defend him selfe, knowing what should be objected against him: *Murena* hauing one for him to waite vpon *Cato*, to consider thoroughly what course he tooke, when he saw that he went not malici- ously to worke, but tooke a plaine common way of a iust accuser: he had fo great confidence in *Cato*'s vpright mind and integritie, that not regarding the narrow sitting of him otherwise, he did one day aske him him selfe in the market place, (or at home in his owne house) if that day he were determined to prosecute any matter against him touching his accusation. If *Cato* answered him that he did not: then he went his way and simply beleued him. When the day came in deed that his cause was to be heard, and pleaded vnto: *Cicero* being Consul that yere, defending *Murena*, played so pleasantly with the *Stoicks* Philosophers, and their strange o- pinions, that he made all the Iudges laughe: in so much as *Cato* him selfe smiling at him, tolde them that were by him: see, we haue a pleasant Consul that makes men laugh thus. So *Murena* being discharged by this iudgement, did neuer after malice *Cato* for that, but so long as he remained Consul, he was alwaies ruled by his counsell in all his affaires, and continued cuer to honor him, following his counsell in all things touching his office. Hereof *Cato* him selfe was cause, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counsell, and in his orations before the people, for the maintenance onely of equitie and iustice: for otherwise, he was very ciuill & courteous to al men. But before he entred into his Tribuneship, *Cicero* being yet Consul, he did helpe him in many things touching his office, but specially, in bringing *Catilins* conspiracie to good ende, which was a noble act done of him. For *Catilin* did practise a generall commoti- on and suture in the common wealth, to ouerthrowe the whole state of Rome, by ciuill di- corde within Rome, and open warres abroad: who being discouered and overcome by *Ci- cero*, he was driuen in the ende to flie Rome. But *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other of the ac- complices of this conspiracie, blamed *Catiline* for his faynt and cowardly proceeding in it. For their partes, they had determined to burne the whole cite of Rome, and to put all the Empire thereof in vprore, by strange warres, and rebellions of foreine nations and prouin- ces. Howbeit this treason being discouered, as appeareth more largely in the life of *Cicero*, the matter was referred vnto the iudgement of the Senate, to determine what was to bee done therein. *Syllanus* being the first who was asked his opinion therein, sayde, that he thought it good

The office of
authoritie of
the Tribune,
what it is.

Cato's Tri-
buneship.

Cicero defin-
ed *Murena*
against his ac-
cuser *Cato*.

The confu-
sion of *Catilin*
against Rome.

A good they should suffer cruell paines: and after him also, all the rest said the like, vntill it came to *Cesar*. *Cesar* being an excellent spoken man, & that rather desired to nourish then to quench any such furies or editions in the common wealth, being fit for his purpose long determined off: made an oration full of sweete pleasant wordes, declaring vnto them, that to put such men as them to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether vnreasonable, and rather that they should doe better to keepe them in prison. This oration of *Cesar* fo altered all the rest of the Senators minds, for that they were afraid of the people: that *Syllanus* selfe mended his opinion againe, and said, that he ment not they should put them to death, but keepe the fast in prison, because that to be a prisoner, was the greatest paine a Roman Citizen could abide. Thus, the Senators minds being fo sodainly chaunged, & bent to a more fauorable sen- tence: *Cato* rising vp to say his opinion, beganne very angrily with maruelous eloquence, grie- uously to reprove *Syllanus* for chaunging his mind, & sharply to take vp *Cesar*, that vnder a po- pular semblance, & maske of sweete sugred wordes, he sought vnder hand to destroy the com- mon wealth, and also to terrifie and make the Senate afraid: where he him selfe should haue bene afraid, and thinke him selfe happy, if he could scape from being suspected, giuing such apparant cause of suspicion as he did, going about so openly to take the enemies and traytors of the common wealth out of the hands of iustice, seming to haue no pitie nor compassion of his naturall cite, of such nobilitie and fame, being euen brought in maner to vtter destruction, but rather to lament the fortune of these wicked men, that it was pity they were euer borne, & whose death preferred Rome from a thousand murders & mischiefs. Of all the orations that *Cicero* made, that only was kept: for *Cicero* the Consul, that day had dispersed diners penne men in sundry places of the Senate house, which had maruelous swift hands, and had further taught them how to make briefe notes and abridgements, which in fewe lines shewed many words. For vntill that time, writers were not known that could by figures & ciphers expresse a whole sentence and word, as afterwards they could: being then the first time that euer they were found out. So *Cato* at that time preuailed against *Cesar*, and made them all chaunge their mindes againe, that these men were put to death. But that we may not leaue out a ior of his maners, as the very pattern and impression of his mind: It is reported, that when *Cato* that day was so whot, and vehement against *Cesar*, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them both a letter: was deliuered *Cesar*, sent him into the house. *Cato* began presently to suspect it, and so earnestly misliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commaunded his letter should be seene & red openly. *Cesar* thereupon reached his letter vnto *Cato*, that fate not farre from him. When *Cato* had red it, and found that it was a loue letter which his sister *Seruilis* had written vnto *Cesar*, whom she loued, and had known: he cast it againe to *Cesar*, & said, there, dronkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begon before. In fine, it seemeth that *Cato* was very vnfortunate in his wiues: for this *Seruilis*, as we haue sayd, had an ill name by *Cesar*. And the other *Seruilis* also, which was his sister, was worse defamed. For he being married vnto *Lucullus*, one of the greatest men of Rome, by who he had a sonne, was in the ende put away from him, for her naughty life. But worst of all, his owne wife *Attilia* also was not altogether cleare without suspicion: For though he had two sonnes by her, yet he was driuen to be divorced from her, she was so naughty and common. After that, he married *Maria*, the Daughter of *Philip*, which by report seemed to be a very honest gentlewoman. It is she that is so famous amonge the Romans. For in the life of *Cato*, this place (as a fable or comedy) is disputable, and hard to be iudged. For thus it was, as *Thraseas* writteth: who refer- reth all to the report and credit of one *Mummius*, *Cato*'s very familiar friend. Amonge many that loued *Cato*'s vertues, and had them in admiration, some of them did shew him more what he was, then other some did: amongest the which, was *Q. Hortensius*, a man of great honestie and authoritie. He, desiring not onely to be *Cato*'s friend and familiar, but also to ioyne with him in alliance, and by affinitie to make both their houses one: was not abashed to moue him, to let him haue his Daughter *Porcia* in marriage, (which was *Bibulus* wife, & had brought him two children) that he might also cast abroad the feede of goodly children, in that pleasant fer- tile ground. And though to men this might seeme a strange mind and desire, yet that in re- spect of nature, it was both honest and profitable to the common wealth, not to suffer a young

Cato's oration
against *Cesar*,
touching *Cati-
linus* conspi-
racie.

Cicero taught
them how to
write briefly,
by notes and
figures.

Cato conform-
mate in his
wiues.

Maria Ca-
to's wife.

Plato's fellow
ship and com-
munitie of
women.

woman in the prime of her youth, to lose the frute of her wombe, being apt to beare children. A nor also that he should impoverish his sonne in lawe with moe children, then one house needed. And further, that communicating women in this sort from one to another, specially being bestowed upon worthy and vertuous men: that vertue should thereby bee increased the more, being so dispersed in diuers families, & the citie likewise should be the stronger, by making alliances in this sort together. And if it be so, he, that *Bibulus* doe loue his wife so dearly, that he wil not depart from her altogether, then that he would restore her to him again, when he had a child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendship to him, by means of this communication of children with *Bibulus* selfe, and with him. *Cato* answered him, that he loued *Hortensius* well, and liked of his alliance: howbeit that he marvelled he would speake to him to let him haue his Daughter to get children of, sith he knew that she was married to another. Then *Hortensius* altering his tale, stucke not to tell him his mind plainly, and to desire his wife of him, the which was yet a young woman, and *Cato* had children enough. But a man can not tell whether *Hortensius* made this sute, because he saw *Cato* make no reckoning of *Maria*, for that she was then with child by him. In fine, *Cato* seeing the earnest desire of *Hortensius*, he did not deby him her, but told him, that he must also get *Philips* good wil, the father of *Maria*. He knowing that *Cato* had graunted his good wil, would not therefore let him haue his daughter, before that *Cato* him selfe by his presence did confirme the contract & marriage with him. Though these things were done longe after, yet hauing occasion to talke of *Cato's* wiues, I thought it not amisse to anticipate the time. Now *Lentulus*, and his consorts of *Catiline's* conspiracie being put to death: *Cesar*, to cloke the accusations wherewith *Cato* charged him in open Senate, did put him selfe into the peoples hands, and gathering the rakehells and seditious persons together, which fought to set al at six and seven, he did further encourage them in their mischieuous intent & practises. Whereuppon, *Cato* fearing least such rabble of people should put all the common wealth in vpror & danger: he perswaded the Senat to winne the poore needy people that had nothing, by distributing of come amongst them, the which was done. For the charge thereof amownted yearly vnto twelue hundred and fifty talents. This liberalitye did manifestly drinke vp and quench all those troubles which they stood in feare of. But on thother side, *Metellus* entring into his Tribuneship, made certen seditious orations and assemblies, & preferred a law to the people, that *Pompey* the great should presently be called into ITALY with his armie, that he should keepe the citie by his comming, from the present danger of *Catiline's* conspiracie. These were but words spoken for facions sake, but in deede the law had a secret meaning, to put the whole common wealth and Empire of ROME into *Pompey's* hands. Hereuppon the Senate assembled, wherein *Cato* at his first comming, spake somewhat gently, and not to vehemently against *Metellus*, as his manner was to be sharpe vnto them that were against him: but modestly perswaded him, and fell to intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his house, for that they had alwaies taken part with the Senate and nobilitie. But *Metellus* therewith tooke such pride & conceit of him selfe, that he began to despise *Cato*, thinking he had vied that mildnes, as though he had bene affraide of him: insumch as he gaue out proud speeches against him, and cruell threats, that in despite of the Senate he would do that which he had vndertaken. Then *Cato* chaunging his countenance, his voice and speech, after he had spoken very sharply against him in the ende he roughly protested, that while he liued, he would neuer suffer *Pompey* to come into ROME with his armie. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their witts, but that *Metellus* doings was a furie, which proceeding of a cancred stomake and extreame malice, would put all in hazard: & that which *Cato* did, was a rauishment and extacy of his vertue, that made him beside him selfe, contending for iustice and equitie. When the day came that this law should passe by voyces of the people, *Metellus* sayled not to be in the market place with a worlde of straungers, slaues, and sencers, armed, and set in battell raye, besides a number of the common people that were desirous to see *Pompey's* returne, hoping after chaunge. Besides all those, *Cesar* then being Prætor, gaue ayde likewise with his men, in the behalf of *Metellus*. On the contrary part also, the noble men and Senators of the citie were as angry as *Cato*, and said it was a horrible shame: howbeit they were his friends, rather in misliking the matter, then in defending the common wealth.

Where-

Cato resisteth
Metellus, pri-
uately of the
people.

Julius Cesar
Prætor.

A Whereuppon, all his friends at home, and his whole family, were maruailously perplexed & sorrowfull, that they both refused their meate, and also could take no rest in the night for feare of *Cato*. But he, as one without feare, hauing a good hart with him, did comfort his people, and had them not sorrow for him: and after he had supped, as he commonly vied to doe, he went to bed, and slept soundly all night, till the morning that *Minutius Thermus*, his colleague, & fellow Tribune, came & called him. So they both went together into the market place, accompanied with a very few after them: Whereuppon diuers of their friends came and met them by the way, & bad them take heede vnto them selues. When they were come into the market place, and that *Cato* saw the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*: full of armed men, and the degrees or steps kept by sword players and sencers, and *Metellus* on the top of them set by *Cesar* turning to his friends he sayd, see I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked, and vnarmed. Therewithall he straight went forward with his companion *Thermus* vnto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of them selues to let him passe, but they would let no other goe vp but him selfe: But *Cato* with much a doe, taking *Minutius* by the hand, got him vp with him, and when he was come vp, he late him downe betwixt *Metellus* and *Cesar*, to keepe them a sponder, that they should not whisper one in anothers eare. Neither of them both could tell what to say to him. Whereuppon the noble men that considered *Cato's* countenance and boldnes, wondring to see it, drew neare, and by their cries willed him not to be affrayd, but encouraged one another to sticke by him, that stood for defence of their libertie. So, there was a seruauant that tooke the written law in his hand, and would haue red it to the people: but *Cato* would not let him. Then *Metellus* tooke it him selfe in his hands to reade it: but *Cato* also snatched it out of his hands. *Metellus* notwithstanding, hauing it perfect without booke, would needes declare the effect of it by harte. But *Thermus* clapped his hande before his mouthe to keepe him that he should not speake. *Metellus* seeing these two men bent by all means to keepe this law from passing, and that the people did leane on their side: he beckned to his men to goe for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terror and cries to make them affrayd, and so they did. The people thereuppon were disperfed here and there for feare, that *Cato* was left alone in the market place, and they threw stones at him from beneath. But then *Muranus*, who had before accused *Cato* for buying of the Consulshippe, forsooke him not in that danger, but holding his longe gowne before him, cryed out vnto them beneath, that they threw at *Cato*, to leaue. So shewing him the danger he had brought him selfe vnto, holding him still by the armes, he brought him into the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. Then *Metellus* seeing the pulpit for orations voyded, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the gole: VVhereuppon commaunding his souldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to passe his lawe. But his enemies that fled for feare, being gathered againe together in the market place, beganne a freshe to cry out against *Metellus*, with greater boldnes and corage then before. Then *Metellus* and his adherents being affrayd and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were provided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for orations. So, when *Metellus* and his company were gonne, *Cato* came agayne to the pulpit for orations, and greatly commended the people for the good will they had shewed, and perswaded them to continue in their well doing. Whereuppon the common people were then against *Metellus*, and the Senate also being assembled gaue order, that *Cato* should haue better ayde then he had before, and that by all meanes possible they should resist *Metellus* lawe, which onely tended to moue sedition & ciuill warre in ROME. For *Metellus* selfe, he was yet vehemently bent to followe his attempt and enterprise: but perceiving that his friends were maruailously affraide of *Cato*, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he sodainly came into the market place, and assembling the people, told them many reasons in his oration, supposing to bringe *Cato* in disgrace with the people, and amongst other things he sayd, that he would withdraw him selfe out of this tyrannical power of *Cato's*, and his conspiracie against *Pompey*, the which peraduenture the citie before it were long, should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so noble a man. After that, he presently departed ROME, and went into ASIA to informe *Pompey* of all this

Cato's noble
courage and
constancie.

matier. *Cato* on thother side was greatly esteemed for his doings, for that he had freed the common wealth from the great trouble of such a foolish Tribune, and by ouerthrowing *Metellus*, he had also suppressed the power of *Pompey*. But he was yet much more commended, when he was against the Senate, who would haue noted *Metellus* of infamie, and deprived him of his office, the which he would not suffer them to doe. The common people thought him of a courteous and gentle nature, because he would not treade his enemy vnder his foote, when he had the vpper hand of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him: but wise men iudged it otherwise, that it was wisely done of him not to prouoke *Pompey*. About this time returned *Lucullus* from the warre, of the which it seemed that *Pompey* had taken the honor & glory from him for the ending of it, & was likely also to haue bene put from his honor of triumph, for that *Caius Memmius* was his aduersary, who layed many accusations against him before the people, rather to please *Pompey*, then for any malice els he had towards him. But *Cato*, both for that *Lucullus* was his brother in law, and had married his owne sister *Sernilia*, as also for that he saw they did him wrong: resisted this *Memmius*, & defended many accusations against him. So that in the end, though *Memmius* had labored that *Cato* should be deprived of his office, as from a tyrannicall power: yet *Cato* compelled *Memmius* at the last to leaue of his accusations, and to prosecute law no more against him. Thus *Lucullus* hauing obtained honor of triumph, did embrace *Cato's* friendship more then before, taking him for a sure bulwarcke & defense against the power of *Pompey* the great. But *Pompey* shortly after returning home againe, with great honor from his conquests, trusting that for respect of his welcome he should be denyed nothing at the peoples hands when he came home: sent before vnto the Senate, to pray them for his sake to deferre the election of the Consuls, vntill he came to Rome, that being present he might fauor *Piso's* sute, suing to be Consul. Thereunto the most part of the Senate gaue their consent, but *Cato* on thother side was against it, not that the deferring of the time was a matter of such importance, but to cut all hope from *Pompey* to goe about to attempt any newe deuises, in so much that he made the Senate chaunge opinion againe, and *Pompey's* request was denied. *Pompey* being maruelously troubled withall, and perceiving that *Cato* would be against him in all things if he found not some deuise to winne him: he sent for his friend *Annatius*, by his meanes to demand *Cato's* two Neces of him which were mariable: the eldest for him self, & the youngest for his sonne. Others say also, that they were not his Neces, but his own daughters. *Annatius* did *Pompey's* message, & brake the matter vnto him, his wife, & to his sisters, who maruelously desired *Pompey's* alliance, for the greatnes and dignitie of his person. But *Cato* making no farther delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleased with the motion, answered him presently. *Annatius* goe thy way vnto *Pompey* againe, and tell him that *Cato* is not to be wonne by women, though otherwise I mislike not of his friendship: and withall, that so long as he shall deale vprightly in all causes, & none otherwise, that he shall find him more assuredly his friend, then by any alliance of marriage: & yet, that to satisfie *Pompey's* pleasure and will against his contry, he wil neuer giue him such pledges. The women and his friends at that time were angry with his answer & refusal, saying it was too stately and vn courteous. But afterwards it chaunced, that *Pompey* suing to haue one of his friendes made Consul, he sent a great summe of money to brybe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, & spoken of, because the money was told in *Pompey's* owne garden. Then did *Cato* tell the women of his house, that if he had now bene bound by alliance of marriage vnto *Pompey*, he should then haue bene driuen to haue bene partaker of *Pompey's* shamefull acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confessed then that he was wiser to refuse such alliance, then they were that wished and desired it. And yet, if men should iudge of wisdom, by the successe and event of things: I must needs say, that *Cato* was in great fault for refusing of this alliance. For thereby he was the cause of *Pompey's* marching with *Cesar*, who ioyning both their powers together, was the whole destruction of the Empire of Rome: Whereas peradventure it had not fallen out so, if *Cato* fearing *Pompey's* light fautes, had not caused him by increasing his power with another, to commit farre greater fautes. Howbeit those things were yet to come. Furthermore, *Pompey* being at iare with *Lucullus*, touching certain ordinances which he had made in the Realme of Pontus, because both the one and the other would haue their ordinances to take

*Cato's doing
for Lucullus.*

*Cato resisteth
Pompey.*

*Cato refuseth
alliance with
Pompey.*

A take place: *Cato* fauoured *Lucullus*, who had open wronge. *Pompey* therefore seeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, tooke parte with the people, and purforth the lawe for diuiding of the landes amongst the souldiers. But *Cato* slowly resisting that lawe againe, he put it by, and made *Pompey* thereby in a rage to acquainte him selfe with *Publius Clodius*, the moste seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made alliance euen at that tyme with *Cesar*, whereof *Cato* him selfe was the only Author. *Cesar* returning out of SPAIN from his Pratorshippe, requyred the honour of tryumphe, and withall made sute to bee Consul. But being a lawe to the contrary, that they that sued to bee Consuls should bee present them selues in the cite, and suche also as desired honour of tryumphe, should bee without the cite: he earnestly required the Senate, that he myght sue for the Consulshippe by his friendes. The moste parte of the Senate were willing vnto it, but *Cato* was stally agaynst it. He perceiving that the other Senatours were willing to gratifie *Cesar*, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he spent all the whole daye in his oration, and by this pollicie preuented the Senate, that they could not conclude any thinge. Then *Cesar* letting fall his tryumphe, made sute to be Consul, and entring the cite, ioyned friendship with *Pompey*. Hereuppon he was chosen Consul, and immediately after married his Daughter *Iulia* vnto *Pompey*: and so hauing made in manner a conspiracye agaynst the common wealth betweene them selues, *Cesar* preferred the lawe Agraria, for distributing the landes vnto the Citizens, and *Pompey* was present to mainteyne the publication thereof. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* on thother side taking parte with *Bibulus* the other Consul, did what they could agaynst it, but specially *Cato*: who fearing muche this alliance of *Cesar* and *Pompey*, that it was a pacte and conspiracie to ouerthrowe the common wealth, sayde, that he cared not so muche for this lawe Agraria, as he feared the rewarde they looked for, who by suche meanes dyd intile and pleale the common people. Therewithall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people besides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his parte: maruailing muche, and also being offended with *Cesar's* greates vnreasonablenes and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Consulshippe did preferre suche thinges, as the moste seditious Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to doe, to currye fauour with the people, and by suche vile meanes sought to make them at his commaundement. Wherefore, *Cesar* and his friends D fearing to fight enemies, fell to open force. For to beginne withall, as the Consul *Bibulus* was going to the market place, there was a basket of donge powred vpon his heade: and furthermore, the Officers rodde were broken in their hands, which they caryed before him. In fine, dartes were throwen at them out of euery corner, and many of them being hurt, they all at length were driuen to flye, and leaue the market place. But *Cato*, he came laste of all, keeping his wonted pace, and often cast backe his heade, and cursed such Citizens. So, they did not onely passe this lawe Agraria by voyces of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that all the Senate should bee sworn to stablish that lawe, and bee bounde to defende the same, (if any attempted the alteration thereof) vpon greates penalties and fines to bee sette on his heade, that should refuse the other. All the other Senators sware agaynst their wills, remembering the example of the mischiefe that chaunced vnto the olde *Metellus*, who was banished out of ITALY, because he would not sweare to suche a like lawe. Whereuppon, the women that were in *Cato's* house, besought him with the teares in their eyes, that he would yeelde and take the other: and so did also diuers of his friendes besides. Howbeit, he that moste enforced and brought *Cato* to sweare, was *Cicero* the Orator: who perswaded him, that peradventure he would bee thought vnreasonable, that being but one man, he should seeme to mislike that, which all other had thought meete and reasonable: and that it were a sonde parte of him wilfully to put him selfe in so greates daunger, thinking to hynder a matter already past remedie. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconuenience would happen, if he forooke his contry (for whose sake he did all these thinges) and left it a praye vnto them, which sought the vter subuersion of the same, as if he were glad to bee ridde from the trouble of defending the common wealth. For, sayde he, though *Cato* haue

Lex agraria.

*The alliance
and friendship
betwixt Cesar
and Pompey.*

*Cicero by his
oration brake
Cato's firme.*

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no neede of Rome, yet Rome hath neede of *Cato*, and so haue all his friendes: of the *A* which, *Cicero* sayde he was the chiefe, and was moste maliced of *P. Clodius* the Tribune, who sought to driue him out of the contrye. It is sayde that *Cato* beeing wonne by these like wordes and perswasions at home, and openly in the market place, they so fofemed him, that he came to take his othe laste of all men, but one *Phaonius*, a very friende of his. *Casars* hatte beeing then list vpper, for that he had brought his first purpose to passe: beganne nowe to preferre an other lawe, to diuide all *CAMPANIA*, and the contrye called *TERRA DI LAVORO*, (the lande of labour) vnto the poore needy people of Rome, and no man stode against him but *Cato*. Whereuppon *Casars* made his officers to take him from the pulpit for orations, to cary him to prison. All this made not *Cato* slowpe, nor leaue his franke speeche, but as he went he still spake against this edicte, and perswaded the people to beware of them that preferred suche lawes. All the Senate, and the beste sorte of Citizens followed *Cato* with heauy hartes, shewing by their silence, that they were offended and angrye for the iniurye they did vnto him, beeing so worthy a man. Inasmuch as *Casars* selfe perceived that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition & stomacke, he looked alwayes when *Cato* would haue appealed vnto the people. So when he saw that *Cato* ment not such matter, at length ouercomen with shame and dishonor, he him selfe procured one of the Tribunes to take *Cato* from the Sergeants. In fine, all *Casars* practise tended to this ende, that when he had wonne the peoples fauor by such lawes: they should then graunt him the government of all the *GAULES* (aswell on this side, as beyond the mountaines) and all *ILLYRIA*, with an armie of foure legions, for the space of five yeares, notwithstanding that *Cato* told the people before, that they them selues with their own voyces did set vpper a tyrant, that one day would cut their throats. They did also chuse *Publius Clodius* Tribune of the people, which was of a noble house: a thing directly contrary to the law. But this *Clodius* had promised them, so that they would helpe him to banish *Cicero* out of Rome, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made *Calpurnius Piso* (*Casars* wifes father) and *Gabinus Paulus*, (a man wholly at *Pompeys* commaundement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Consuls the next yeare following. Now, notwithstanding they had the rule of the common wealth in their owne handes, and that they had wonne parte of the citie with brybes, and the other parte also with feare: yet they were both affraid of *Cato*, when they considered what trouble they had to ouercome him, which they did very hardly notwithstanding, and to their great shame, beeing driuen to vse force, and yet thought they should neuer haue done it. Furthermore, *Clodius* vterly dispaired that he could possibly banish *Cicero*, so longe as *Cato* was there. So deuising wayes howeto doe it, when he had taken possession of his office, he sent for *Cato*, and beganne to tell him, that he thought him the honestest and iustest man of Rome, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deede. For, where many made sute vnto him to be sent into *CYPRVS*, to make warre with king *Ptolemy*: he thought none so worthy as him selfe, and therefore for the goodwill he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleasure. *Cato* straight cryed out with open mouth, that this was a deule to intrappe him, not to pleasure him. Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely answered him, well, seeing thou wilt not goe with goodwill, thou shalt goe then against thy will: and so he did. For at the first assemblye of the citie, he caused the people to graunt his commission for his iorney thither: but they neyther appoynted him shippes, nor fouldiers, nor any other Ministers to goe with him, sauing two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very villayne and arrant theefe, and the other, one of *Clodius* followers. Besides all this, as if they had appoynted him but lide to doe in *CYPRVS* agaynst *Ptolemy*, he made them commaunde him after that, to goe and restore the outlawes and banished men of the citie of *EYZANTIVM*, vnto their contrye and goodes agayne, of purpose onely to keepe *Cato* farre enoughe from Rome, whylest he continued Tribune. *Cato* beeing driuen by necessitie to obeye, he counselled *Cicero* (whome *Clodius* pursued) to beware that he made no stirre agaynst him, for feare of bringing Rome into ciuill warre and murder for his sake: but rather, to absent him selfe, that he might an other tyme preferre his contrye. After that, he sent his friende *Canidius* before into *CYPRVS*, vnto *Ptolemy*, to perswade

Cato committed to prison by Casar.

P. Clodius, Tribune of the people. The crafty ingling betwixt Casar and Pompey with P. Clodius.

Cato sent Ambassador into Cyprus.

A perswade him to bee quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he should neether lacke honour nor riches, for the Romanes would graunt him the priesthoode of *Venus* in the citie of *PAPHOS*. *Cato* in the meane tyme remainyng in the Ile of *RHODES*, preparing him selfe there, and abiding his answer. In the tyme of these sturres, *Ptolemy* king of *EGYPT*, for a certain offence and discorde with his subiectes, departing out of *ALEXANDRIA*, sayled towards Rome, hoping that *Casars* and *Pompey* with a great armie would restore him to his crowne and kingdome agayne. He beeing desirous to see *Cato*, sent vnto him, supposing he would come at his sending for. *Cato* by chance was occupied at that tyme about some busines, and badde the Messenger will *Ptolemy* to come to him, if he would see him. So when *Ptolemy* came, he nether went to meete him, nor rose vpper vnto him, but onely welcomed him, and badde him sitte downe. It amazed the king at the first to see vnder so simple and meane a trayne, suche a statelines and maiestie in *Catoes* behavior. But when he hearde him boldly talke with him of his sayres, and suche graue talke come from him, reprouing his follye he had committed, to forsake suche princely pleasure and wealth, to goe and subiect him selfe vnto suche dishonour, suche extreame paynes, and suche passing great giftes and presents, as he should throwe awaye, to satisfie the couetoulines of the rulers at Rome, the which was so vnstable, that if all the Realme of *EGYPT* were converted into siluer to giue amonge them, it would scarce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counselled him to returne backe with his nauye, and to reconcile him selfe agayne with his subiectes, offering him selfe also to goe with him, to helpe to make his peace. Then *Ptolemy* comming to him selfe, and repenting him of his follye, knowing that *Cato* tolde him truly, and wisely: he determined to followe his counsell, had not his friendes turned his mynde to the contrarye. So when *Ptolemy* came to Rome, and was driuen to wayte at the gates of the Magistrates that were in authoritie: he sighed then, and repented his follye, for that he had not onely despised the counsell of a wife man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other *Ptolemy* that was in *CYPRVS* (a happye turne for *Cato*) paysoned him selfe. *Cato* beeing also informed that he leste a wonderful summe of money behynde him, he determined to goe him selfe vnto *EYZANTIVM*, and sent his Nephewe *Brutus* into *CYPRVS*, because he durst not truste *Canidius* so farre. Then hauing restored the banished men vnto the peoples sauiour agayne, settinge agreement betwixt them, he returned into *CYPRVS*. There he founde a maruailous greate treasure, and plate bothe of golde and siluer, tables, precious stones, hanginges, and purple silkes, all the which he was to make readye money of. There he tooke greate care and paynes to rayse all thinges to the vrmoste and dearest pryses that coule bee, and he him selfe was present at all, to keepe reckoning of the laste penney. Wherefore, to bringe this to passe, he would not stande to the common vse of the sale of the cryer, but suspected them all, bothe cryers, praylers, and his owne friendes, and therefore talked him selfe with the praylers, and made them sette high pryses vpon euery thinge that was to bee sold. And thus were the moste parte of the goodes sold and caryed awaye, at the dearest pryses. This did maruelously offende the moste of his friendes, E when they sawe that he did mistruste them: but *Munatius* specially, his dearest friende, tooke it so inwardly, that he thought neuer to bee friendes with him agayne. Inasmuch as in the booke *Casars* wrote agaynst *Cato*, in this place he forceth moste the accusation agaynst him. *Munatius* notwithstanding wryteth, that he was not angrye so muche with *Cato* for that he mistrusted him, but for a certayne disdayne he had him selfe of *Cato*, and for the emulation betwixt him and *Canidius*. For *Munatius* wrote a booke of *Catoes* deedes and sayings, whome *Thraseas* in his historye chiefly followed. In this booke he sheweth that he came late into *CYPRVS*, and was very illlodged. And furthermore also, that when he would haue come into *Catoes* house, they kept him out of the gates, for that *Cato* was busie, doinge some thinge with *Canidius*. He modestly complaining of it vnto *Cato*, had this churlish answer: ouermuch loue, sayth *Theophrastus*, oftentimes causeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who ouerlouing me, doest thinke that I esteeme thee not as thou deseruest, and therefore art angry with me. And for *Canidius*, I must tell thee truly,

Ptolemy king of Aegyptus goeth vnto Casar.

Cato's diligence about money in Cyprus.

The angry betwixt Cato & Munatius.

To much loue oftentimes causeth hate.

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I doe rather employe him for his skill and faithfulness in things, then any man els: for that he hath beene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was neuer bryb'd, but cleane handed still. These wordes *Cato* tolde *Munatius* secretly betweene them two: but afterwards he knewe that he had also reported them vnto *Canidius*. When he sawe that, he would no more go and suppe with *Cato* as he was wont, and when he was also called to counsell, he would not come there nether. Wherefore *Cato* threatned him, that he would seale vpon all his goods and cariage, as they vse to handle them that are disobedient vnto iustice. This notwithstanding, *Munatius* cared not for it, but tooke sea, and returned againe to Rome, bearing *Cato* grudge a long time. Then *Martia*, being at that time *Catoes* wife, spake with him, and were both bidden to supper together, vnto a friend of theirs, called *Barca*. Thereupon *Cato* also arriued, and came thither, when they were all sette at supper, and asked where he should sit. *Barca* tolde him agayne, where it pleased him. Then casting his eyes about, he sayd he would sitte by *Munatius*: and so fetching a compassse about the borde, he went and sate by him, but offered him no friendshippe and familiaritie all supper tyme. Afterwards notwithstanding, at the request of *Martia*, that was earnestly in hande with *Cato* for him: he wrote vnto him, and willed him to come and speake with him. *Munatius* went to *Catoes* house in the morning, where *Martia* layed him, and kept him companie, vntill all the rest that came to salute *Cato*, were departed. Then *Cato* comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made verry muche of him. We haue the willinglier dilated this matter at length, because mens natures and manners might be discerned euen in these small matters of friendshippe priuately, as otherwise in the greatest publicke causes. Now touching *Catoes* commission, he gotte together litle lesse then seuen thousand silver talents. Furthermore, fearing the farenesse of the iorney he had to goe by sea, he made diuers litle cofers, and put into euery one of them two talents, and five hundred Drachmas, and tyed vnto each of them a longe rope, and a greates pece of corke: because that if the shippe should fortune to miscarye, those cofers might shewe where the chestes with money laye in the bottome of the sea. Thus was all the money faued, sauing a litle, and brought safely to Rome. *Cato* hauing made two bookes wherein he had noted all things done in his iorney, he could neither saue thone nor thother of them. For one of his bondmen made free, called *Philargyrus*, tooke the one away: who taking shippe at the hauen of Cenchrees, was him selfe drowned, and the booke he had also, lost with him. The other booke which he him selfe had kept, vntill he came vnto *Corfov*: he lying in the market place of the cite in his tents, which he caused to be set vpp: the Mariners being very cold in the night, made so great a fire, that it burnt the tents, stuffe, booke and all. Notwithstanding, he brought certaine of the late king *Ptolomyes* slaues with him, who while he liued, had the charge and custodie of all his treasure and riches, the which he brought as witnesses, to stoppe the mouthes of his malicious enemies, that would haue accused him in any thing. But yet the losse of them did grieue him, not so much for the greates care and paynes he had taken in setting downe the account of his charge, for the iustificacion and prooffe of his fidelitie and good seruice: but also, for that they might haue serued for a good memoriall and example vnto all others, to haue bene a like carefull in their charge, as him selfe. But the goddes denied him this good happe. Newes being brought that he was come to Rome by water, when they vnderstood that he was at hand, by and by all the Magistrats, the Priestes, the Senate, & the most part of the people also went out to meete him by the riuers side: so that both sides of the riuer of Tyber were full of people, and the receiuing of him in, seemed not inferior to the entry of a triumphe. Notwithstanding, some thought him very presumptuous, that the Consuls and Prætors comming out to meete him, he did not stay his gally, but rowed full vpp the streame (being in a kingly galley of six owers to euery bancke) and neuer stayed, vntill all his fleet arriued in the hauen. This notwithstanding, when the cofers with money were caried thorough the market place into the treasure chamber, the people wondred to see so great a quantitie of it. And thereupon the Senate being assembled, with great and honorable words they gaue *Cato* an extraordinary Prætorship, and priuiledge also, at any common sports to weare a purple gowne. *Cato* refused all these honours, and onely besought the Senate to make *Nicias* a free man, Steward of the late diseased king *Ptolomy*, being a witness of his faith

Money gotten together by *Cato* in Cyprus.

Cato receiued into Rome with great honour of all the people.

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A and great paynes he had taken in this seruice. *Philip* the father of *Martia*, was that yeare Consul, so that after a sorte, the authoritie of the Consul was in *Cato*: because *Lentulus*, colleague and fellowe Consul with *Philip*, did no lesse reuerence *Cato* for his vertues, then *Philip* did for his allyance with him. Furthermore, when *Cicero* was restored agayne from his banishment, the which *Publius Clodius* (being then Tribune of the people) had put upon him, and being agayne growen to great credit: he went one day into the Capitoll, in the absence of *Clodius*, by force to take awaye the tables which *Clodius* had consecrated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the tyme he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being assembled, *Clodius* did accuse *Cicero* of this violent facte. *Cicero* answered him agayne: that because *Clodius* was chosen Tribune, directly against the lawe, therefore all his doings were voyde, and of no validitie. Then stood vpp *Cato*, and sayde: he knewe that all that which *Clodius* did when he was Tribune, was scanty good and allowable, but yet if generally any man shoulde vndoe all that he had passed by that authoritie: then all that he him selfe had done likewise in CYPRVS, must of necessitie bee reuoked. For the commission that was graunted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many thinges) shoulde be vnlawfull: because the Tribune also that did graunt it him, was not lawfully chosen. And therefore, that *Publius Clodius* was not made Tribune against the lawe, who by consent of the lawe was taken out from a noble house, and made a populer person: howbeit, if he had behaued him selfe vnductfully in his office, as other men that happily had offended: then he was to be accused to make him mend his faulte, and not to destroye the authoritie of the officer, which in C it selfe was lawfull. After that, there fell misliking betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, for this counter buffe he had giuen him: and *Cicero* continued a long tyme after, before he did shewe him any countenance of friendshippe as he had at other tymes done. But afterwards they were reconciled together agayne, by this occasion. *Pompey* and *Craffus* hauing bene with *Cæsar* to talke with him (who for that purpose came out of GAULE beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demaund the second Consulship together, and when they had it, then to proroge *Cæsar*s government for five yeares more, and also they would haue the best prouinces and greatest, for them selues, with great armies, and money enough to paye them with. This was in deede a playne conspiracie to denide the Empire of Rome betweene them, and vterly to ouerthrow the state of the common wealth. At that time there were many noble men, which came to make sute for the Consulship. But when they sawe *Pompey* and *Craffus* offer to make sute for it, all the reste gaue ouer, but *Lucius Domitius* that had married *Porcia*, *Catoes* sister: through whose perswasion he would not relinquish his sute, considering that it was not the office onely of the Consulship that was the chiefest matter of importance, but the libertie of the Senate and people. Straight there ranne a rumor through the most parte of the people, that they were not to suffer *Pompeys* power to be ioyned with *Craffus*, by meanes of this office: for then his authoritie would bee too great and stronge, and therefore, that of necessitie one of these two were to bee denied. For this cause therefore, the good men tooke *Domitius* parte, and did encourage him to goe on with his sute, assuring him of ayde vnder hande of diuers, which durst not bee seene openly for feare of those two great men, who at the daye of the election would procure him voyces in his fauour. *Pompey* and *Craffus* mistrusting this, made *Domitius* bee sette vppon, going with torche light before daye into the field of *Mars*, where the election was alwayes made: and first striking the torche bearer that went before him, they hurt him sore, that he fell downe deade at his feete. Then they layed at the rest in like case, who finding them selues cruelly hurt, ranne awaye euery man of them, and left *Domitius* and *Cato* post alone. But *Cato*, notwithstanding he was hurt in one of his armes, still helde *Domitius* fast, and prayed him to tary, and not to leaue to defende the libertie of their contrie, against tyrants, which playnly shewed after what manner they would gouerne, sith by suche wicked meanes they aspyred to tyrannicall government. All this notwithstanding, *Domitius* would tarye no longer, but betooke F him to his legges, and ranne home. Thus were *Craffus* and *Pompey* without denyall proclaimed Consuls. *Cato* neuer yeelded therefore, but came and sued to bee Prætor, because that thereby he might yet make it some strength and countenance to him against their Consul-

FFhy Cato sued to be Prætor.

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shippe, that beeing no priuate person, he shoulde haue some better authoritie to resist them. A
 that were the chiefe persons. But they fearing, that the Prætorshippe by the estimation of
Cato, woulde come to equal their authoritie of the Consulshippe: first assembled the Senate
 (the most parte of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that assemblye caused the Senate to
 decree: that all suche as were chosen Prætors, shoulde presently goe to their charge, not at-
 tending the tyme and libertie appoynted by the lawe, during which tyme men might accuse
 those which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then hauing by this culler
 and decree sette yll doers at libertie, without feare of punishment, they pretending to vie
 corruption, did preferre some of their owne Ministers to make sute for the Prætorshippe,
 them selues giuing money to corrupt the people, and being present also at the election. But
 notwithstanding all these practises, the vertue and reputation of *Cato* ouercame them. For
 the people had him in so great reuerence, that they thought it too shamefull a parte to sell
Cato by voyces, who deserved rather to bee hyered to take the Prætorshippe upon him. Then
 the first Tribe being called to giue their voyces, declared him Prætor. *Pompey* seeing that,
 straight brake of the assemblye, making a shamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the
 which the ROMANES doe maruelously detest, and will conclude nothing when it thunde-
 reth. Howebeit afterwards they gaue more money, then they had done before, and there-
 by draue away the chiefe men out of the felde of *Mars*, and by practise obtained, that
Vatinius was chosen Prætor for *Cato*. And therepore went, that they that had so wickedly
 giuen their voyces, feeling them selues pricked in conscience, fledde immediately out of the
 felde: and the honest men that remained, were both very sory and angrie, for the iniurie
 they had offered *Cato*. At that tyme one of the Tribunes keeping an assemblye of the citie,
Cato stoodde vpp, and tolde (as if he had prophesied) before them all, what woulde happen
 to the common wealth by these practises, and stirred vpp the people agaynst *Pompey*, and
Cæsar, saying: that they were gilty of those things, and therefore procured them to bee
 done, because they were affrayde that if *Cato* had bene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue
 sifted out their deuises. In fine, *Cato* going home to his house, had more company to wayte
 vpon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had bene chosen. When *Caius Trebonius*,
 Tribune of the people, had preferred a lawe for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the
 newe Consuls, SPAYNE and AFRICKA vnto the one, and ÆGYPT and SYRIA vnto the o-
 ther, with full power to make warre as they thought good bothe by sea and lande: all other
 men hauing no hope to keepe it backe, did let it alone, and spake nothing to contrarye it.
 Then *Cato* getting vpp into the pulpit for orations, before the people beganne to giue their
 voyces, coulde hardly haue two howers space to speake: but at length, they perceyuing
 that he delayed tyme by foretelling things to come, woulde suffer him to speake no longer,
 but sent a Sergeant vnto him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was
 beneath, and cryed out notwithstanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Serge-
 ant went to him agayne, and tooke him, and caryed him out of the market place. Howe-
 beit the Officer had no sooner left him, but he went strayght towards the pulpit for ora-
 tions, and there cryed out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye
 to ayde the libertie of their common wealth, which went to ruine. VVhen he oftentimes toge-
 ther did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being made withal, commaunded his Sergeant to cary
 him to prison. The people followed him hard notwithstanding, to heare what he sayd vnto
 them. VVhereuppon *Trebonius* fearing some sturre, was forced to commaund his Sergeant
 to let *Cato* goe. So *Cato* draue of all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning
 notwithstanding, the contrary faction hauing partly put the ROMANES in feare, and wonne
 the other parte also by fayre wordes and money, and by force of armes likewise kept *Aqui-
 lius*, one of the Tribunes, from coming out of the Senate: and after they had also violent-
 ly driuen *Cato* out of the market place, for saying that it thundred, and hauing hurt many men,
 and also slayne some out of hande in the market place: in the ende they forcibly passed the
 decree by voyces of the people. Many being offended therewith, went a company of them
 together to plucke downe *Pompeys* images: but *Cato* would not suffer them. And afterwards
 also, when they preferred an other law for the prorogation of the prouinces & armies which

Cæsar

Cato put from
the Prætor-
ship by Pom-
pey.Cato was a-
gainst the law
for the prou-
inces of
Pompey and
Cæsar.

A *Cæsar* demanded: *Cato* would speake no more to the people to hinder it, but protested vnto
Pompey him selfe, that he saw not how he plucked *Cæsar* upon him, and that he should feele the
 weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither suffer nor remedy
 it, he would euen cast his burden and him selfe upon the common wealth, and too late would
 remember *Catos* warnings, which were priuately as profitable for *Pompey*, as openly iust and
 reasonable for the cõmon wealth. *Cato* vied many of these perswasions sundry times vnto him,
 but *Pompey* neuer made accompt of them: for he woulde not be perswaded that *Cæsar* would
 euer change in that sorte, and besides he trusted too much to his owne power and prosperi-
 tie. Furthermore, *Cato* was chosen Prætor for the next year following, in the which it appea-
 red (though he ministred iustice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maiestie
 and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenance by his doings: for he
 would oftentimes go a foote barelegged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, and
 there geue sentence of life and death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And some report,
 that he would geue audience when he had dynd, and dronke wine: but that is vntrue. Now
Cato perceyuing that the citizens of ROMER were marred by bribes and gifts of those, which a-
 spiried vnto offices, and that the people made it an arte and facultie to gaine by: to roote this
 vice altogether out of the common wealth, he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that such
 as hereafter should be chosen Consuls or Prætors, shoulde (if there were no man to accuse
 them) come and offer them selues before the iudges, and taking their othe, should truly de-
 clare what meanes they had vsed to attaine to their office. This offended the futers for the
 C offices, but muche more the mercenarie multitude. Whereuppon, a great number of them
 went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cried out vpon him, reuiled
 him, and threw stones at him: inso much as they that were there, were forced to flie thence,
 and him selfe also was driuen out of the place by the preefe of people, and had much a doe to
 get to the pulpit for orations, where standing on his feete, he presently pacified the tumult of
 the people, by the boldnes and constancie of his countenance only. Then when all was pa-
 cified by the present perswasions he vsed, aply spoken to purpose for the instant, they ge-
 uing attentive eare, without sturre or vprore. The Senate geuing him great commendation
 therefore, he told them roundly and plainly: but I haue no cause to praise you, to leaue a Præ-
 tor in such daunger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the futers for the offices, they
 D were in a maruelous case: for one way, they were affrayed to geue money to buy the peoples
 voyces, and on thother side, they were affrayed also if any other did it, that they shoulde goe with-
 out their sute. So they were all agreed together, euery man to put downe twelue Myriades &
 a halfe a peece, and then they shoulde make their sute iustly & vprightly: and whosoever were
 taken faury, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the mo-
 ney he had layed downe. This agreement being concluded betweene them, they chose *Cato* (as
 it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the same money. This match was made in
Catos house, where they all did put in caution or sureties to answer the money: the which
 he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, *Cato* assitting the Tri-
 bune that gouerned the election, and carefully marking howe they did geue their voyces: he
 E spied one of the futers for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to
 pay the forfeiture vnto the rest. But they greatly commending his iustice and integritie, for-
 gaue the forfeiture, thinking it punishment enough vnto him that had forfeited, to be con-
 demned by *Cato*. But thereby *Cato* procured him selfe the displeasure of the other Senators, for
 that he seemed therein to take upon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court, and
 election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honor and credit doth procure more enuy, then
 iustice doth: because the people doe commonly respect and reuerence that, more then any
 other. For they doe not honor them as they doe valliant men, nor haue them in admiration,
 as they do wise men: but they loue and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are
 affrayed of, and the other they distrust: beside, they suppose that valliancy and wisdom com-
 F meth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choyce, esteeming wisdome,
 as a readines of conceit, and fortitude, a presence and courage of the minde. For euery man
 may be iust that will, and therefore iniustice is of all other vices most shamefull: for it is a wil-

A A A A iijj

The power
of iustice.Cato foreha-
wed Pompey
the things
which hap-
ped vnto
him, by Cæ-
sar.Cato chosim
Prætor.Cato prefer-
red a law for
vnlawfull be-
ing.

full and malicious default, and therefore can not be excused. Loc this was the cause why all the noble men in manner were against *Cato*, as though he only had overcome them. *Pompey*, he thought that the estimation of *Cato* was altogether the discountenance of his power and greatness, and therefore did daily raise vp many railers against him. Of them *Fabius Clodius* that seditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in friendship with *Pompey*: he accused *Cato*, and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common wealth of a wonderfull treasure, by his commission in *CYPRVS*: and that he was enemy vnto *Pompey*, because he did refuse to marry his daughter. *Cato* thereto made aunswere, that he had brought more golde and siluer out of *CYPRVS*, into the treasure of *ROME*, without the allowance of either horse or souldier: then *Pompey* had done with all his triumphes and warres, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreover, that he did neuer seeke alliance with *Pompey*, nor that he thought him vnworthie of it, but because he saw he delt not as vprightly in the common wealth as he him selfe did. I, sayd he, haue refused a prouince offered me when I came out of my *Prætorshippe* but *Pompey* hath taken some by force, and geuen away vnto others. And to conclude, he lent *Cæsar* not long since, an armie of six thousand men to serue him in the warres in *GAULE*: the which he neuer required of vs, nor *Pompey* graunted them him by our consent. But we see, that so many armies, armors and weapon, so many men and horses, by common pleasures of our priuate citizens, geuen and lent at our charge. And *Pompey* him selfe reseruing onely the name of Emperour, and Lieutenant generall, assigneth ouer his armies and prouinces to the gouernment of others, whilest he him selfe besiegeth here the walls of the citie, with seditious & tumultuous election of officers, craftily vnderminde thereby the state of the common wealth, to bring all to confusion, that he him selfe might be absolute Prince, and rule alone. Thus was he reuenged of *Pompey*. Among *Catoes* friends, he had one called *Marcus Faonius*, such a one as *Apollodorus PHALERIAN* was sayd to be in old time, vnto *Socrates*, who did counterfeite to be an other him selfe, in doing all things as he did. This man would be farr out of reason, and passionate in his talke, storming like a dronkard. He one yere made sute to be *Ædilis*, but he was reiecte. Howbeit *Cato* that furthered his sute, marked, that the tables wherein the voyces were wrytten, were all one hande. So, he finding out the falschoode, appealed thereupon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voyde for that time. After that *Faonius* was created *Ædilis*, *Cato* did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his office, and specially in setting forth plays in the Theatre, which are customably done at the comming in of euery such new officer, to geue the people pastime: and gaue vnto the common players and dauncers in those plays, no golden crownes, as other *Ædiles* did, but crownes of wilde oliue twigges, as they commonly vse in *GREECE* at the Olympian games. And where others gaue vnto the poore rich gifts, he gaue the *GREEKES* leekes, lettises, radishes, and peares: and vnto the *ROMANES*, they had earthen pottes full of wine, porke, figges, cowcombes, and fagots of wodde of small value. In so much as some thought some of the they were so meane, others were verie glad of them, seeing that *Cato* which was seuer and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by litle and litle they turned this austeritie of his into pleasure. In fine, *Faonius* him selfe sitting downe amongst the people, which looked apon the players, clapped his hands for ioy at *Cato*: and cried out to him, that he should geue them good rewardes that E played well, alluring them also about him to doe the like, and told them that he had made *Cato* the whole ruler of those sports. At the selfe same time, *Curio*, *Faonius* colleague and companion in the office of *Ædilis*, had likewise goodly plays in an other Theatre: but all the people forsooke his, and went to see *Faonius* plays, who sate among them like a priuate man, and *Cato* as the maister of the plays. *Cato* did this in scorn and mockerie, of vaine charge and expences, which men are wont to bestow in such trifles, shewing thereby, that whosoever will make any plays, he should make the charge but a sport also, furnishing it only with a convenient grace, but with no vaine expence or charge about such a trifle. Shortly after, when *Scipio*, *Hippens* and *Milo*, sued all three together to be Consuls, not only by bribery of money (a common fault then in suing for any of the offices in the common wealth) but by plaine force F of armes, slaying and killing as in a ciuill warre, they were so desperat and insolent: some preferred a lawe, that they should make *Pompey* President in these elections, because him should

moue

M. Faonius,
Catoes friend.

Cato didd sit
forth the
players for
Faonius Æ-
dilis.

Catoes wife
counsell for
players.

A moue their sute after a lawfull sorte. But *Cato* straight was against it, saying, that the law could haue no safety by *Pompey*, but *Pompey* might haue safety by the lawe. Notwithstanding, when he sawe this trouble continue of a long time, without any Consuls in *ROME*, and that daily there were three campees in the market place, that it was almost impossible to preuent the mischief at hand, and to stay that it should goe no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their owne good willes, rather then by compulsion, should put the gouernment of the state into *Pompeys* hands alone, choosing the lesse euill, to withstand the greater, and so to yeld to the absolute gouernment, without constraint, which the sedition would bring it vnto. Therefore *Bibulus Catoes* friend & kinsman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would choose *Pompey* sole Consul. For, sayd he, either the common wealth shall be well gouerned by B him, or else *ROME* shall serue an ill Lord. *Cato* then rising vp, beyonde all mens expectation confirmed *Bibulus* opinion, and sayd: that the citie were better to haue one soueraine Magistrate then none, and that he hoped *Pompey* could geue present order for the pacifying of this confusion, and that he would be careful to preferre the citie, when he sawe that they trusted him with the gouernment thereof. Thus was *Pompey* by *Catoes* meanes chosen sole Consul. Then he sent for *Cato* to come to his gardens to him, which were in the suburbs of the citie. *Cato* went thither, and was receiued with as great honor & curtesie of *Pompey*, as could be deuised: and in the end, after he had geuen him great thanks for the honors he had done him, he prayed him to afford him his aduise and counsell in his gouernment. *Cato* answered him thus, that he had not spoken any thing before that time in respect of any ill will he bare him: neither that he deliuered this last opinion of his in respect of his friendship, but wholly for the common wealths sake: howbeit otherwile, that for his owne priuate affaires, if he thought good to vse his aduise, whensoever it pleased him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the best he could. But for common causes, that he would alwayes tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him: and in fine, he performed all he sayd. For first of all, when *Pompey* did set grieuous penalties & new fines apon their heades, which had bought the peoples voyces for money: *Cato* counseled him to prouide for things to come, and to let that alone which was already past. For sayd he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man should seeke to reforme the faults that are past: and furthermore, if the punishments appointed were newer then the offences committed, then they should doe wrong vnto them that D were already accused, to punish them by a new law which they had not offended. Afterwards also, certaine men of good calling (*Pompeys* friends) being accused, *Cato* perceiving that *Pompey* grew remisse, and yielded in many things: he sharply reprimed, and reformed him. Furthermore, where *Pompey* had by law taken away the praifes which were wont to be spoken of the offenders that were accused: he him selfe notwithstanding hauing wrytten an oration in the praise of *Munatius Plancus*, sent it vnto the Iudges, whilest his cause was a hearing. *Cato* being one of the Iudges at that time, stopped his eares with both his hands, and would not haue it red. Wherefore *Plancus* refused him for one of his Iudges, after his cause was pleaded vnto: howbeit he was condemned notwithstanding. To conclude, *Cato* was such a grieue and trouble vnto them that were accused, that they could not tell well howe to deal with him. E For, once they durst not lette him be any of their Iudges, neither could they well abide to stufe him. For there were many that were condemned, which refusing *Cato*, seemed vnwisshers that they were guiltie: & many also were shamefully reprimed, because they would not accept *Cato* for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Things proceeding in this sort for a while, *Cæsar* remained in *GAULE* with his armie, where he made warres: nevertheless he wanted him friends till in *ROME*, by gifts and money, and made him selfe very strong. Now appeared *Catoes* predictions and forewatnings true vnto *Pompey*, and began to quicken his spirits which had slept so long, and made him then to consider of the daunger, the which before he could not be perwaded to beleue. But perceiving his slackenes and feare withall, doubting howe to proceede: to preuent *Cæsar*s practises, *Cato* determined to sue to be Consul, with intent either F to make him leaue his armie, or else to finde out the practise he intended. *Catoes* competitors, they were both of the very honest men also, of the which, *Sulpitius* had receiued great honor & preferment by *Catoes* credit and authoritie in respect whereof, many thought that it was

Pompey was
created sole
Consul, by
Catoes friend
meanes.

Cato sued to
be Consul, to
repress
Cæsar.

scant honestly done of *Substitutum*, to shew himselfe fo vnthankfull, as to stand against *Cato* in this A
 fute. Howbeit *Cato* neuer complained of the matter, but sayd, that it was no maruell he would
 geue place to no man in that, sith it was the greatest good hadde that euer came vnto him.
 This notwithstanding he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that from thence forth, such as
 sued for any office, they should them selues be suters to the people, and not preferre their sute
 by others. This caused the people to be more offended with him, then before, bicause there-
 by he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voyces in el-
 ections: but tooke from them the meanes they had alio to pleasure many, bringing them now
 into pouterie and contempt. He therefore hauing no face to flatter the people and to currie
 fauor with them, but rather sticking to his graue maner and modest life, then to seeke the di-
 gnitie of a Consul by such meanes: made sure him selfe in person, and would not suffer his B
 frends to take the ordinary course which might win the peoples harts, whereupon he was put
 from his Consulshippe. This denyall was wont not only to haue made the parties refused, ve-
 ry forowfull, but their frendes and kinsemen alio greatly aghamed a long time after. Howbeit
Cato made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his
 frends in the field of *Mars*, and after he had dyed, walked againe in the market place, as his
 maner was, without shooes on his feete, and coate. But *Cicero* blamed him much for that, bi-
 cause the common wealth requiring then such a Consul as he, he had not carefully endeuo-
 red him selfe by curtesie and gentle meanes to winne the fauor of the people, neither would
 euer after make sure for it, although at an other time he sued to be Prator. Thereunto *Cato*
 answered, that for the Pratorship, he was not denyed it by the good will of the people, but C
 rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Consuls, where
 there was no deceiufed, he knew plainly he went without it, for his maners which the people
 misliked: the which he thought were no wise mans parte to change for any mans pleasure,
 nor yet by making the like sure againe, to hazard the refusal. Furthermore, *Cato* making warre
 with very stowt nations, & hauing with no small daunger & trauell subdued them: and hauing
 also let vpon the GERMANES, with whom the ROMANES were at peace, and also slaine three
 hundred thousand persons: his frends made sure that the people should do solemne sacrifice to
 geue thanks vnto the gods. But *Cato* in open Senate was of opinion, that they should deliuer
Cato into their hands, whome he had iniured, to receiue such punishment as they thought
 good: to the end the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be cast vpon him, that the D
 citie might be no partaker of it, sith they could not do withall. Neuertheless, sayd he, we are
 to doe sacrifices vnto the goddes, to geue them thanks, for that they turned not the reuenge
 of the fury and rashnes of the Capitaine, apon our poore souldiers which were in no fault, but
 haue pardoned the common wealth. *Cato* being aduertised thereof, wrote a letter vnto the
 Senate, contayning many accusations against *Cato*. The letter being red, *Cato* rose, not as a
 man put in a chafe with choller, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had
 long before premeditated what he would say) declared that the accusations which *Cato* heaped
 against him in his letters, were but pretie mockes and sleights which he had gathered to-
 gether to make the people merry withall. But on thother side, when he beganne to vnrippe his
 whole intents and practises from the beginning, not as if he had bene his enemy, but rather a E
 confederate with him in his conspiracie, declaring that they were not the GERMANES, nor
 the GAULES, which they were to be affrayed of, but of him selfe, if they were wise: he there-
 upon so offended the Senate, and made such furre among them, that *Cato*'s frends repented
 then they had caused his letters to be red in the Senate, giuing *Cato* thereby occasion iustly to
 complaine of *Cato*, & to alleage much good matter against him. At that time therefore there
 was nothing decreed in the Senate against *Cato*, but this was sayed onely, that it were good
 reason to let him haue a successor. Then *Cato*'s frendes made sure that *Pompey* should put a-
 way his army, and resigne vp the prouinces he kept, or else that they should compell *Cato* no
 more then him to doe it. Then *Cato* opened his mouth, and sayd, the thing was now come to
 passe, which he had euer told them of, and that *Cato* came to oppresse the common wealth, F
 openly turning the armie against it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the same. All this
 preuailed not, neither could he thereby winne any thing of the Senate, bicause the people fa-
 uored

*Cato was de-
 nied the Con-
 sulshippe.*

*Cicero bla-
 med Cato.*

*Cato's opi-
 nion against
 Cato.*

*Cato imeth
 against Cato.*

A noyed *Cato*, and would alwayes haue him great: for the Senate did beleue all that he sayd,
 but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that *Cato* had wonne the
 citie of ARIMINUM, and was coming on with his armie towards ROME: then euery man
 looked apon *Cato*, and the people and *Pompey* confessed, that he only from the beginning had
 found out the marke *Cato* shot at, and had hit the white of his lie deuiſe. Then sayd *Cato* vnto
 them, if you would haue beleued me, my Lordes, and followed my counsell: you should not
 now haue bene affrayd of one man alone, neither should you also haue put your only hope in
 one man. *Pompey* answered thereunto, that *Cato* in deede had gesſed more truly, howbeit
 that he also had delt more friendly. Thereupon *Cato* gaue counsell, that the Senate should re-
 ſerre all vnto *Pompey*'s order: for, sayd he, they that can doe great mischief, knowe also howe
 to helpe it. *Pompey* perceiuing that he had no army conuenient about him to tary *Cato*'s com-
 ming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint harted: he forsooke the citie. *Cato*
 being determined to goe with him, sent his younger sonne before vnto *Munatius*, which laye
 in the contrie of the BRYTANS, and tooke his eldest sonne with him. Now, bicause he was to
 prouide a stay and gouernor of his houle and daughters, he tooke *Martia* againe, which was
 left a widowe and verie riche, for that *Hortensius* dying, made her his heire of all that he had.
 Therein *Cato* vpbraideth *Cato* much, reprouing his couetousnes to marry for goodes. For,
 sayd he, if he had neede of a wife, why then did he before graunt her vnto another? If he had
 no neede of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards againe? Vnlesse she were before a
 bayte vnto *Hortensius*, to keepe her whilest she was young, that he might haue her againe
 C when she was riche. But against that, me thinkes it is sufficient to recite theſe verses of *En-
 ripides*:

*Vnlikelihoodes first I will diſproue. For wch? what man can say,
 That euer feare made Hercules to turne his face away?*

For I take it to be all one, to reprove *Hercules* cowardlines, and *Cato*'s couetousnes. But if
 his marriage be to be reprobued, peraduenture it is in an other sorte. For so soone as he had ma-
 ried *Martia* againe, he left his houle and his daughters to her gouernment, and followed *Pompey*.
 But after that time, men reporte that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware
 any garland, but to his dying day, lamented, and bewailed in his hart, the miserie and calamie
 of his contrie, whether they had victorie, or were ouercome. So hauing the prouince of
 D SICILE allotted to him, he went vnto SYRACUSA. There vnderſtanding that *Asinius Pollio*
 was arriued at MESSINA, with men of warre from his enemies: *Cato* sent vnto him, to knowe
 wherefore he came thither. *Pollio* againe asked of him, who was the cauſer of all this warre.
 Again, when *Cato* was aduertised that *Pompey* had forsaken ITALIE, & that he lay in campe
 beyond the ſea, by the citie of DYRRACHIVM, then he sayd, he ſaw a maruelous great chaunge
 and incerteintie in the prouidence of the goddes: that when *Pompey* did all things beyond rea-
 ſon, and out of course, he was inuincible: and now that he sought to preferre his contrie, he
 ſaw he lacked his former good happe. Nowe he knewe he was strong enough at that time, to
 driue *Asinius Pollio* out of SICILE if he would: but bicause there came a greater aide vnto him,
 he would not plague that land, with the miserie of warre. Then after he had aduised the SY-
 E RACUSANS to take the stronger parte, and to looke to their safety: he tooke the ſea and went to-
 wards *Pompey*. When he was come vnto him, he did alwaies couſel him to prolong the warre,
 hoping ſtill off ſome treaty of peace: & would in no caſe they ſhould come to fight any battell,
 where the weaker parte ſhould of neceſſity be put to the ſword, by the ſtronger. Therefore he
 perswaded *Pompey* and the counſellers about him, to eſtabliſhe certaine lawes to this effect.
 That they ſhould ſacke no citie in this warre, the which belonged vnto the Empire of ROME:
 and alſo, that they ſhould kill no citizen of ROME, but in ſurie of battell, when their ſwordes
 were in their hands. Therby he wanne him ſelfe great honor, and brought many men to take
Pompey's parte, by the lenity and clemency he vſed vnto them that were taken. Thereupon *Cato*
 being ſent into ASIA, to aide them that had commiſſion to preſſe ſhippes & men of warre,
 F he tooke his ſiſter *Servilia* with him, and the boy which *Lucullus* had by her: for all the time
 of her widowhoode, ſhe had followed *Cato*, and thereby had worne out her ill name: ſhe had
 before, ſith they ſaw ſhe had ſo willingly geuen her ſelfe to follow him in his flying, and con-

*Cato progre-
 ſſed Ca-
 ſar's tyrannie.*

*Cato followeth
 Pompey.*

*Cato's repro-
 ueth Cato's
 couetousnes.*

*Cato is ſent
 into Sicile.*

*Cato leaueh
 Sicile.*

*Cato's leaue
 in Pompey's
 army.*

tented her selfe with his straight manner of life. This notwithstanding *Cæsar* did not let to shame her to *Cato*. *Pompey* Captaines had no neede of *Cato* any where, but at the *Rhodes*. For he wanne the people there with his curteous visage & perswasion, leauing with them *Servilia* and her little sonne, and went from thence to *Pompeys* campe, who had leauied a great armie both by sea and land. There did *Pompey* most of all discouer his minde and intent. For first he ment to haue geuen *Cato* the charge of the armie by sea, which were aboute fise hundred shippes of warre, besides an infinite number of foystes & pinafes, & such small bottomes vnconquered: but sodainly considering better of it (or possibly being informed by some of his friends, that al *Catoes* regard & counsell in matters of gouernment was, to deliuer *Rome* from tyranny, & that if he had to great a charge vnder him, *Cæsar* being once ouercome, he would also force *Pompey* to leaue his army, & so make him subiect to the law) he chaunged his minde, notwithstanding he had already moued it to *Cato*, & leauing him, gaue *Bibulus* the charge of all his army by sea. But *Cato* therefore shewed no lesse good will vnto *Pompey*, then before. For it is reported, that in a certaine skirmish & cōflict before the city of *Dyrachium*, *Pompey* encouraging his souldiers, & commaunding euery Capitaine also to do the like in his quarter the souldiers gaue but faint care vnto them, & made no manner of show of men whose harts had bene any whit the more encouraged thereby. But when *Cato* after them all came and told them (as the time serued) the reason of Philosophie, and the effect of libertie, manhoode, death, and honor, and that with a great vehemēt affection: and last of all ending his oration, calling upon the gods, turning his speache vnto them, as if they had bene present to haue seene how valiantly the souldiers fought for the libertie of their contry: they gaue such a lustie crye, and had such a braue conceite & vehement desire to fight like men, that all the Capitaines were filled with good hope, and so led them to battell, where they gaue such a cruell charge and fierce onser upon their enemies, that they ouerthrowe them, and put them that day to flight. Howbeit *Cæsar*'s good fortune tooke the final end of this victorie from *Pompey*, by his ouergreat feare and mistrust who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victorie, as we haue wrytten more amply in his life. But when all the rest reioyced that they had done so noble an exploit, & made their vawnts of the great advantage they had of their enemies: *Cato* to the contrarie bewailed the calamitie of his contrie, and lamented that cursed ambition which caused so many good and valliant citizens of one selfe citie, so to kill and murder one another. After this ouerthrowe, *Cæsar* taking his way into *Thessalie*, *Pompey* raised his campe to followe him, and leauing a great power at *Dyrachium*, of men, armor, munition and frends: he gaue *Cato* the charge of them all, and fiftene ensignes of footemen besides. The which he did for the feare and mistrust he had of him, being assured, that if by ill fortune he should lose the battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a trustier man then he: but on thother side if he wanne the victorie, he doubted fore that he could not commaund as he would, where *Cato* was. There were also many other noble men, as a man would say, cast away, and left at *Dyrachium*, with *Cato*. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battell at *Pharfalia* being blown abroad, *Cato* resoluēd with himselfe if *Pompey* were dead, that he would passe ouer all his men into *Italy*, and then like a banished man would him selfe alone wander as farre as he coulde from the tyrannie: and contrarily, if he were alieue, that then he would keepe his army together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he passed ouer the sea into the Ile of *Corfu*, where *Pompeys* armie by sea lay. There *Cato* finding *Cicero*, he would haue surrendered vp his charge vnto him, as to a man of greater dignitie, for that he had bene Consul, and *Cato* only but Prætor. Howbeit *Cicero* would in no wise receiue it, but returned immediately into *Italy*. *Cato* then perceiving that *Pompey* the younger (sonne vnto *Pompey* the great) of a rash & hawry minde, would haue punished all them that went into *Italy*, and left the armie by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with *Cicero*: *Cato* reproued him priuately for it, so that he certainly sauēd *Ciceros* life, and many other moe besides. Now *Cato* supposing that *Pompey* the great had sauēd him selfe in *Egypt*, or in *Africke*, he determined to take the seas, to meete him with all his men: but before he tooke shippe, he gaue all men leaue to depart that were not willing to follow him. *Cato* being arriued in *Africke*, sayling vp & downe the coast there, he met with *Sextus*, the youngest sonne of *Pompey*, who first told him, that his father

Why Pompey changed his mind for the gouernment of the army by sea.

Why Pompey left Cato at Dyrachium.

Cato saue Cicero's life, from Pompey's frowne.

Cato went in to Africke.

A father was slaine in *Egypt*: when the souldiers heard it, they tooke it very heauely, and not one of them after the death of *Pompey* the great, would serue vnder any other Capitaine then *Cato*. He therupon being ashamed, & thinking it pity also to leaue so many noble & good men that had serued so faithfully vnder him, without a Capitaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whether to goe: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first vnto the citie of *Cyrene*, where not many dayes before, the citizens had shut the gates against *Labiennus*. Being there, it was told him that *Scipio*, *Pompeys* father in law, was gotten vnto king *Iuba*, who had receiued him: and that *Mitru Varus*, vnto whom *Pompey* had geuen the charge of the prouince of *Africke*, was in their company with an army, and determined to goe ioyne with them. So he went by lande in the winter time, and had gotten a maruelous number of asses together, to cary water and vittels, which followed him with a great number of carts besides, and of those men, which the *Africans* call *Pillies*, to wit, they that doe heale the stinging of serpents, and doe sucke out the poyson with their mouthes, and doe furthermore charme and enchaunt the snakes, that they haue no power to doe any hurt. He was seuen dayes together marching continually, and went a foote as a guide vnto his men, without helpe of horse or beast. From that day forth, on the which he vnderstoode of the battell lost at *Pharfalia*, he neuer supped, but sitting, and added that vnto the rest of his sorrow, that he neuer layed him downe, but when he went to bedde for all night. *Cato* hauing passed the winter in *Lybia*, he brought his souldiers into the felds, which were aboute tenne thousand persons. The affaires on their side had but hard successe, for the contention and variance betwext *Scipio*, and *Varus*, for the which, they both flattered king *Iuba* to winne his fauor: being a maruelous prowde man for his greatnes and riches: as he heued the first time he spake with *Cato*. For when *Cato* came, he caused his owne chayre to be set betwext *Scipio* and *Cato*, to haue the honor to be in the midst. But *Cato* perceiving it, tooke vp his owne chayre, and set on thother side by *Scipio* to put him in the midst, notwithstanding that he was his enemy, and had wrytten a shamefull booke against him. Many make no account of this facte of *Cato*, but reprove him, because that walking one day with *Philostatus* in *Sicily*, he gaue him the vpper hand, honoring him for his Philosophie. Thus *Cato* did pull downe the pride of the king at that time, who before had vsed *Scipio*, and *Varus*, as his noble men and subiects: howbeit *Cato* did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the companie prayed him to take charge of the whole armie, and that *Scipio* him selfe, and *Varus* both, did first geue him place, and willingly resigned vnto him the honor to commaunde the whole campe: he answered them, he would not offende the lawe, fith he made warre onely to preferue the authoritie and priuiledge thereof, neither would take vpon him to commaunde all, him selfe being but Viceprætor, where there was a Viceconsull present. For *Scipio* was created Proconsull, and furthermore, the people had a certayne confidence that their affaires would prosper the better, if they had but the name of a *Scipio* to leade them in *Africke*. Nowe when *Scipio* was Generall ouer them, he would straight, for *Iubas* sake, haue put all the inhabitants of the citie of *Vtica* (without respect of age) vnto the swordes, and haue rased the houles to the grounde as thole that had taken *Cæsar*'s parte. Howbeit *Cato* would neither suffer him, but protesting vnto them that were present, and calling the gods to witness in open counsell, with great difficulty he sauēd the poore people of *Vtica* from that cruell tragedy and slaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at *Scipios* instance, *Cato* tooke upon him to keepe the city, fearing least by treason, or against their wills, it should come into *Cæsar*'s hands: because it was a strong place of situation, and well replenished with all things necessary for him that should keepe it. *Cato* did both furnish it, & also fortifie it. For he brought in great store of corne, he repaired the rampers of the walls, made great high towers, & cast depe trenches round about the city, paling the in: & betwext the trenches and the towne, he lodged all the young men of *Vtica*, & compelled them to deliuer vp their armor & weapon and kept all the rest within the city it selfe, carefully providing, that neuer a man of the should be hurt by the *Romanes*, & besides, did also send corne, armor, munition & money vnto the campe: so that the city of *Vtica* was the staple & storehouse of the warres. Moreouer, as he had before counseled *Pompey* not to come to battell, the like counsell he now

Pillies, be men which heale the stinging of serpents.

* Men in old time banished and walked about fildes, & then led them downe in their bed to suppe. The modestie and noble minde of Cato.

Cato's modestie with Scipio in Africke.

Cato was made Governour of the city of Vtica.

Scipio despi-
seth Catoes
counsell.

gaue also vnto Scipio not to hazard battell against a man of great skill & experience in warres, & but to take time, whereby, by litle and litle, he should consume the power & strength of Catoes tyranny. But Scipio was so stowt, that he regarded not Catoes counsell, but wrote otherwhile vnto him, twitting him with his cowardlines in this manner: that it was enough for him to be safe in a good city compassed about with walls, though otherwise he fought not to hinder men to be valliant, to execute any enterprise as occasion was offered. Cato wrote againe vnto him, that he was ready to goe into ITALIE with his footemen and horsemen which he had brought in to AFRICKE to draw Caesar from them, and to turne him against him. Scipio made but a sport at it. Then Cato shewed plainly, that he did repent him he had geuen him the preferment to be general of the army, because he saw he would but fondly prosecute this warre: & also, that if he chanced to ouercome, he could not moderately vfe the victory against his contry men. Then he beganne to mistrust the good successe of this warre (and so he told his frendes) for the Generalls hastines and vnskillfulnesse: and yet if beyonde expectation it fell out well, and that Caesar were ouerthrowen, he would neuer dwell at ROME any more, but would flye the crueltie and biternes of Scipio, who euen at that present time did proudly threaten many. But in the ende, that fell out sooner then looked for. For a poste came to him late that night, who but three dayes before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was lost, in a great battell, by the citie of THAPSUS, which Caesar had wonne: that he had taken both campes, that Scipio and king Iuba were fled with a fewe men, and that all the rest of their armie was slaine. These newes did put the citizens in such a feare and maze, (and specially being in the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could scant keepe them selues within the walles of their citie. But Cato meeting with them, stayed them that ranne vp and downe crying in the streetes, and did comfort them the best he could. Yet he tooke not all their feare from them, though he brought them againe vnto them selues from the extasie they were in, declaring vnto them, that the losse was nothing so great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge suche newes with wordes enow. By these perswasions, he somewhat pacified the tumult and vprore, and the next morning by breake of day, he made proclamation, that the three hundred men which he had chosen for his counsellers, should come and assemble in the temple of Iupiter, they all being citizens of ROME, which for trafficke of marchaundise lay in AFRICKE, and all the ROMANE Senators and their children also. Nowe whilst they gathered them selues together, Cato him selfe went verie grauely with a set most countenance, as if no suche matter had happened, hauing a litle booke in his hande, which he read as he went. This booke conteyned the store and preparation of munition he had made for this warre, as corne, armor, weapons, bowes, slings and footemen. When they were all assembled, he began greatly to commend the good loue and faithfulness of these three hundred ROMANES, which had profitably serued their contry with their persons, money, and counsell, and did counsell them not to depart one from another, as men hauing no hope, or otherwise seeking to saue them selues scatteringly. For remaining together, Caesar would lesse despise them, if they would make warre against him: and would also sooner pardon them, if they craued mercie of him. Therefore he counsellled them to determine what they would do, and for his owne parte, he sayed he would not mislike whatsoeuer they determined of: for if their mindes followed their fortune, he would thinke this change to proceede of the necessity of time. But if they were resolute to withstande their misfortune, and to hazard them selues to defend their libertie: he then would not only commend them, but hauing their noble courage in admiration, would him selfe be their chieftaine and companion, euen to proue the fortune of their contrie to the vttermost. The which was not VTICA, nor ADRYMETVM, but the citie selfe of ROME: the which oftentimes through her greames, had raised her selfe from greater daungers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many waies to saue them selues, & the greatest meane of all was this: that they should make warre with a man, who by reason of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For SPAYNE of the one side was vp against him, and tooke parte with the younger Pompey: and the citie of ROME also not being vied to be bridled with the fraile of such insolencie, could not abide it, but would rather rise with any other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refuse any daunger, but to take example

Catoes oration
vnto the Ro-
manes at Vi-
ca.

of

A of their enemy: who, to worke his mischieuous intent, spareth not his person in any daunger. And contrarily also, that vnto them, the incertaintie of the warre, if victorie followed, would make them happy: as also in being ouerthrowen, their death would turne to immortal glory. Notwithstanding, they were to thinke of the matter among the selues, & to make their prayers to the gods, that in recopence of their vertue & good seruice which they had shewed thitherunto, they would graunt the grace to determine for the best. After Cato had ended his oration, there were diuers of the that were stirred vp by his liuely perswasions, but the most part of the were incoraged by his constancy & noble minde, & also by his kindnes: so that they presently forgate the daunger they were in, & prayd him to commaund their persons, goods, & weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their only inuincible Captaine, of whom fortune had no power, thinking it better to dye obeying his counsell, then to saue them selues, forsaking so valliant and worthy a man. Then, when one of the assembly made a motion that they should make their bondmen free, & that diuers also did confirme it, Cato sayd he would by no meanes suffer it, because it was neither meete nor lawfull: howbeit if their maisters would manumitt them, that he was contented to receiue the for souldiers, that could weare any weapon. Diuers promised him to do it: & Cato commaunded their names should be enrolled that would, & so went his way. Immediately after, letters were brought him from king Iuba, & Scipio: of the which, king Iuba was hidden in a mountaine with few men with him, who sent vnto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he went to forsake VTICA, he would tary him there: & if otherwise he determined to keepe VTICA, then that he would come & helpe him with an army. Scipio on the other side riding at ancker, at a point of the land not farre from VTICA, staid for the like answer. Then Cato thought it best to stay the messengers which had brought him their letters, till he saw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROME, were verie glad men, & did presently make their bondmen free, & gaue them weapons. But the other three hundred which were marchant venterers, & that liued by vsury & exchange, who had the most parte of their goods in slaues & bondmen, did not long follow Catoes counsell: but like men, whose bodies soone receiue heate, & are soone cold againe, when they are once gone from the fire: euen so those marchants, while Cato was present among them, had some good pretty will & desire: but when by them selues they had cast their accopt, the feare they had of Caesar, made them forget the reuerence they bare vnto Cato, & vnto their duty. For, sayd they, what are we, & what is he whom we disdaigne to obey? Is it not Caesar, him selfe, who at this day is Lord & Emperor of ROME? Neuer a one of vs is Scipio, Pompey, nor Cato: & yet now, when all men for feare (& in manner compelled) do yeld & submit the selues, we will nedes take vpon vs within the wals of VTICA to fight for the liberty of ROME against him, for whom, Cato flying with Pompey, forsooke ITALIE: and we now make our bondmen free to fight with Caesar, hauing no better liberty our selues, then it pleaseth him to geue vs. Let vs therefore now know our selues whilst we haue time, & craue mercie at his handes that is the stronger, & send vnto him, to pray him to pardon vs. The greatest & wisest men of those three hundred marchants, had this speache. But the most parte of them sought meanes how to entrappe the Senators, hoping the better of mercie at Caesars hand, if they did deliuer them vnto him. Cato did looke for this change in them, but yet vetered not that he thought, & returned the messengers backe againe vnto king Iuba, and Scipio, and wrote vnto them: that they should beware they came not neere VTICA, because he did mistrust these three hundred marchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had escaped from the battell, who coming towards VTICA, sent three of their company vnto Cato, the which brought him not one selfe determination from all the company. For some of them went to go vnto king Iuba, others also to ioyne with Cato, & parte of them were afraid to come into VTICA. These things being thus reported vnto Cato, he commaunded Marcus Rubrius to take care of these three hundred men, & to receiue the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumitted, without compelling of any man. In the meane time, Cato with all the Senators went out of VTICA to meete with these horsemen, & there he spake to the Capitaines, & praid them that they would not forsake so many noblemen & Senators of ROME as were there: & that they would not haue king Iuba for their Captaine before Cato, but to come into VTICA: where they might saue the selues

The equiety of
Cato.

Cato forsaken
of three hun-
dred Romane
marchants as
Vtica.

Catoe pitie
and regard
vnto the Se-
nators.

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the citie was of such strength, and besides, so well armed and vittelled for many yerres. The like A request did the Senators also make vnto them, with the teares running downe their cheekes. Thereupon the Capitaines went & spake with their souldiers. *Cato* in the meane time fate him downe on a litle hill, with the Senators, tarying for answer. But then on the sodaine came *Rubrius* vnto him in great hast, complaining of the tumult of these three hundred marchants, which went about to make the city to rebell: whereupon, the rest their harts failing them, fell to bewaile their miserable fortune. But *Cato* sought to comfort them, and then sent vnto the three hundred marchantes, to pray them to haue a litle patience. So the Capitaines returned againe with vnreasonable demaundes of the horsemen. For they sayd, that they cared not for king *Iubas* pay, neither were they affrayed of *Casars* malice, so that they had *Cato* for their general: yet to be pende vp within the walls of a citie with *AFRICANES*, that were *PHOENICIANES*, and a traitorous nation as could be: that grieved them most of all. For, sayd they, though now they sturre not, and be quiet: yet when *Cesar* comes, they will be the first that will betray vs, and cut our throates. And therefore, if *Cato* would haue them to ioyne with him in this warre: that he should either kill or driue away all the *VTICANES* out of the citie, and then that they would come into it, when it was cleere of all those barbarous people their enemies. *Cato* thought this a cruell and barbarous condicion, neuertheles he told them that he would talke with the three hundred: and so returning againe into *VTICA*, he spake vnto them. But they then not regarding the reuerence vnto *Cato*, dissembeling no longer, said openly, that they would not like of him whatsoever he were, that should compel them to make warre with *Cesar*, both because they would not, nor could not doe it. Further, there were some of them that mumbled to them selues, that the Senators should be kept there, till *Cesar* came. *Cato* overheard them, for in deede his hearing was not very quicke. At that very instant one came to him, and tolde him, that the horsemen were going their way. *Cato* therefore fearing least these three hundred marchants would lay hands upon the Senators: he went vnto them him selfe with his friends, and perceiuing they were gone a great way off, he tooke his horse and rode after them. They reioycing to see him come, receiued him among them, and prayed him to saue him selfe with them. But *Cato* prayed them againe to saue the Senators, & that with such affection, as it forced teares in him, besides, he held vp his hands vnto them, tooke their horses by the bridles, & them selues by their weapons, that at length he obtained of them, that they would remaine there one daye at the least, to helpe the Senators to saue them selues. So *Cato* returning with them into the city, he appointed some of them to ward at the gates, & put others also in garison into the castell: so that the three hundred marchants quaked for feare, least he would haue bene reuenged of them, because of their returne with him. Thereupon they sent vnto *Cato*, humbly to praye him to come vnto them in any case. But the Senators flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, & said, that they would not cast away their sauior and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doutles, all that were within *VTICA*, plainly saw the vertue & simplicitie of *Cato*, and found that there was no fraude nor deceite in him: who hauing long time refused to kill him selfe, he only tooke that extreme paines & care for others that their liues being saued, he might then rid him selfe of his owne. For men might easily see, though he dissembled it, that he was refused to dye. Whereupon, hauing comforted the Senators, he yielded vnto the requests of the three hundred marchants, & went him selfe alone vnto them. Then they thanked him much for his coming, and prayed him to commaund them, & boldly to trust them: so that he would pardon them if they could not be all *Catoes*, and would take pity of their faint hartes, though they were not so constant & noble minded as he. For they were determined to fend vnto *Cesar*, specially to intreate him for him: and if that they could not obtaine pardon for him, then they were assured they could haue none for them selues, and therefore would fight for the safety of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. *Cato* thanking them for their good wills, answered: that they should fend quicke to craue pardon for them selues, but to aske none for him. For sayd he, men that be overcome, & haue offended, it standeth them vpon to make humble sute, and to craue pardon: but for him selfe, he was neuer offender in his life, and yet had overcome as much as he desired, and had alwayes bene better then *Cesar* in iustice, who only (not him selfe) was now taken and overcome: the thing being apparently

Cato an earnest suitor for the Senators.

The sinceritie of Cato.

Catoes mind unconquerable.

A apparently proued in fight against him, which he had alwaies denied to haue practised against his contry. When he had made this answer vnto the three hundred marchants, he departed from them. Newes being brought that *Cesar* was in his way with all his armie, coming towards *VTICA*: *O* goddes, sayd he, then he cometh against vs, as against men. Then turning vnto the Senators, he gaue them counsell quicke to saue them selues, whilest the horsemen were yet in the city. So shutting all the gates of the city, sauing that towards the hauen: he appointed shippes for them all, and set euery thing at a stay, without tumult or disorder, no man hauing iniurie offered him, and gaue euery one money to make way for their safetie. When *Marcus Octavius* (who came with two legions, and camped hard by *VTICA*) sent vnto *Cato*, to determine which of them two should be General: he made no answer, but turning to his friends said: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wracke with vs, sith there is suche ambition amongst vs for the gouernment, euen now, when we are at the last cast? In the meane time word was brought him, how the horsemen going their way were spoyling of the citizens goods, as a lawfull pray in warre. He straight ran thither him selfe, and the first he met withall, he tooke from them that they had gotten. The rest, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, & hanging downe their heades for shame, they went their way, and said nothing. Then *Cato* calling all the citizens of *VTICA* together, prayed them not to intence nor moue *Cesar* against the three hundred, but rather to craue of him pardon for the all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there embracing his friends, & taking his leaue of them all, he brought them to their shippes. Now for his sonne, he did not couisell him to go, neither did he thinke it mete to vrge him to forsake his father. Furthermore, there was one *Statilius*, a young man in his companie, of a noble corage, that was determined to follow the inuincible constancy of *Cato*: who counsellled him to take the sea, and to saile away with the rest, because he knew he was *Casars* mortall enemy. *Statilius* said he would not go. Then *Cato* turning him vnto *Apollonides*: a Stoick Philosopher, & vnto *Demetrius* a Peripatetic Philosopher, said you must take this stowt young man, to perswade him to obey vnto necessity. *Cato* him selfe in the meane time fate away the rest, & did minister iustice vnto them that required it: spending all that night, & the next day, about those matters. Then *Lucius Cesar*, the kinsman of *Iulius Cesar* the conqueror, being chosen by the three hundred, to goe & make lute vnto him for them all, came and prayed *Cato* to help him to make his oration, which he should say vnto *Cesar* for them all: and as for thee, *Cato*, said he, I will kisse his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreate him for thee. Nay said *Cato*, thou shalt not do so. For if I would saue my life by *Casars* grace, I could do it, if I would but go vnto him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyrant for iniustice. For it is an iniustice in him to take vp of him, as a Lord & soueraigne to saue a mans life, when him selfe hath no authority to commaund. But yet let vs consider if thou wilt, what thou shalt say, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together considering the matter, and in fine, *Lucius Cesar* being ready to departe, *Cato* recommended his sonne and frendes vnto him, and embracing him, tooke his leaue of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his sonne and frendes before him, and talking of many matters: among others he charged his sonne in no case to meddle in thaffaires of the common wealth. For said he, to deale vprightly like *Catoes* sonne, the corruption of the time and state will not abide it: and contrarily, obseruing the time, thou canst not do like an honest man. Towards evening he went into his bath to washe him selfe, and as he was a bathing, thinking upon *Statilius*, he cried out aloud: well *Apollonides*, thou hast at length yet perswaded *Statilius*, to goe his way and pulled downe his stowt courage he had: and is he gone without bidding vs farewell? How? gone sayd *Apollonides*: Nay, his hart is now more stowt and courageous then euer it was, notwithstanding all the perswasions we could vse vnto him: for he is determined to tary, & to take such part as thou doest. After he had bathed him selfe, he went to supper, & fate at his meate, as he had alwaies vsed after the battell at Pharsalia, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed. So he had all his friends, & the chiefe Magistrats of *VTICA* to supper with him. After supper, they fell into graue talke and matters of Philosophie: till at length they came vnto the straunge opinion of the Stoick Philosophers, which was this: that only the good man is free, and all the euill be slaues. The Peripateticke Philosopher that was present there, was straight against it.

Cato representeth the ambition of men.

Statilius, a follower of Cato.

Cato would not haue pardon begged of Cesar for him.

Cato forbade his sonne to meddle with matters of state in a corrupt time.

The Peradoxes of the Stoicks.

But *Cato* was very earnest against the Peripateticke, and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement speech and contention: inſomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to ende his life, & to rid him ſelfe out of all thoſe troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and ſawe that euery man helde his peace, and looked ſadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the ſuſpicion of his death out of their heades: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and ſeemed to be carefull of them, as though he had bene affrayed leaſt ſome miſfortune were come vnto them upon the ſea, or vnto them that were gone by land, becauſe they paſſed through deſertes, where there was no water to be had. Now when ſupper was done, and the ſtraungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his friends, and hauing taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of ſeruiſe, as the time required: going into his chamber he embraced his ſonne and his friendes more louingly then he was wont to doe, whereby he made them againe ſuſpect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and layed in his bedde, he tooke *Platoes* dialogues in his hand, treating of the ſoule, and red the moſt parte of it. Then looking by his beds ſide, and miſſing his ſword (which his ſonne had taken from him when he was at ſupper) he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his ſword away: his man made him no aunſwere, & he fell againe to read his booke. Then a prety while after, not ſeeming to be importunate, or ouerhaſtie of the matter, but as though he would only know what became of it: he willed the to bring him his ſword againe. They taried long, and he had red ouer all the booke, but yet his ſword was not brought him againe. Whereupon he called for all his men one after an other, & very angrily asked them his ſword, & gaue one of them ſuch a blow in the face, that his noſe fell a bleeding, & his hand was all bloody withal, and cried out that his ſonne and his ſeruants would deliuer him naked into the hands of his enemy: vntill his ſonne and friends at length ranne vnto him, & falling downe on their knees, lamented, and beſought him to be contented. *Cato* then riſing out of his bedde, looked grimly vpon them, and ſayd vnto them: O goddes, who euer ſaw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reaſon perſwade me, if they fee me out of the way: & not to keepe me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doeſt thou not bind thy father (my ſonne) his hands behinde him, that when *Cæſar* commeth, he may finde me in caſe not to defend my ſelfe? I doe not deſire my ſworde to hurte my ſelfe, for if I had any ſuche minde, I neede but hold my breath a litle, or geue but a knocke of my head againſt the wall onely, and diſpatche my ſelfe quickly. When he had ſayd thus, his ſonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his friends alſo, no man remayning with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, vnto whom he ſpake more gently, and reaſoned in this ſorte. What, doe you thinke to keepe an old man as I am, aliue by force? And haue you taried behinde but to ſit ſtaring apone me, and ſay nothing vnto me? If otherwiſe elſe, by reaſon you come to perſwade me, that it ſhall be no ſhame for *Cato*, diſpairing of the ſafetye of his life, to ſeek it by the grace and mercy of his enemy: why then doe you not now tell me your reaſons to perſwade me, that forſaking all other fancieſ & determinatioſ which hetherunto we haue holden for good, being on a ſodaine become wiſer by *Cæſars* meanes, we ſhould be bound the more therefore to geue him thanks? I do not tell you this that I haue determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I liſt) to put the thing in execution I haue determined: but yet I will conſult with you, when I am ſo determined, to heare the reaſons and opinion of your bookes, which your ſelues doe vſe in diſcourſe and argument together. Goe your way therefore hardily vnto my ſonne, and tell him, that he muſt not thinke to compell his father vnto that, which he can not proue good vnto him by reaſon. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his chamber. Then his ſword was brought him by a litle boy: When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his ſword was ſharpe, and would cut: when he ſaw it was well, O ſayd he, now I am where I would be, and ſo laying downe the ſword naked by him, he tooke his booke againe in his hand, and red it ouer (as they ſay) twiſe together. Then he ſlept ſo ſoundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him ſnore againe. About midnight, he called for two of his freemen, *Cleantes* his Philitian, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in his weightieſt affaires of the common wealth.

Platoes dialogues of the ſoule.

Cæſar left wordes vnto the Philoſophers his friends.

Cato conſidered his friends wherewith he killed him ſelfe.

So he ſent him vnto the hauen to ſee, if all his men that were imbarcked were under ſaile: and gaue his hand vnto the Philitian to be bound vp, becauſe it was ſwollen with the blow he gaue one of his ſlaues when he big him on the face. All his ſeruants were glad to heare of that, hoping then that he deſired to liue. Soone after came *Butas* backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but *Craſſus*, who ſtayed about ſome buſines he had, and yet that he was going to take ſhippe: howbeit that the ſea was very rough and wande exceeding great. *Cato* hearing this, ſighed, being ſory for them that were vpon the ſea, and ſent *Butas* backe againe to the hauen, to ſee if any man came backe for any matter they had to ſay vnto him. The litle birdes began to chirpe, and *Cato* ſet againe in a litle ſlumber. But thereupon *Butas* returned, & brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen, & there was no ſturre. Then *Cato* bad him goe his way, and ſhut to the doore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had meant to haue ſlept out all the reſt of the night. But *Butas* backe was no ſooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked ſword in his hand, thruſt it into his breaſt: howbeit the ſwelling of his hand made the blowe ſo weake, that it killed him not preſently, but drawing on to his later ende, he fell downe vpon his bedde, and made ſuch a noyſe with his fall (ouerthrowing a litle table of geometry hard by his bedde, that his ſeruants hearing the noyſe, gaue a great ſhreeke for feare. Thereupon his ſonne and his friendes ranne into the chamber, and found him all of a gore blood, and the moſt part of his bowells coming out of his body, him ſelfe being yet aliue, and ſeeing them. They were all ſtricken with ſuch ſorow to behold it, that at the firſt they were ſo amaſed, as they could not tel what to ſay to it. His Philitian comming to him, he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not perſhed, and to looſe up his wound. But *Cato* comming to him ſelfe, thruſt backe the Philitian, and tare his bowells with his owne handes, and made his wound very great, and immediatly gaue vp the ghoſt. Whereupon the three hundred ROMANS (in leſſe time then a man would haue thought *Cato*'s owne houſhold ſeruants could haue knowne of his death) were at his dores, and immediatly after, all the people of VTICA alſo came thither, and with one voyce called *Cato* their benefactor and ſauior, and ſayd he onely was a free man, and had an inuincible minde: and this was done, when they heard ſay that *Cæſar* was not farre from VTICA. Furthermore, neither feare of the preſent danger, nor the deſire to flatter the Conqueror, neither any priuate quarrell amongelt them ſelues, could keepe them from honoring *Cæſar*'s funeralls. For ſumptuouſly laying out his body, and honorably accompanying his funeralls as might be, they buryed him by the ſea ſide, where at this preſent time it is to be ſeene his image, holding a ſworde in his hand. After that, they made their beſt way to ſaue them ſelues and their cite. Nowe *Cæſar* beinge aduertized by them that came vnto him, howe *Cato* ſturred not from VTICA, nor fled not, but ſent all others away, ſauing him ſelfe, and his ſonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing: he could not deuſe what he meant by it. Therefore eſteeming *Cato* much, he made haſte with all the ſpeede he could with his armie, to come thither. But when he viddeſt tooke that *Cato* had ſlaine him ſelfe, writers doe reporte he ſayd thus: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, ſithe thou haſt enuid mine honor to ſaue thy life. For in deede, had *Cato* bene contented, *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſaued his life, he had not ſo much impaired his owne honor, as he had augmented *Cæſar*'s glory. And yet what *Cæſar* would haue done, men make it doubtful, ſaying that they coniecture well of *Cæſar*'s clemencie. *Cato* dyed when he was but eight and forty yeare old. For his ſonne, *Cato* neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him, that he was very idle, giuen, and laſciuious beſides: For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in a noble mans houſe of the kings blood, called *Maphradates*, who had a ſayre woman to his wife: he taried longer then he might well with honeſtie, whereupon he fell to be a laughing ſtocke to the people, and in mockery they ſayd, *Cato* will goe too morrow, a thirty dayes hence, and another, that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* were two good friends, but they haue but one minde. And the reaſon was, becauſe *Maphradates* wife was called *Psyche*, which in the Greeke ſignifieth minde: and *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death did droppe this in *Cæſar*'s ſpeech. For he valiantly fighting againſt *Auguſtus*, and *Antoni*, at the battell of *Philippes*, for the libertie of his countie: their armie beinge ouerthrowen and ſed, he would neither ſie nor hide him ſelfe, but running in amongelt his enemies, he made them knowe that he

The death of Cato.

Cæſar's funerall.

Cæſar ſaying vnto Cato ſince dead.

The ſonne of Cato what on diſſen he had.

Psyche, ſignifieth mind.

was, by incouraging those of his side, which yet did defend them selues, till he was slayne in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, *Porcia*, the Daughter of *Cato*, gave no place vnto her father, nether for chastitie, nor greatnes of mind. For she being married vnto *Brutus*, who slue *Cæsar*, was of the conspiracie, and slue her selfe as courageously as became the vertue and nobilitie of her bloud from whence she came, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Brutus*. *Statilius* also, who had sayd he would ronne *Cato's* fortune (as we haue tolde you before) was kept from killing of him selfe by the Philosophers, *Demetrius*, and *Apollonides*. But after that tyme hauing shewed him selfe very faithfull and seruiceable vnto *Brutus* in all his affayres, he was slayne in the field also at the battell of *Philippes*.

The end of Cato's life.



AGIS AND CLEOMENES.



The fable of Ision against ambitious persons.



Ruely the fable of *Ision* was not ill deuised against ambitious persons who imbracing a clowde for the goddesse *Iuno*, begot (as it is sayd) the *CENTAURI*. For euen so ambitious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, doe neuer any acte that is good nor perfect: but being carried away with diuers fancies, and following others humors with desire to please the people, they may, as the herdmen in the tragedy of *Sophocles* (speaking of their cattell) say:

*YVe vvaunt vpon their beasts, though vve be their Maisters bee,
And vverebesener they become, there also followe vvee.*

Such in deede are they compared to, that gouerne common weales, after peoples lust and fancy: who doubles, are as their seruants obedient at call, because they onely may enjoy the glorious tide and name of an Officer. For like as in a shippe the Mariners that stand in the prow, doe better see before them, then the Pilots that steere the helme in the poepe, and yet lookes alwayes backe vnto them to see what they commaunde: euen so, they that gouerne in the common wealth for hono: sake, are no better the honorable flauers of the people, hauing no more but the bare name of a gouernor. But in deede, the perfect good and honest man should neuer conet outward glory, but as a meane to bringe him to noble attempts, whereby

As he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a younge man that coueteth honor by vertue, giue him leaue a litle to glory in his well doing: for, as *Theophrastus* sayth, vertue buddeth and flourisheth in youth, and taketh fast roote by prayes giuen, as wit & corage groweth in them. But ouermuch praise is dangerous in euery person, but chiefly in ambitious gouernors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many desperat partes: for they wil not allow that honor proceedes of vertue, but that honor is vertue it selfe. But in deede they should say as *Phocion* did vnto *Antipater*, that requested an vnlawfull matter of him: Thou canst not, said he, haue *Phocion* a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be sayd vnto the people: you can not both haue one, a Maister and a seruauant, that can commaunde and obey together. Or els the mischief spoken of in the tale of the Dragon must needs happen, which was: the taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, saying it would another while go before, & would not alwaies come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing howe to guide the heade, and besides that the head thereby was tormented euery way, being compelled against nature to follow that part and member, which could nether heare, nor see how to guide it. The like matter haue we seene happen vnto many, which in the administraction of the common wealth, did seeke to please the humors of the multitude. For when they haue once put their heads vnder their girdles to please the common people, which without cause & reason doe soone rebell: they can by no possible meanes afterwards bridle their furie & insolencie. Now the reason that made vs to enter into discourse against the ambition and vaine glorye amongst the people: was the consideration I had of their great power, remembering the misfortunes of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*: bothe the which comming of a noble house, and hauing bene maruelous well brought vp, & maneing also the affayres of the common wealth with a good desire, were notwithstanding in the ende cast away: not so much through couetousnes of glorye, as for feare of dishonor, which came also of no base mind. For they hauing receiued great pleasures and friendships of the people, were ashamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earnestly sought to exceede the people in good will, by new decrees and denises, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their partes contended to honor them the more, by how much they strived to shewe them selues thankfull. So with like strife on either side, they to gratifie the common people, and the people also to honor them, were vnwares so entangled with publike causes, D that they could no more follow the common prouerbe, which sayth:

*Although our deedes discent from equitie,
Yet can vve not desist vvvith honestie.*

This thou shalt easily finde by the declaration of the historie. With these we doe compare two other popular men, both kinges of *Lacedæmon*, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they, as the *Gracchi*, seeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the iust and honest gouernment againe of the common wealth of *Lacedæmon*, which of long time had bene out of vse: did in like manner purchase the hate of the nobilitie, which were loth to lose any part of their wonted couetousnes. In deede these two *LACONIANS* were no brethre borne, but yet did both follow one selfe course & forme of gouernment, which had beginning in this sort. After that couetousnes of gold and siluer crept againe into the cite of *SPARTA*, and with riches, couetousnes also and miserie, and by vse, voluptuousnes and licentious life: *SPARTA* then was void of all honor and goodnes, and was long time drowned in shame and dishonor, vntill king *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to raigne there. *Agis* was of the house of the *Eurytionides*, the sonne of *Eudamidas*, the sixt of lineall descent after *Agisilaw*, who had bene the greatest Prince of all *GREECE* in his time. This *Agisilaw* had a sonne slaine in *ITALY* by the *MESSAPIANS*, called *Archidamus*, before the cite of *MANDONIVM*. *Archidamus* had issue two sonnes, *Agis*, and *Eudamidas* that was king, who succeeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* slue before the cite of *MEGALIPOLIS*, and left no children behind him. *Eudamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Eudamidas*: which *Eudamidas* also begat *Agis*, whose life we F now write of. *Leonidas* also, the sonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other familie of the *Agides*, the eight of succession after *Pausanias*, who slue *Mardonius*, the kings Lieutenent general of *PERSIANS*, in a battell fought before the cite of *PLATERS*. This *Pausanias* had a sonne called *Plisto-*

Theophrastus for the praise of vertue. Immoderate praise very dangerous.

Phocion saying.

The fable of the Dragons head and taile

Plutarch expresseth the Gracchi.

The lineage of Agis.

The lineage of Leonidas.

max, and *Plifonax* also another, called *Pausanias*: who flying from SPARTA vnto the citie of AEGEA, his eldest sonne *Agesspolis* was made king in his fathers roome, who dying without issue, his yonger brother *Cleombrotus* succeeded him in the kingdō. *Cleombrotus* had two sonnes, *Agesspolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which, *Agesspolis* reigned not long king, and dyed without issue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother, who was king after him, had two sonnes, *Acrotatus* the elder, that dyed in his fathers life time: and *Cleonymus* the yonger which suruiued him, and was not king, but one *Areus* his Nephewe, the sonne of *Acrotatus*. This *Areus* dyed before the citie of CORINTH: who hauing another *Acrotatus* to his sonne, he succeeded him in the kingdome. He also dyed at a battell before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, and was slayne there by the tyrant *Aristodemus*, leauing his wife great with childe. She being brought to bedde after his death of a sonne, whome *Leonidas* the sonne of *Cleonymus* taught and brought vp: the childe dying very young, the crowne by his death was caft upon *Leonidas* him selfe. Howbeit his maners & conditions neuer liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the common wealth, and cleane out of order: yet *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming most the ancient LACONIAN life, because he had bene long time brought vp in Princes houles, & followed also *Seleucus* Court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe of those Courts into GRÆCE, where law & reason ruleth. *Agis* on the contrary part did not onely excel *Leonidas*, in honor and magnanimitie of mind: but all other almost also which had reigned in SPARTA, from the time of *Agesslaus* the great. So that when *Agis* was not yet twenty yeare old, and being daintily brought vp with the finenes of two women, his mother *Agessistris*, and *Archidamia* his grandmother, which had more gold and siluer, then all the LACEDÆMONIANS els: he began to spurne against these womanish delights & pleasures, in making him selfe fayer to be the better beliked, and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to caft vpon him a plaine spanish cape, taking pleasure in the dyet, bathes, and manner of the ancient LACONIAN life: and openly boasted besides, that he would not desire to be king, but onely for the hope he had to restore the ancient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the state of LACEDÆMON first to be corrupted, and to leaue her ancient discipline, when the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing subdued the Empire of the ATHENIANS, stored them selues & contrie both, with plenty of gold & siluer. But yet reseruing still the lands left vnto them by succession from their fathers, according vnto *Lycorgus* first ordinance & institution, for diuision of the landes amongst them: which ordinance, and equalitie being inuolably kept amongst them, did yet preserve the common wealth from defamiation of diuers other notorious crimes. Vntil the time of the authoritie of *Epitadeus*, one of the Ephores, a seditious man, and of proude conditions: who bitterly falling out with his own sonne, preferred a law, that euery man might lawfully giue his landes and goods whilest he liued, or after his death by testament, vnto any man whom he liked or thought well of. Thus this man made this law to satisfie his anger, & others also did confirme it for couetousnes sake, and so ouerthrew a noble ordinance. For the rich men then began to buy landes of numbers, and so transferred it from the right & lawful heires whereby a few men in short time being made very rich, immediately after there fell out great pouertie in the citie of SPARTA, which made all honest sciences to cease, & brought in there-upon vnlawfull occupations, who enuyed them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not aboue seuen hundred naturall Citizens of SPARTA in all, & of them, not aboue a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the rest were poore people in the citie, and were of no countenance nor calling, & besides that, went vnnwillingly to the warres against their enemies, looking euery day for sturre and chaunge in the citie. *Agis* therefore thinking it a notable good acte (as in deede it was) to replenish the citie of SPARTA againe, and to bringe in the old equalitie, he moued the matter vnto the Citizens. He found the youth (against all hope) to giue good eare vnto him, and very well giuen vnto vertue, easily chaunging their garments & life, to recouer their libertie againe. But the oldest men, which were now euen rotten with couetousnes and corruption, they were afraid to returne againe to the straight ordinances of *Lycorgus*, as a slaue and ronnegate from his Maister, that trembleth when he is brought back againe vnto him. Therefore they reprobued *Agis*, when he did lament before them their present miserable estate, and wihed also for the former ancient honor and true dignitie of SPARTA.

Howbeit

A Howbeit *Lysander* the sonne of *Lybius*, and *Mandroclidas* the sonne of *Eephames*, and *Agesslaus* also, greatly commended his noble desire, and perswaded him to goe forward withall. This *Lysander* was of great authoritie and estimation amongst them in the citie: *Mandroclidas* was also very wise, and carefull about any matter of counsell, and with his wisdom and policy, very valiant: *Agesslaus* in like manner, the kings Vncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couetous, and yet prickt forward to giue his furtherance in this attempt as it appeared, by his sonne *Hippomedon*, who was a notable good fouldier, and could doe very much, by meanes of the loue and good will the younge men did beare him. But in deede, the secret cause that brought *Agesslaus* to consent vnto this practise, was the greatnes of his dette which he ought, of the which he hoped to be discharged by chaunging of the state and common wealth. Now when *Agis* had wonne him, he fought by his meanes to drawe his mother also vnto the matter, which was *Agesslaus* sister. She could doe very much by the number of her friendes, followers, and detters in the citie, by whose meanes she ruled the most part of the affaires of the citie after her owne pleasure. But the younge man *Hippomedon* making her priuie vnto it, at the first she was amazed withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wise, and not meddle in matters vnpossible and vnprofitable. But when *Agesslaus* had told her what a notable acte it would be, and how easily it might be brought to passe, with maruelous great profit: and that king *Agis* beganne also to strayne her with great intreatie, that she would willingly depart with her goods to winne her sonne honor and glory: who, though he could not in money and riches come to be like vnto other kinges (because the slaues and factors onely of the kinges *C Seleucus* and *Pholomy*, had more money then all the kings of SPARTA had together that euer reigned) yet if in temperance, thriftines, & noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he should come to restore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe vnto equalitie: that then in deede he should be counted a noble king. These women being stirred vp with ambition by these perswasions of the younge man, seeing him so nobly bent, as if by the goddes their mindes had secretly bene inflamed with the loue of vertue: did presently alter their mindes in such sort, that they them selues did prick forward *Agis*, and sent for their friends to pray and intreatie them to fauor his enterprise: and furthermore, they brought on other women also, knowing that the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer heare and beleue their wiues, suffering them to vnderstand more of the affaires of the state, then they them selues did of their priuate estate at home. Herein is to be considered, that the most part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the handes of the women, and therefore they were against it, not onely because thereby they were cut off from their finenes and excesses, in the which being ignorant of the true good in deede, they put all their felicitie: but also, because they sawe their honor and authoritie which they had by their riches, cleane troden vnder foote. Therefore they comming to *Leonidas*, they did perswade him to reprove *Agis*, because he was elder man then he, and to let that this enterprise went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in fauour of the riche, but fearing the common people, who desired nothing but alteration, he durst not openly speake against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder *Agis* practise, talking with the Magistrates of the citie, and accusing *Agis* vnto them, he told them how he did offer the riche mens goods vnto the poore, the diuision of their landes, and the abolishing of all detts, for rewarde to put the tyrannie into his handes, and that thereby he got him a stronge gard vnto him selfe, but not many Citizens vnto SPARTA. This notwithstanding, king *Agis* hauing procured *Lysander* to be chosen one of the Ephores, he presently preferred his lawe vnto the counsell. The articles whereof were these: That such as were in debt, should be cleered of all their detts, and that the landes also should be diuided into equall partes: so that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taugetus, and vnto the citie of MALBA, and SELASTIA, there should be foure thousand five hundred partes, and without the se boundes, there should be in all the rest, fiftene thousand partes, the which should be distributed vnto their neighbours meete to cary weapon: and the rest vnto the naturall SPARTANS. The number of them should be replenished with their neighbours and strangers in like manner, which should be very well brought vp, and be able men besides to serue the common wealth: all the which afterwards should be diuided into fiftene companies, of the which, some should receiue two hundred, & others foure hundred men, & should

Aristodemus, tyrant of Megalipolis.

Leonidas brought his perswasions and excesses into Sparta.

The continency of Agis

The first beginning of the Lacedæmonians fall from their ancient discipline.

Lycorgus the law, for partition of landes, broken by Epitadeus law. Epitadeus law for deuise of landes by will.

Agis goes about to reduce the common wealth to her ancient estate.

How losing the Lacedæmonians were vnto their wiues.

Agis law.

live according to the olde auncient institution obserued by their aunccestors. This lawe being a preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grew to diuers opinions upon it. Whereupon *Lysander* him selfe assembled the great counsell of all the people, and there spake vnto them him selfe, and *Mandroclidas*, and *Agefilaw* also, praying them not to suffer the honor of SPARTA to be troden vnder foote, for the vanitie of a fewe: but that they would remember the auncient oracles of the goddess, warning them to beware of auarice, as of the plague and destruction of the common wealth: and of the late oracle also brought vnto them, from the temple of *Paphia*. The temple and oracle of *Paphia*, was famous at the cite of THALAMES: and some say, that *Paphia* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with child by *Iupiter*, & was deliuered of a sonne called *Hammon*. Other thinke that it was *Cassandra*, one of king *Priamus* Daughters that died there, which was surnamed *Paphia*, because she gaue all the answers & oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Daphné* the Daughter of *Amicyla*, flying from *Apollo* that would haue rauished her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by *Apollo* with the gift of prophetic. So, they said that this oracle of the god commaunded them, that the SPARTANS should againe returne vnto their former auncient equalitie, stablished first by *Lycurgus* lawe. When euery man els had spoken, king *Agis* rising vp, briefly speaking vnto the people, sayd: that he would bestowe great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which he was desirous to restore againe. For first of all, he would make common all his errable and pasture he had, and besides that, he would adde to six hundred talents in ready money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinfemen and friends, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in SPARTA. When the people heard what he sayd, they marvelled much at the noble minde of this younge king, and were very glad of it, saying: that for three hundred yeares space together, the cite of SPARTA had not for worthy a king as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily affayed with all his power he could to resist him, thinking with him selfe, that if king *Agis* purpose tooke place, he should also be compelled to doe as he did, and yet he should haue no thanks, but king *Agis*: because that all the SPARTANS indifferently should be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor should be his onely that first beganne it. So he asked *Agis*, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had bene a good and iust man or not. *Agis* answered, that he had bene. Then replied *Leonidas*, did you euer see that he had taken away and abolished any detts, or had receyued strangers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily thought his common wealth vnperfect, if all strangers were not banished the cite. *Agis* againe answered him: that he marvelled not that *Leonidas* being brought vp in a straung contry, and also married there in a noble mans house, he should be ignorant of *Lycurgus* lawes, who banishing gold and siluer out of his cite, did therewithall exile dette and lending. And for strangers, he hated them that would not conforme them selues vnto the manners and facions of life which he instituted, and those they were which he banished: not for any ill will he bare vnto their persons, but because he feared their manners of life, least that mingling them with the Citizens, they should make them runne after vanitie and couetousnes to be riche. For otherwise, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all strangers, were maruelously reuerenced and honored in SPARTAIN olde tyme, because they did singe in their writings, the selfe same things which *Lycurgus* had established in his lawes. And thou thy selfe also dost commend *Eceprotes*, being one of the Ephores, because he did cut with a hatchet the two stringes which *Phrynis* the Musitian had added vnto the Citherne, more then the seven common stringes, and those also which did the like vnto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reprovest me, because I goe about to roote out all excesse and pride out of SPARTA, as though those men did not farre of preuent that these superfluous stringes of the musick, delighting the Citizens mindes too much with their songes, should not cause them fall vnto such trade and manner of life, as should make the cite at discord with it selfe. After this contention, the common people did sticke vnto king *Agis*, and the riche men followed *Leonidas*, praying and perswading him not to forsake them: and further, they did fo incite the Senators, in whom consisteth the chiefe authority, to determine and digest all matters before they be propounded vnto the people: that they ouerthrow the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore *Lysander* who was yet in office, attempted to accuse *Leonidas* by an auncient

Paphia, the
Daughter of
Atlas.

Agis maketh
his goods com-
mon.

Leonidas re-
sisteth king
Agis.

A nent lawe, forbidding that none of the race of *Hercules* should mary with any straung woman, nor beget children of her: and sayde further, that no man vpon payne of death should dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When he had instructed others to obiect these things agaynst *Leonidas*, he with one of his colleagues obserued a signe in the element, the ceremony wherof was in this sorte: Euery nynewth yeare, the Ephori chusing a bright night without moonelight, did sit downe in some open place, and beheld the starres in the element, to see if they saw any starre shoote from one place to another: if they did, then they accused their kinges that they had offended the goddess, and did deprime them of their kingdom, vntill some oracle came from *DELPHES* or *Olympus*, to restore them againe. *Lysander* then declaring that he had seene a starre sic in the element, did therefore accuse king *Leonidas*, and brought forth witness against him: how he had married a woman of *ASIA*, the which one of king *Selenus* Lieutenantenants had giuen him in marriage, & that he had two children by her: & afterwards being forsaken of his wife that refused him, he returned againe into his contry against his will, & so had possessed the kingdom for lacke of lawfull heire. So following his accusation in this manner against him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his sonne in law, being also of the kings blood, to make title to the crowne. *Leonidas* being afraid of the successe hereof, tooke sanctuary in the temple of *Iuno*, surnamed *Chalcocetor*, & his Daughter with him, who forooke her husband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appeare in person, & making default, they deposed him, & made *Cleombrotus* king. In the meane time *Lysander*'s office expired, & the new Ephori which succeeded him, did deliuer *Leonidas* againe, and accused *Lysander* & *Mandroclidas*, because against the law, they had abolished all detts, & had againe made newe diuision of lands. When they sawe they were openly accused, they incensed both the kinges, that ioyning together, they should make the Ephores ordinaunces of no effect: declaring, that their authority was onely erected for the discord of the two kinges, because they should giue their voices vnto that king that had the best iudgement & reason, wher the other would wilfully withstand both right & reason. And therefore, that they two agreeing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controulment of any person: & that to resist the kinges was a breaking of the lawe, such that by right the Ephori had no other priuileage & authority, but to be iudges & arbitrators betweene kinges, when there was any cause of iarre or controuersie. Both the kinges being caried away by this perswasion, went into the market place accompanied with their friends, plucked the Ephores from their seats, & put others in their rooms, of the which *Agefilaw* was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of yong men, & opening the prisons, did set the prisoners at liberty: the which made their aduersaries afraid of the doubling some great murder would haue followed vpon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For *Agefilaw* being bent to kill *Leonidas*, who fled vnto the cite of *TEGEA*, & having also laid men in waite for him by the way: king *Agis* hearing of it, sent thither other friends of his in whom he put great confidence, & they did accompany *Leonidas*, & brought him safely vnto the city of *TEGEA*. Thus their purpose taking effect, & no man contrary to the one man only *Agefilaw* ouerthrow all, & dashed a noble *LIACONIAN* law by a shameful vice, which was couetousnes. For he being a great landed man, & hauing the best lands of any man in the contry, & owing a great summe of money besides: would nether pay his detts, nor let go his land. Wherefore he perswaded king *Agis*, that if he was about to stablish both together, he should raise a great vtore in the city, & whichall, if he did first winne them, that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting of of detts only: then that they would easily & willingly also accept the law for partition of lands. *Lysander* was also of his opinion, whether by king *Agis* & he both were deceived by *Agefilaw* subtlety. So they commaunded the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, & bills of dett (which the *LIACONIAN* do call *Clararia*) into the market place, and there laying them on a heape together, they did set fire of them. When the vturers & creditors saw their writings obligatory afire, they departed thence with heauy hearts: but *Agefilaw* mocking the said, he neuer saw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands also should be presently deuided, & the kinges likewise commaunding in *Agefilaw* stil interposing some cause of let, delayed time, vntill opportunity serued, that king *Agis* should go to the warres, for that the *ACHAIANS* their confederats had praied aide of *LACEDÆMON*, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betweene them, because they

King *Leonidas*
was accused
by *Lysander*.

Leonidas was
accused by
his kingdom.

Leonidas fly-
eth vnto *Te-
gea*.

King *Agis* de-
ceiued by *Age-
filaw*.

Agis leaves
stablished by
the *Lacedæ-
monians*.

Aratus, general of the Achaeans.
King Agis in his way into Achaea.

looked daily that the Aetolians coming through the contry of Megara, would invade Peloponnesus. Aratus general of the Achaeans had leaued a great army to withstand their inuasion, & had also written vnto the Ephores, that they should lend the aide. Whereupon, they presently sent king Agis, perceiuing also the readines and good wil of the fouldiers which were appointed to go with him. For the most of the were young men & needy, who feing the felues discharged of the feare of their detts, & hoping also at their return, that the lads likewise should be deuided among the they went with glad harts, & were obedient vnto king Agis. So that the cities where through they passed, wondred how they came through all Peloponnesus, from the one side to the other, very quietly, without noyse or offence to any man. Likewise many Grecians calling to mind the auncient times, told one another, that it was a noble fight then to see the army of Lacedaemon, whē they were led by Agisilaus, Lyfander, &c. Leonidas, famous captains: sith now they saw so great obedience vnto Agis by his fouldiers, who was in maner the yōgest mā of all his campe. Who also glorying to be cōtēt with litle, to away with paines, & not to be more costly apparelled & armed the any priuat fouldier he had: he wanne him self therby a maruelous loue of the people. Howbeit the rich mē liked not this chaung, & were afraid lest Agis should giue other people example to rise also, & to do the like with theirs, as he had done. Agis meting with Aratus by the city of Corinth, euen as he was consulting whether he should fight with his enemy or not: he wēd him self in his couēl, then no rash, but a resolute & valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, & not to suffer the warre to come any further, leauing the entry into Peloponnesus free to their enemy: neuertheles, that he would do what Aratus thought good, because he was the elder, and general also of the Achaeans, whom he came not to cōmand, but to aide the. But Baton Senoplian writeth, that king Agis would not fight, though Aratus was willing: howbeit he had not red that which Aratus had writte for his excuse & iustificatiō, alleaging there, that the farmers & husbandē hauing brought all the come into their barnes, he thought it better to suffer the enemies to come further into the contry, rather then to hazard battel, to the losse of the whole cōtry of Peloponnesus, & that therefore he licenced all the confederates to depart, & brake vp his army. So king Agis returned home again, greatly honored of all the that serued with him in this iorney, finding the city of Sparta the in great broile & trouble. For Agisilaus at that time being one of the Ephores, finding him self rid of the feare which before kept him vnder: cared not what iniury or mischief he did to any citizen, so he might get money. For amongst other things, that very yere he made the pay beyond all reason the tallages & taxes due vnto the cōmō wealth for thirtene moneths, adding to the thirteenth moneth, about the ordinary time of the yere. Wherefore perceiuing euery mā hated him, & being afraid of the he had offended: he kept fouldiers about him, armed with their swords, & so came downe into the market place among the. And for the two kings, he made no accōpt of the one: but of the other that was Agis, he sēmed outwardly to make good accōpt, rather for kinreds sake, the for his dignity of a king, & furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next yere following. Whereuppon, his enemies spēdely to preuent the daūger, gathered force together, & openly brought king Leonidas from Tegea, to restore him again to his kingdō. The people were glad to see that, because they were angry they had bene mocked in that sort, for that the landes were not deuided according vnto promise. Furthermore, Hippomedon was so well beloued for his valiantnes of euery mā, that intreating the people for his father Agisilaus, he saued his life, & got him out of the city. But for the two kings, Agis tooke sanctuary in the tēple of Iuno Chalciceas. And Cleobrotus the other king fled into the tēple of Neptune: for it sēmed that Leonidas being much more offēded with him, did let king Agis alone, & wēt against him with certē soldiers armed. The he sharply taunted him, that being his sonne in law, he had conspired against him to depriue him of his kingdō, & had driue him out of his contry. But then Cleobrotus wot hauing a word to say, late stil, & made him no answer. Whereuppon his wife Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, who before was offēded for the iniury they did her father, & had left her husband Cleobrotus, that had vsurped the kingdō from him, to serue her father in his aduersity, and while he was in sanctuary tooke part with him also of his misery, & afterwards whē he wēt vnto the city of Tegea, were blacks for sorow, being offēded with her husband the contrary the chaunging

King Agis gaue place vnto Aratus.

King Leonidas returneth from a vile in to Sparta.

The naturall loue of Chelonis Leonidas daughter, vnto her father and husband.

chaunging her anger with her husband's fortune & misery, became also an humble suter with him sitting down by him, & embracing him, hauing her two lide sonnes on either side of them. All mē wōdering, & weping for pity, to see the goodnes & naturall loue of this Lady, who shewing her mourning apparell, & heare of her head flaring about her eyes, bare headed: the speake in this sort vnto her father. O father mine, this forswill garnēt & countenance is not for pity of Cleobrotus, but hath long remained with me, lamenting fore your former misery & exile: but now, which of the two should I rather choofe, either to cōtinue a mourner in this pitifull state, seing you again restored to your kingdom, hauing overcome your enemies: or els putting on my princely apparell, to see my husband slaine, vnto whom you married me a maid? who, if he can not moue you to take cōpassion of him, and to obtēin mercy, by the teares of his wife and childre: he shal then abide more bitter paine of his euil counsel, then that which you intend to make him suffer. For he shal see his wife die before him, whom he loueth more derely then any thing in the world. Also, with what face can I loke apōn other ladies, whē I could neuer bring my father to pity, by any intercessiō I could make for my husband, neither my husband, intreating him for my father: & that my hap is to be borne, a daughter & wife, alwayes most vnfortunate, & depised of mine owne? And for my husband, if he had any reason to do that he did, I the tooke it from him, by taking your parte, and protesting against him: and contrarily, your selfe doth giue him honest culler to excuse his fault, when he seeth in you the desire of the kingdom so great, that for the loue thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your sonnes in law, and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her sake. Chelonis pitifully complaining in this sorte, putting her face vpon Cleobrotus head, cast her swollen and blubbering eyes apōn the standers by. Wherefore Leonidas after he had talked a litle with his friendes, he commaunded Cleobrotus to get him thence, and to leaue the cite as an exile: and prayed his Daughter for his sake to reuērsē vnto him, and not to forsake her father, that did so dearely loue her, as for her sake he had saued her husbands life. This notwithstanding, she would not yeelde to his request: but rising vp with her husband, gaue him one of his sonnes, and her self tooke the other in her armes: and then making her prayer before the altar of the goddesse, she went as a banished woman away with her husband. And truly the example of her vertue was so famous, that if Cleobrotus mind had not bene too much blinded with vain glory, he had cause to thinke his exile farre more happy, to enioye the loue of so noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdom which he possessed without her. Then Leonidas hauing banished king Cleobrotus out of the city, & remouing the first Ephores, had substituted other in their place: he presētly berought him howe he might craftily come by king Agis. First, he perswaded him to come out of the sanctuary, & to gouerne the kingdom safely with him, declaring vnto him that his citizens had forgien him all that was past, because they knew he was deceiued, & subtly circumuēced by Agisilaus craft: beistig a young man, ambitious of honor: Agis would not leaue the sanctuary for Leonidas cunning perswasion, but mistrusted all that he said vnto him: Wherefore, Leonidas would no more beguile him with faire words. But Amphares, Demochares, &c. Arcefilas, did oftē times go to visiting Agis, & other while also they got him out of the sanctuary with them vnto the bath, & brought him backe againe into the temple, when he had bathed. But Amphares E hauing borrowed not long before, certē rich apparell & plate of Agisilaus, because he would not redeliuer the againe, he determined to betray king Agis, his mother, & grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did serue Leonidas turne, & prouoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) against Agis. Now therefore, Agis keeping all the rest of his time within the temple, sauing when he went apōn occasion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way, & to take him when he was out of the sanctuary. So they watched him one day when he bathed, & came & slaued him as their maner was, & sēmed to accompany him, sporting, & being merry with him, as with a young man their familien. But when they came to the turning of a streete that went towards the prison, Amphares laying hold on him, being one of the Ephores, said vnto him: I arrest thee Agis, & wil bring thee before the Ephores, to giue accōpt of thy doings in the common wealth. Then Demochares, which was a great mighty man cast his gowne ouer his eares, & pulled him forward: others also thrust him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no mā being near them to help Agis, they got him into pri-

The oration of Chelonis the Daughter of Leonidas.

The banishment of Cleobrotus.

The great vertue and loue of Chelonis to her husband Cleobrotus.

Amphares betrayed king Agis.

King Agis carried vnto prison.

son. Then came *Leonidas* incontinently with a great number of souldiers that were strangers, & beset the prison round about. The Ephores wēt into the prison, & sent vnto some of the Senate to come vnto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they commaunded *Agis*, if it had bene iudicially, to giue account of the alteration he had made in the cōmon wealth. The younge man laughed at their hypocrisie. But *Amphares* told him that it was no laughing sport, & that he should pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores seeming to deale more favorably with him, & to shew him a way how he might escape the cōdemnation for his fault, asked him, if he had not bene intitled vnto it by *Agessius*, and *Lysander*. *Agis* answered, that no man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the steppes of the auncient *Lycurgus*, bringing the common wealth vnto the former estate of his graue ordinance & institution. Then the same Senator asked him againe, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The younge man boldly answered him, that he would neuer repent him of so wise and vertuous an enterprise, though he ventred his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commaunded the Sergeants to cary him into the Decade, which was a place in the prison where they were strangled, that were condemned to dye. *Demochares* perceiuing the Sergeants durst not lay hold of him, & likewise that the souldiers which were strangers, did abhorre to commit such a fact, contrary to the law of God and man, to lay violent hands vpon the person of a king: he threatened & reuiled them, and dragged *Agis* perforce into that place called the Decade. Now the rumor ranne straight through the cite, that king *Agis* was taken, & a multitude of people were at the prison dores with lights & torches. Thither came also king *Agis* mother & grandmother, shrieking out, & praying that the king of SPARTA might yet be heard and iudged by the people. For this cause, they hastned his death the sooner, and were afraid besides, least the people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people thither. Thus king *Agis* being led to his death, spied a Sergeant lamenting & weeping for him, vnto whom he said: good fellowe, I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am harder man then they that so shamefully put me to death, & with those words he willingly put his head into the halter. *Amphares* then going out of the prison into the street, found *Agessistrata* there, king *Agis* mother, who straight fel downe at his feete: but he taking her vp againe, in old familiar manner, as being her very friend, told her that they should doe king *Agis* no hurt, & that (he might if he would, goe & see him. Then she prayed, that they would also let her mother in with her. *Amphares* sayde, with a good will: and so put them both into the prison house, and made the dores be shut after them. But when they were within, he first gaue *Archidamus* vnto the Sergeants to be put to death, who was a maruelous olde woman, and had liued more honorably vnto that age, then any Lady or Matrone beside her in the cite. She being executed, he commaunded *Agessistrata* also to come in. Who when she sawe the bodye of her dead sonne layed on the ground, & her mother also hanging on the gallowes: she did her selfe helpe the hangman to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her sonnes. Then hauing couered her in decent manner, she layed her downe on the ground by the corps of her sonne *Agis*, and kissing his cheeke sayd: out, alas my sonne, thy great modestie, goodnes and clemencie, brought thee and vs vnto this deathe. Then *Amphares* peeping in at the dore to see what was done, hearing what she sayde, came in withall in a greate rage, and sayde: I perceyue thou hast albeene of counsell with thy sonne, and sith it is so, thou shalt also followe him. Then she rising likewise to be strangled, sayd: the goddes graunt yet that this may profit SPARTA. This horrible murder beeing blowne abroad in the cite, and the three dead bodies also brought out of prison: the feare though it were great amongst the people, could not keepe them back from apparant shew of griefe, and manifest hate against *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, thinking that there was neuer a more wicked and crueller fact committed in SPARTA, since the DORIAN came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies them selues in battell, would not willingly lay hands vpon the kings of LACEDÆMON, but did forbear as much as they could possible, both for feare & reuerence they bare vnto their maiestie. For in many great battells & conflicts which the LACEDÆMONIANS had against the GRÆCIANS, there was neuer any king of LACEDÆMON slain, before *Philips* time, but *Cleobrotus* only, who was slain with a dart at the battell of LEVCTRES. Some write also, that the MESSENIANS hold opiniō, that their *Arifomenes*

Not the reuerent regard of the health, vnto the person of a king, exhorting to lay violent hands vpon him.

King *Agis*, his mother, & grandmother, all three strangled.

The enemies did not willingly kill a king of Lacedæmon.

A slue king *Theopompus*: howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS sayde; that he was but hurt, not slayne. But heretofore there are diuers opinions: but it is certain that *Agis* was the first king whom the Ephores euer put to death: for that he had layd a plat of a noble deuise, and worthy of SPARTA, being of that age when men doe easily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accused of his friends and enemies, because he had saued *Leonidas* life, & had trusted other men, as the best natured younge man that could be.

Now *Agis* hauing suffered in this sort, *Leonidas* was not quicke enough to take *Archidamus* his brother also, for he fled presently. Yet he brought *Agis* wife out of her house by force, with a little boy she had by him, and married her vnto his sonne *Cleomenes*, who was yet vnder age to marry: fearing least this younge Lady should be bestowed els where, being in deede a great heire, and of a riche house, and the Daughter of *Gylippus*, called by her name *Agistis*, besides that she was the fayrest woman at that tyme in all GRÆCE, and the vertuouslest and best conditioned. Wherefore, for diuers respects she praied he might not be forced to it. But now being at length married vnto *Cleomenes*, she euer hated *Leonidas* to the death, and yet was a good and louing wife vnto her young husband: Who immediately after he was married vnto her, fell greatly in fancy with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the loue she bare vnto her first husband, and for the louing remembrance she had of him: inso much as he him selfe many times would fall in talke of it, and would be inquisiuite how things had passed, taking great pleasure to heare of *Agis* wife counsell and purpose. For *Cleomenes* was as desirous of honor, and had as noble a minde as *Agis*, and was borne also to temperancie and moderation of life, as *Agis* in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modestie and lenitie which the other had, but was somewhat more stirring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it greate honestie to bringe the Citizens if he could, to be contented to liue after an honest sorte: but contrarily, he thought it no dishonestie to bringe them vnto good life, by compulsion also. Furthermore, the manners of the Citizens of SPARTA, giuing them selues ouer to idleness and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did suffer the common wealth to be ruled as they listed, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: inso much no man regarding the profit of the common wealth, euery man was for him selfe, and his familie. And contrarily, it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperancie, and for the restoring againe of equality of life, the preferment whereof was the only cause of the late death of *Agis*. They say also, that *Cleomenes* being a young stripling, had heard some disputation of Philosphie, when the Philosopher *Spharus*, of the contrie of BORYSTHENES came to LACEDÆMON, and louingly stayed there to teache younge men and children. He was one of the chiefeest schollers of *Zenon* CITTIAN, and delighted (as it seemed) in *Cleomenes* noble minde, and had a great desire to pricke him forward vnto honor. For, as it is reported, that the auncient *Leonidas* being demanded what Poet he thought *Tyrans* to be, answered he was good to flatter younge mens myndes: for he sette their hartes a fire by his verses, when they beggan to fight any battell, fearing no daunger, they were so incouraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat daungerous, for the stowte and valiant myndes, which

otherwise doth make them desperate: but when they are ioyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, first it lyftech vp his hart, and then maketh him taste the profit thereof. Nowe *Leonidas* (the father of *Cleomenes*) being deceased, and he him selfe comen vnto the crowne, finding that the Citizens of SPARTA at that tyme were very dissolute, that the riche men followed their pleasure and profit taking no care of the common weale, that the poore men also for very want and neede went with no good life and courage to the warres, nether cared for the bringing vp of their children, and that he him selfe had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the absolute authoritie to doe what they listed: at his first comming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole state and gouernment of the common wealth. Who hauing a friend called *Xenares*, that had bene his louer in his youth (which the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Emphnistæ*, as much as inspired) he beggan to sownd his opinion, asking what manner of man king *Agis* had bene, and by what reason, and whose aduise he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the common wealth. *Xenares* at the first did not willingly re-

Here beginneth *Cleomenes* life. *Cleomenes* the sonne of *Leonidas*. *Agistis*, the Daughter of *Gylippus*, and wife to king *Agis*. *Agistis*, king *Agis* wife, married vnto *Cleomenes*.

Spharus, a Philosopher of Borysthenes.

heare these things vnto him, declaring euery thing what had passed. But when he found that *A Cleomenes* was affected vnto king *Agis* intent, & still desired to heare of it: then *Xenares* sharply and angrily reprov'd him, and tolde him he was not wise, nor well aduised, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man priuie why he absteined from comming to him; but tolde them that asked him, he knew a cause well enough why. *Xenares* now having thus refused him, and thinking all the rest would doe the like to bringe this matter to passe, he tooke this resolution with him selfe. Because he thought he might rather doe it in warre, then in peace, he set the citie of SPARTA and the ACHAÏANS at variance together: who did them selues giue the first occasion to be complayned vpon. For *Aratus* being President and chiefe of all the ACHAÏANS, had practised a long tyme to bringe all PELOPONNESVS into one bodye: and had therefore onely susteyned great troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other waye to deliuer them from forreyne warres. Nowe when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACEDÆMONIANS, and a few of the ARCADIANs, which were subiect vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. When king *Leonidas* was deade, *Aratus* beganne to invade the ARCADIANs, those specially that bordered upon the ARGOÏES: to proue how the LACEDÆMONIANS would take it, making no accompt of *Cleomenes*, being but a young king, & had no experience of warres. Thereupon the Ephori sent *Cleomenes* vnto ATHENIUM (a temple of *Minerva* hard by the citie of BELBINA) with an armie to take in because it was a passage & entry into the CONTRY of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the MEGALOPOLITANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Cleomenes* got it, and fortified it. *Aratus* making no complaint otherwife of the matter, stalle out one night with his army to set upon the TARGEANS, and ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to haue taken those cities by treason. But the traitors that were of his confederacy, their hearts failed them when they should haue gonne about it: so that *Aratus* returned, hauing lost his iorney, thinking that this secret attempt of his was not discouered. But *Cleomenes* finely wrote vnto him as his friend, and asked him, whether he had led his armie by night: *Aratus* returned answer againe, that vnderstanding *Cleomenes* ment to fortifie BELBINA, he went forth with his armie, thinking to haue let him. *Cleomenes* wrote againe vnto him, and said he did beleuee that which he spake was true: howbeit he earnestly requested him, (if it were no trouble to him) to aduertise him why he brought schaling ladders and lightes after him. *Aratus* smiling at this mocke, asked what this young man was. *Democritus* LACEDÆMONIAN being a banished man out of his cōtry, answered: if thou hast any thing to doe against the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou hadst neede make haste, before this young Cockerell haue on his spurs. Then *Cleomenes* being in the field in the contry of ARCADIA, with a few horsemen and three hundred footemen onely: the Ephori being afraid of warres, sent for him to returne againe. His backe was no sooner turned, obeying their commaundement: but *Aratus* sodainly tooke the citie of CAPHYRS. Thereupon, the Ephori incontinently sent *Cleomenes* backe again with his armie: who tooke the fort of Methydrum, and burnt the borders of the ARGOÏES. The ACHAÏANS came against him with an army of twenty thousand footemen, and a thousand horsemen, led by *Aristomachus*: *Cleomenes* met with them by the city of PALANTIVM, and offered battell. But *Aratus* quaking at the hardines of this young man, would not suffer *Aristomachus* to hazard battell, but went his way, derided by the ACHAÏANS, and despised by the LACEDÆMONIANS: who in all were not about five thousand fighting men. *Cleomenes* corage being now lift vp, and brauely speaking to his citizens: he remembered them of a saying of one of their auncient kings, that the LACEDÆMONIANS neuer inquired what number their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the ACHAÏANS making warre with the ELIANS, *Cleomenes* was sent to ayde them, & met with the armie of the ACHAÏANS by the mountaine Lyceum, as they were in their returne: he setting upon them, gaue them the ouerthrowe, slue a great number of them, and tooke many also prisoners, that the rumor ranne through GRECE, how *Aratus* selfe was slaine. *Cleomenes* wisely taking the occasion which this victory gaue him: he went straight to the citie of MANTINEA, and taking it vpon a sodaine, when no man knew of his comming, he put a strong garrison into it. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS harts failing them, and resisting *Cleomenes* enterprises,

*Cleomenes did
for the Lacedæ-
monians
and Achaïans
together by
this case.*

*Cleomenes in-
uaded into the
contry of the
Argiues.*

*The victorie
of Cleomenes
against Aratus.
The saying of
the kings of
Lacedæmon
concerning their
enemies.*

Agis, overwearying them with warres: he went about to sende for *Archidamus*, king *Agis* brother, being then at MASSENA, vnto whom the kingdom of right belonged by the other house, supposing that he should easily weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authoritie of the two kings, if both of them ioyned together. Which when the murderers of king *Agis* vnderstoode, being affraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them: they secretly receiued him into the citie, and founde the meanes to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him straight to death, whether it was vnnwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainly testifieth) or else with his priuicie, suffring them to make him away, by persuasion of his friends. But it is a cleere case, the citie was burdened withall, because probable matter fell out that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to doe it. Neuerthelesse, he holding still his first determination, to alter the state of the common wealth of SPARTA, as soone as he could possible: he so fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he should make warre. He had also won many other citizens by the meanes of his mother *Cratesilea*, who furnisht him with money, that he lacked not to honor him withall: and further, married as it is reported, (being otherwise not ment to marry) for her sonnes sake, vnto one of the wealthiest men of all the citie. So *Cleomenes* leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territorie of MEGALOPOLIS, called LEUCTRA. The ACHAÏANS also being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*: they straight fought a battell by the citie selfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worst on the one side of his armie. Howbeit *Aratus* would not suffer the ACHAÏANS to follow them, because of bogges and quauemyres, but founded the retreat. But *C* *Lyfidas* a MEGALOPOLITAN being angrie withall, caused the horsemen he had about him to follow the chafe, who pursued so fiercely, that they came amongst vines, walls, and ditches, where he was driuen to disperse his men, and yet could not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiving it, sent the light horsemen of the TARENTINS & CRETANS against him: of whom *Lyfidas* valiantly fighting was slaine. Then the LACEDÆMONIANS being courageous for this victorie, came with great cries, & geuing a fierce charge upon the ACHAÏANS, ouerthrew their whole armie, and slue a maruelous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their request suffered them to take vp the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For *Lyfidas* corps, he caused it to be brought vnto him, and putting a purple robe upon it, and a crowne on his head, sent it in this aray vnto the very gates of the city of MEGALOPOLIS. It was that selfe *Lyfidas*, who geuing D ouer the tyranny and gouernment of MEGALOPOLIS, made it a popular state, and free city, and ioyned it to the ACHAÏANS. After this victorie, *Cleomenes* that determined greater matters and attempts, perswaded him selfe that if he might once come to stablish the affaires of the common wealth at SPARTA to his mind, he might then easily overcome the ACHAÏANS: brake with his father in law *Megistonus*, and told him that it was necessary to take away the authoritie of the Ephores, and to make diuision of the landes among the SPARTANS, and then being brought to equalitie, to encourage them to recouer the Empire of GRECE againe vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, which their predecessors before them, held and enioyed. *Megistonus* granting his good will and furtherance, ioyned two or three of his frendes more vnto him. It chanced at that time that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of *Papipha*, had a marue- E lous dreame in the night. For he thought he sawe but one chaire standing where the Ephori did vie to sit to geue audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that maruelling at it, he heard a voyce out of the temple that said, that was the best for SPARTA. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto *Cleomenes*, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard some inckling of his intent. But when he perswaded him selfe that the other ment good faith, and lyed not vnto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpose, and taking with him vnto the campe all those SPARTANS who he suspected to be against his enterprise, he went and tooke the cities of HEREA and ALSRA, confederats of the ACHAÏANS, and vittelled ORCHOMENA, and went and camped before the citie of MANTINEA. In fine, he so wearied F & ouerharried the LACEDÆMONIANS by long iorneyes, that at length they besought him he would let them remaine in ARCADIA, to repose them selues there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his straungers which he had hyred, returned againe vnto SPARTA, and imparted

*Archidamus
king Agis
brother slaine.*

*Lyfidas
slaine.
Cleomenes
victorie of
the Achaïans.*

*Lyfidas, go-
uernes of Me-
galopolis, gane
ouer his ty-
ranny, and
made it a po-
pular state.*

*The dreame
of one of the
Ephores.*

his intent by the way vnto them he trusted best, and marched at his owne ease, that he might take the Ephores at supper. When he came neere vnto the city, he sent *Euryclides* before, into the halles of the Ephores, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he sent also *Thericion* & *Phabius*, and two other that had bene brought vp with him, whom the *LACEDÆMONIANS* called the *SAMOTHRACIANS*, taking with them a fewe souldiers. Nowe whilst *Euryclides* was talking with the Ephores, they also came in upon them with their swordes drawn, and did set upon the Ephores. *Agesslaus* was hurt first of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene slaine, but by litle & litle he crept out of the halles, and got secretly into a chappell consecrated vnto *Fear*, the which was wont euer to be kept shut, but then by chance was left open, when he was come in, he shut the dore fast to him. The other foure of the Ephores were slaine presently, and aboue tenne moe besides, which came to defende them. Furthermore, for them that fate still and sturred not, they killed nota man of them, neither did keepe any man that was desirous to goe out of the citie: but moreouer, they pardoned *Agesslaus*, who came the next morning out of the chappell of *Fear*. Amongest the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the citie of *SPARTA*, there are not onely temples of *feare* and death, but also of laughter, and of many other such passions of the minde. They do worshipspe *Fear*, not as other spirites and deuils that are hurtfull: but because they are perswaded, that nothing preferueth a common wealth better then *feare*. Wherefore the Ephori (as *Aristotle* witnesseth) when they are created, doe by publicke proclamation commaunde all the *SPARTANS* to haue their chinnes, and to obey the law, least they should make them feele the rigour of the law. They brought in the shauing of their chinnes, in my opinion, to inure young men to obey the Magistrates euen in trifles. Moreouer it seemes that men in olde time did esteeme fortitude to be no taking away of *feare*, but rather a *feare* & lothnes to incurre shame. For commonly those that are most affrayed to offend the law, are in the field most valliant against their enemy: and shunne no perill to winne fame and honest reputacion. And therefore it was wisely sayd of one,

That feare can not be without shamefastnes.

And so *Homer* in a certaine place made *Hellen* say vnto king *Priamus*:

Of truth I doe confesse deere father in law,

You are the man of whom I stand in awe,

And reuerence most of all that ere I saw.

And in an other place, speaking of the *GRÆCIAN* souldiers, he sayth thus:

For feare of their Captaines they speake not a word.

For men do vse to reuerence them whom they *feare*. And this was the cause why the chappell of *Fear* was by the halles of the Ephores, hauing in maner a princely and absolute authoritie. The next morning *Cleomenes* banished by trompet, foure score citizens of *SPARTA*, and ouerthrew all the chaires of the Ephores but one only, the which he reserued for him selfe to sit in to geue audience. Then calling the people to counsell, he gaue them an account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had ioyned the Senators with the kings, & how the citie had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithstanding, afterwards the city hauing great warres with the *MESSENIANS*, the kings being alwaies employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the common wealth at home, did chooſe certaine of their frendes to sitte in iudgement in their steades, to determine controuersies of lawe: which were called Ephores, and did gouerne long time as the kings ministers, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke upon them absolute gouernment by the selues. And for manifest proofe hereof, you see that at this present time when the Ephori do send for the king, the first and second time, they refuse to come, but the third time he riseth and goeth vnto them. The first man that gaue the Ephores this authoritie, was *Asteropus*, one of the Ephores many yeares after the first institution of the kings: and yet if they had gouerned discretely, peraduenture they might haue continued longer. But they licentiouslly abusing their authoritie, by suppressing the lawfull Gouernors instituted of old time, taking upon them to banish some of their kings, and putting other of them also to death, without law and iustice, and threatning others that desire to restore that noble and former blessed gouern-

*Cleomenes
sues the
Ephores.*

*Diners styles
at Sparta,
of feare, death,
& such other
fancies.*

*The wallan-
rest men are
well affrayed
to offend the
law.*

*The chappell
of feare, ioyn-
ed to the
halles of the
Ephores.*

*The creation
of king Cleo-
menes, con-
cerning the first
originals of
the Ephores.*

*Afterwards, the
first men that
gaue authori-
ty to the
Ephores.*

A gouernment vnto *SPARTA* againe: all these things I say, are in no wise to be suffered any longer. And therefore, if it had bene possible to haue banished all these plagues of the common wealth out of *SPARTA*, brought from forreine nations: (I meane, pleasures, pastimes, money, detts, and vnties, and others yet more auuncient, poverty and riches) he might then haue esteemed him selfe the happiest king that euer was, if like a good Phisitian he had cured his contrie of that infection, without griefe or sorrow. But in that he was constrained to beginne with blood, he followed *Lycurgus* example: who being neither king nor other Magistrate, but a priuate citizen only, taking upon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king *Charilam* that then reigned, so affrayed, that he was driuen to take sanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a noble nature, and louing the honor of his contrie: tooke parte with *Lycurgus*, adding to his aduise and counsell, for the alteration of the state of the gouernment of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* saw it was a hard thing to alter the common wealth without force and feare: the which he notwithstanding had vied with as great modestie and discretion, as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profit and wealth of *LACEDÆMON*, geuing all the lands of the contrie also to be equally deuided amongst them, and setting all men cleere that were in dette. And furthermore, that he would make a choise and proofe of the strangers, to make them free citizens of *SPARTA*, whom he knew to be honest men, thereby to defende their citie the better by force of armes: to tend that from henceforth we may no more see our contrie of *LACONIA* spoiled by the *ÆTOLIANS* and *ILLYRIANS*, for lacke of men to defende them selues against them. Then he beganne first him selfe to make all his goods common, and after him *Megistomus* his father in law, and consequently all his other frendes. Then he caused the lands also to be deuided, and ordeined euery banished man a part, whom he him selfe had exiled, promising that he would receiue them againe into the city, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the citizens of *SPARTA*, with the choicest honest men their neighbours: he made foure thousand footemen well armed, and taught them to vse their pykes with both handes, in steade of their darts with one hande, and to carie their targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwards he tooke order for the education of children; and to restore the auncient *LACONIAN* discipline againe: and did all these things in maner by the helpe of *Sphermus* the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickly set vp againe schoole hooses for children, and also brought them to the old order of dyer: and all but a very fewe, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institution of life. Then because the name of one king should not offend any man, he made his brother *Euelidas* king with him. But this was the first time that euer the two kings were of one house but then. Furthermore, vnderstanding that the *ACHAÏANS* and *ARATIS* were of opinion, that he durst not come out of *LACEDÆMON*, for feare to leaue it in perill of reuolting, because of the late chaunge and alteration in the common wealth: he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his enemies see the readines and good will of his armie. Thereupon he invaded the territories of the *MEGALOPOLITANS*, and brought away a great praye and booty, after he had done great hurt vnto his enemies. Then hauing taken certaine players and minstrells that came from *MASSINA*, he sette vp a stage within the enemies contrie, made a game of 40. Minos for the victor, and fate a whole day to looke upon them, for no pleasure he tooke in the sight of it, but more to despise the enemies withall, in making them see how much he was stronger then they, to make such a Mayegame in their owne contrie, in despite of them. For of all the armies otherwise of the *GRÆCIANS*, or kings in all *GRÆCE*, there was no armie onely but his, that was without players, minstrells, foolles and iugglers: for his campe only was cleane of such rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to some exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teache them. And if they chaunced to haue any vacant time, then they would pleasantly be one merie with an other, in geuing some pretie fine mocke after the *LACONIAN* manner. And what profit they got by that kinde of exercise, we haue written it at large in *Lycurgus* life. But of all these things, the king him selfe was their schoolemaister and example, shewing him selfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curiositie, no more then any priuate souldier

*Cleomenes re-
formeth the
state of the
common wealth
of Lacedæ-
mon.*

*Cleomenes in-
uadeth the
borders of the
Megalopolita-
nians.*

*King Cleome-
nes, the tea-
cher and ex-
ample of tem-
perancy.*

of all his campe: the which were great helps vnto him in his enterprises he made in Greece. A For the Grecians hauing cause of fute and negociacion with other kings and Princes, did not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhorre and detest their pride and infolencie: so disdainfully they would aunswere them that had to doe with them. But contrarily when they went vnto *Cleomenes*, who was a king in name and deede as they were, finding no purple robes nor stately mantells, nor rich imbrodered beddes, nor a Prince to be spoken to but by messengers, gentlemen vthers, and supplications, and yet with great a doe: and seeing him also come plainly apparellled vnto them, with a good countenance, and curiously aunswere the matters they came for: he thereby did maruelously win their hearts and good wills, that when they returned home, they said he only was the worthy king, that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his dyet at his bord, that was very straight and LACONIAN like, keeping only three bords: and if he chanced to feast any Ambassadors or other his frendes that came to see him, he then added to two other bords, and besides, made his men to see that his fare should be amended, not with pastrie and conserues, but with more store of meate, and some better wyne then ordinarie. For he one day reproveth one of his frendes, that bidding straungers to supper, he gaue the nothing but blacke broth, & browne bread only, according to their LACONIAN maner. Nay, said he, we may not vse straungers so hardly after our maner. The bord being taken vp, an other little table was brought with three seete, whereupon they set a bolle of copper full of wyne, and two silver cuppes of a pottell a peece, and certaine other fewe silver pottes besides: so euery man dranke what they listed, and no man was forced to drinke more then he woulde. Furthermore, there was no sporte, nor any pleasaunt song, C sounge, to make the companie merie, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* selfe would entertaine them with some pretie questions, or pleasaunt tale: whereby, as his talke was not seuered and without pleasure, so was it also pleasaunt without infolencie. For he was of opinion, that to winne men by gifts or money, as other kings and Princes did, was but base and cloyne like: but to seeke their good wills by courteous meanes, and pleasauntnes, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference betwix a frend and hyerling: but that the one is wonnie with money, and the other with ciuility & good entertainment. The first therefore that receiued king *Cleomenes* into their citie, were the MANTINIANS, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to driue out the garrison of the ACHAIA NS, they yielded them selues vnto him. D But he referring them to the vse and gouernment of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the same day, and went vnto the citie of TEGEA. Shortly after, he compassed about ARCADIA, and came vnto PHERES in ARCADIA determining one of the two, either to geue the ACHAIA NS battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of fauor with the people, for that he had suffred him to spoyle and destroy their contrie. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the ACHAIA NS, but *Aratus* did beare all the sway and authoritie. Then the ACHAIA NS coming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citie of DYMES, neere vnto the temple of *Hecatombeum*: *Cleomenes* going thither, laye betwix the citie of DYMES that was against him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a verie vnwise parte of him. Howebeit valiantly prouoking the ACHAIA NS, he procured them to the battell, overthrew them, made them flee, and slue a great number in the field, and tooke many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set upon the citie of LANGON, and draue the garrison of the ACHAIA NS out of it, and restored the citie againe vnto the ELIA NS. The ACHAIA NS being then in verie hard state, *Aratus* that of custome was wont to be their Generall, (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the ACHAIA NS did specially pray and intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let an other steere the rudder, in so daungerous a storme and tempest. Therefore the ACHAIA NS sent Ambassadors vnto *Cleomenes* to treatte peace, vnto whome it seemed he gaue a verie sharpe aunswere. After that, he sent vnto them, and willed them only to resigne the signorie of Greece vnto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reasonably with them, and presently F deliuer them vp their townes & prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The ACHAIA NS being glad of peace with these condicions, wrote vnto *Cleomenes* that he shoulde come

Cleomenes moderate dyet.

Cleomenes courteous entertainment at his bord.

Cleomenes leadeth his army against Aratus, and the Achaia ns.

The victory of Cleomenes against the Achaia ns.

vnto

A vnto the citie of LERNA, where the dyet and generall assemblie shoulde be kept to consult thereupon. It chaunced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hotte, dranke cold water, and fell of suche a bleeding withall, that his voyce was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the ACHAIA NS their chiefe prisoners home againe, proroging the parliament till an other time, and returned backe to LACEDÆMON. It is supposed certainly, that this let of his comming to the dyet, was the onely cause of the vter destruction of Greece: the which otherwise was in good way to haue risen againe, and to haue bene deliuered from the present miseries, and extreme pride and couetousnes of the MACEDONIA NS. For *Aratus*, either for that he trusted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was affrayed of his power, or that he otherwise enuied his honor & prosperitie, to see him risen to such incredible greatness in so short a time, and thinking it also too great shame and dishonor to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to deprive him of his great honor & power which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirtie yeares together, ruling all Greece: first, he sought by force to terrifie the ACHAIA NS, and to make them breake of from this peate. But in fine, finding that they little regarded his threats, & that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were affrayed of *Cleomenes* valliantnesse and corage, whose request they thought reasonable, for that he sought but to restore PELOPONNESVS into her former auncient estate againe: he fell then into a practise farre vnhoonest for a Grecian, verie infamous for him selfe, but most dishonorable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into Greece, *Antigonus* in his youth had driuen thence, had taken from them the castell of CORINTHE, and had alwayes bene anemie of the kinges (but specially of *Antigonus*, of whom before he had spoken all the ill he coule, as appeareth in his wrytings, saying that he tooke maruelous paines, and did put him selfe into many daungers, to deliuer the city of ATHENS from the garrison of the MACEDONIA NS) and yet notwithstanding he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his contrie only, but into his owne house, yea euen into the Ladies chambers & closets: disdainng that the king of LACEDÆMON, dissendng of the blood royall of *Hercules* (who setting vp againe the auncient maner of life of his contrie, did temper it as an instrument of musick out of tune, and brought it to the good, auncient and sober discipline and DORICAN life instituted by *Lycurgus*) should be called and wrytten, king of the SICYONIA NS: and of the D TRIGIA NS. And furthermore, slyng them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine course capes of the LACEDÆMONIA NS, and that went about to take awaye riches (which was the chiefe matter they did accuse *Cleomenes* for) and to provide for the poore: he went and put him selfe and all ACHAIA vnto the crowne and diademe, the purple robe, and prowde imperious commaundementes of the MACEDONIA NS, fearing least men should thinke that *Cleomenes* coulede commaunde him. Furthermore his follie was such, that hauing garlands of flowers on his head, he did sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, & sing songs in praise of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man, consumed away. This that we haue written of *Aratus* (who was indueed with many noble vertues, & a worthy GRECIAN) is not so much to accuse him, as to make vs see the frailty and weakenes of mans nature: the which, though it haue neuer so excellent vertues, can not yet bring forth such perfit fruite, but that it hath euer some mayme and blemishe. Now, when the ACHAIA NS were met againe in the citie of ARGOS, to hold the session of their parliament before proroged, and *Cleomenes* also being come from TEGEA, to be at that parliament: euery man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before of the chiefe articles of the capitulations with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by fayre words or force would bring the people to graunt that he desired: sent to let him vnderstand, that he shoulde but come him selfe alone into the citie, and for safetie of his person, they woulde geue him three hundred offagers: or otherwise, if he woulde not leaue his armie, that then they woulde geue him audience without the citie, in the place of exercises, called Cylarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their aunswere, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they shoulde haue aduertised him of it before he had taken his iorney, and not now when he was almost hard at their gates, to sende him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereupon he wrote a letter vnto the counsell of

Aratus presents him to his contrie.

the ACHAÏANS, altogether full of complaints against *Aratus*. On thother side also, *Aratus* in A his oration to the counsell, inueyed with bitter wordes against *Cleomenes*. Thereupon *Cleomenes* departing with speede, sent a Herald to proclaime warres against the ACHAÏANS, not in the city of ARGOS, but in the city of *ÆGION*, as *Aratus* wryteth, meaning to set aron them being vnprovided. Hereupon all ACHAÏA was in an vpror: for diuers cities did presently reuolt against the ACHAÏANS, because the common people hoped after the diuision of lands, and the discharging of their dettes. The noble men also in many places were offended with *Aratus*, because he practised to bring the MACEDONIANS into the contrie of PELOPONNESVS. *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all these respects, brought his armie into ACHAÏA, and at his first comming tooke the citie of PALLENA, and draue out the garrison of the ACHAÏANS: and after that, wanne also the cities of PHENEVM, and PANTELIVM. Now the ACHAÏANS fearing some treason in CORINTH and SYCIONE, sent certaine horsemen out of the citie of ARGOS, to keepe those cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebration of the feast at the games Nemea, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to ARGOS, he should finde the citie full of people that were come to see the feastes and games, and that assailing them vpon the sodaine, he should put them in a maruelous feare brought his armie in the night hard to the walls of the citie of ARGOS, and at his first comming wanne a place they call *Aspis*, a verie strong place about the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The ARGIVES were so amazed at it, that no man would take upon him to defende the citie, but receiued *Cleomenes* garrison, and gaue him twentie ostages, promising thenceforth to be true confederates vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnder his charge and conduct. The C which doubtles wanne him great fame, and increased his power: for that the auncient kings of LACEDÆMON, could neuer before with any policie or deuise, winne the citie of ARGOS. For king *Pyrrius* one of the most valliantest and warlikest Prince that euer was, entring the citie of ARGOS by force, could not keepe it, but was slaine there; and the most parte of his armie: wherby, euery man wondred greatly at the diligence & counsell of *Cleomenes*. And where euery man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* sayd that he would follow *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, in making the citizens goods common, and discharging all detts: they were then clerely perswaded that he onely was the cause and meane of that great change, which they sawe in the corage of the SPARTANS: who were before so weake and out of hart, that they hauing no corage to defend them selues, the ÆTOLIANS entring LACONIA, with an armie, tooke away D at one time, fiftie thousand slaues. Whereupon an old man of SPARTA pleasauntly sayd at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleasure, to ridde their contrie of LACONIA of such a rabble of rascalls. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient discipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* selfe had bene aliue to haue trained them vnto it: they shewed them selues verie valliant, and obedient also vnto their Magistrates, whereby they recovered againe the commaundement of all GRECE, and the contrie also of PELOPONNESVS. After *Cleomenes* had taken the citie of ARGOS, the cities also of CLEONES, and PHLYNTA, did yeelde them selues vnto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remayned at CORINTH, & there did busily accuse them which were suspected to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS. But when newes was brought him that ARGOS was taken, & that he perceived also the E citie of CORINTH did leane vnto *Cleomenes* parte, and draue away the ACHAÏANS: he then calling the people to counsell in CORINTH, secretly stole to one of the gates of the citie, and causing his horse to be brought vnto him, tooke his backe, and galloped for life vnto the citie of SYCIONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they tooke their horsebackes also, striking who should be there soonest, and posted in such a hast vnto *Cleomenes* at the citie of ARGOS, that many of them (as *Aratus* wryteth) killed their horses by the way: howbeit *Cleomenes* was verie much offended with them, for that they had let him scape their hands. But *Aratus* sayth further, that *Megisthenes* came vnto him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great summe of money to deliuer him the castell of CORINTH, wherein there was a great garrison of the ACHAÏANS. But he answered againe, that thinges were not in his power, but rather that he was subiect to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the city of ARGOS, ouercame the TROEZONIANS, the EPIDAVRIANS, & the HARMONIANS. After that, he came

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A vnto CORINTH, and presentlie entrenched the castell there rounde about, and sendinge for *Aratus* frendes and factors, commaunded them to keepe his house and goodes carefullie for him, and sent *Tritymallus* MESSENIAN againe vnto him, to praye him to be contented that the castell might be kept indifferentlie betwixt the ACHAÏANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, promising him priuately to double the pension that kinge *Prology* gaue him. But *Aratus* refusing it, sent his sonne vnto *Antigonus* with other ostages, and perswaded the ACHAÏANS to deliuer vnto the castell of CORINTH, vnto *Antigonus* handes. *Cleomenes* vnderstandinge it, entred with his armie into the contrie of the SYCIONIANS, and destroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus* goodes and money, of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by decree. Nowe *Antigonus* in the meane tyme, beinge passed the mountayne of Gerania with a greate power: *Cleomenes* determined not to forsue the Isthmus or straight of PELOPONNESVS, but the wayes of the mountaynes Onienes, determininge to keepe euerie one of them against the MACEDONIANS, with intent to consume them rather by tyme, then to fight a battell with an armie, so good souldiers and well trayned as they were. *Cleomenes* followinge this determination, did putte *Antigonus* to greate trouble, because he had not in time provided for corne: and could not winne the passage also by force, for that *Cleomenes* kept it with such garde and souldiers. Then *Antigonus* stealinge secretly into the haue of Lechaum, he was slowly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereupon *Cleomenes* and his men beinge courageous for this victorie, went quietly to supper. *Antigonus* on thother side fell into dispaire, to see him C selfe brought by necessitie into such harde termes. Wherefore he determined to goe to the temple of *Iuno*, and from thence to passe his armie by sea into the citie of SYCIONE, the which required a longe tyme, and greate preparation. But the same night there came some of *Aratus* frendes of the ARGIVES, who comming from ARGOS by sea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled against *Cleomenes*. The practiser of this rebellion, was one *Aristoteles*, who easilie brought the people vnto it, that were already offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promised to passe a lawe for the clearing of dettes; but performed it not accordinge to their expectation. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thousande five hundred men which *Antigonus* gaue him, went by sea vnto EPIDAVRUM. Howbeit *Aristoteles* taried not his comming, but takinge them of the citie with him, went and besieged the garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the castell, beinge ayded by *Timotheus*, with the ACHAÏANS that came from SYCIONE. *Cleomenes* receiuinge aduertisement hereof, about the seconde watche of the night, sent for *Megisthenes* in haste, and commaunded him in anger speedilie to goe and ayde their men that were in the citie of ARGOS. For it was *Megisthenes* him selfe that promised *Cleomenes* the fidelitie of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driuinge them out of the citie, which he suspected. So sendinge him away forthwith with two thousande men, he attended *Antigonus*; and comforted the CORINTHIANS the best he coule: aduertisinge them that it was but a litle mutinie of a fewe, that chaunced in the citie of ARGOS. *Megisthenes* beinge come to ARGOS, and slayne in battell, fightinge for the LACEDÆMONIANS in garrison there (who be E inge in greate distresse, scant able to keepe the castell against the enemies) sent fundrie messengers vnto *Cleomenes*, to praye him to sende them immediate ayde. *Cleomenes* then beinge affrayed that the enemies hauinge taken ARGOS, would stoppe his way to returne backe into his contrie, who hauinge opportunitee safelie to spoyle LACONIA, and also to besiege the citie selfe of SPARTA, that had but a fewe men to defende it: he departed with his armie from CORINTH. Immediately after came *Antigonus*, and tooke it from him, and put a stronge garrison into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the citie of ARGOS, he scaled the walles, and breakinge the vawtes and arches of the place called *Aspis*, immediatly to the citie, and ioyned with his garrison there; which yet resisted the ACHAÏANS: and takinge other partes of the same also, assaulted the walles, and cleared the streets in such F force, that not an enemy durst be seene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he sawe *Antigonus* a farre of, comming downe the hillside into the valley with his footemen; and that his horsemen also came upon the spur into the citie:

DDDD

Cleomenes
winnes the
citie of Argos.King Pyrrhus
slaine at
the citie of
Argos.The force of
Lycurgus
lasts.The Argives
doe rebel
against Cleo-
menes.Cleomenes
loft
the citie of
Corinth.Cleomenes
loft
the citie of
Argos.

The death of
Agistis, king
Cleomenes
wife.

The noble
minde of Cra-
tesicles, Cleo-
menes mo-
ther.

Cleomenes
sendeth his
mother and
children ho-
nour vnto
Ptolomy king
of Ægypt.

dispayringe then that he coule any longer keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and a safelie goinge downe by the walles reuyred without losse of any man. So, when in thosse tyme he had conquered muche, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESVS: in shorter space also, he lost all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his came, some did presentlie forsake him: others also immediately after surrendered vnto the townes vnto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* beinge thus oppressed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to *TEGEA* with the rest of his armie, newes came to him in the night from *LACEDÆMON*, which grieved him as muche as the losse of all his conquests: for he was aduertised of the death of his wife *Agistis*, whome he loued so dearelie, that in the midst of his chiefest prosperitie and victories, he made often iourneys to *SPARTA* to see her. It coule not bur be a maruelous grieve vnto *Cleomenes*, who beinge a younge man, had losse so vertuous and fayer a younge Ladie, so dearelie beloued of him: and yet he gaue not place vnto his sorowe, neither did grieve overcome his noble courage, but he vsed the selfe same voyce, apparell, and countenance, that he did before. Then taking order with his priuate Capitaines, about his affayres, and hauinge provided also for the safetie of the *TEGEANS*: he went the next morninge by breake of daye vnto *SPARTA*. After he had priuately lamented the sorowe of his wiues death, with his mother and children: he presentlie bent his minde againe to publike causes. Nowe *Cleomenes* had sent vnto *Ptolomy* kinge of *ÆGYPT*, who had promised him ayde, but upon demaunde, to haue his mother and children in pledge. So he was a longe tyme before he woulde for shame make his mother priuie vnto it, and went oftentimes of purpose to lette her vnderstande it: but when he came, he had not the harte to breake it to her. She first suspectinge a thinge, asked *Cleomenes* frendes, if her sonne had not somewhat to saye vnto her, that he durst not vtter. Whereupon, in fine he gaue the venter, and brake the matter to her. When she hearde it, she fell a laughinge, and tolde him: why, howe commeth it to passe, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldest not tell me? Come, come, sayed she, put me straight into a shippe, and sende me whither thou wilt, that this bodie of myne may doe some good vnto my contrie, before crooked age consume my life without profite. Then all thinges beinge prepared for their iorney, they went by lande, accompanied with the armie, vnto the heade of *Tanarus*. Where *Cratesicles* beinge readie to imbarke, she tooke *Cleomenes* aside into the temple of *Neptune*, and imbracinge and kissinge him, perceiuinge that his harte yerned for sorowe of her departure, D she sayed vnto him: O kinge of *LACEDÆMON*, lette no man see for shame when we come out of the temple, that we haue wept and dishonored *SPARTA*. For that onely is in our power, and for the rest, as it pleaseth the goddess, so lette it be. When she had spoken these wordes, and facioned her countenance againe: she went then to take her shippe, with a litle sonne of *Cleomenes*, and commaunded the maister of the shippe to hoysse sayle. Nowe when she was arrived in *ÆGYPT*, and vnderstoode that kinge *Ptolomy* receiued Ambassadors from *Antigonus*, and were in talke to make peace with him: and hearinge also that *Cleomenes* beinge requested by the *ACHAIANS* to make peace with them, durst not hearken to it, and ender that warre, without king *Ptolomy*s consent, and because of his mother: she wrote vnto him; that he shoulde not spare to doe any thinge that shoulde be expedient for the honour of *SPARTA*, without feare of displeasing *Ptolomy*, or for regarde of an olde woman, and a younge boye. Suche was the noble minde of this worthie Ladie in her sonne *Cleomenes* aduersitie. Furthermore, *Antigonus* hauing taken the cite of *TEGEA*, and sacked the other cities of *ORCHOMENVM*, and *MANTINEA*: *Cleomenes* seeinge him selfe brought to defende the borders onely of *LACONIA*, he did manumise all the *ILOTES*, (which were the slaues of *LACEDÆMON*) payinge fise Attica Minas a man. With that money he made the summe of fise hundred talentes, and armed two thousande of these freed slaues after the *MACEDONIAN* facion to fight against the *LEVCAPIDES*: (to witte, the white shieldes of *Antigonus*) and then there sell into his minde a maruelous greate enterprife, vnto looked for of euery man. The cite of *MEGALIPOLIS* at that time being as great as *SPARTA*, & E hauing the aide of the *ACHAIANS*, and *Antigonus* at hand, (whom the *ACHAIANS* as it seemed had brought in, chiefly at the request of the *MEGALOPOLITANS*.) *Cleomenes* determininge

A to sacke this cite, and knowing that to bring it to passe, nothing was more requisite then celeritie: he commaunded his souldiers to vittell them selues for fise dayes, and marching with the choyce of all his armie towards *SELASTIA*, as though he had ment to haue spoyled the *ARGIVES*, sodainly turning from thence, he inuaded the contrie of the *MEGALOPOLITANS*, and supping by *ROBTVM*, went straight by *ELICVNTA* vnto the cite. When he was come neere vnto it, he sent *Panteas* before with speede, with two bandes of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and commaunded him to take a certeine peece of the wall betweene two towers, which he knewe was not kept nor garded: and he followed him also with the rest of his armie coming on fayer and softly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the wall without gard or watche which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but also the most parte of that B side without defence: he tooke some parte of the wall at his first comming, and manned it, and ouerthrew an other peece of it also, putting them all to the sword that did defend it, and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the cite with his armie, before the *MEGALOPOLITANS* knewe of his comming. At length, the citizens vnderstanding that the cite was taken, some fled in hast, conueying suche light things as came to hande, in so grear a feare: and the others also arming them selues, ranne together to resist the enemies. But though they valiantly fought to repulse them out of the cite, and yet preuayled not: they gaue the rest leasure thereby to fye and saue them selues, so that there remayned not behinde, aboue a thousande men. For all the rest were fled with their wiues and children, into the cite of *MESSENNA*. The most parte of them also that fought with the enemies, saued them selues, and verie C fewe were taken, the chiefest whereof, were *Lyfandridas*, and *Thearidas*, the noblest persons that were amongst the *MEGALOPOLITANS*: wherefore when the souldiers had taken them, they brought them vnto *Cleomenes*. *Lyfandridas*, when he saw *Cleomenes* a good way off, cried out alowde vnto him: O king of *LACEDÆMON*, this day thou hast an occasion offered thee to doe a more famous princely acte, then that which thou hast alreadye done, and that will make thy name also more glorious. *Cleomenes* musing what he woulde request: well (q he) what is that thou requirest? One thing I will tell thee before hande, thou shalt not make me restore your cite to you againe. Yet, q *Lyfandridas*, lette me request thus muche then, that ye doe not destroy it, but rather replenishe it with frendes and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that shall you doe, geuing the *MEGALOPOLITANS* D their cite againe, and preservinge suche a number of people as haue forsaken it. *Cleomenes* pawing a while, answered, it was a hard thing to beleue that: but yet q he, let honor take place with vs, before profit. After that he sent a Heralde straight vnto *MESSENNA* vnto them that were fledde thither, and tolde them that he was contented to offer them their cite againe, so that they would become good frendes and confederates of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, forsaking the alliance of the *ACHAIANS*. *Philopamen* would by no means suffer the *MEGALOPOLITANS* to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor also to leaue their alliance with the *ACHAIANS*: telling them, that he ment not to geue them their cite againe, but to take them also with their cite: and therefore draue *Thearidas* and *Lyfandridas* out of *MESSENNA*, that moued this practise. It was that *Philopamen* that afterwards was the chiefest man of E the *ACHAIANS*, and that wanne suche fame and honor among the *GRECIANS*, as we haue particularly declared in his life. This word beinge brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the city from spoyling vntill that time: he was then so thorowly offended, that he gaue the goods in praye to the souldiers, sent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto *SPARTA*, and defaced the chiefest partes of the cite, and then returned home againe, being affrayed of *Antigonus*, and the *ACHAIANS*. Howbeit they sturred not, because of the parliament that was kept at that time in the cite of *ÆGIVM*, where *Aratus* being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ayde: he answered them, *MEGALIPOLIS* is taken, and rased by *Cleomenes*. The *ACHAIANS* being amazed at the soudainnes of this great losse, straight brake of their F Parliament and assemblie. But *Antigonus* thinking to ayde them, sent presently for all his garriions, who being long a comming, he willed them to stay where they were, and he him selfe taking a fewe souldiers with him, went vnto the cite of *ARGOS*. Therefore the seconde

Cleomenes
wanne the
cite of Me-
galopolis.

Cleomenes
noble saying.

Cleomenes
rased the cite
of Megalipo-
lis.

*Cleomenes
stratagem.*

*A wife Cap-
taine should
not rashly put
him selfe in
hazard.*

*The moder-
ation of Cleo-
menes to his
enemies.*

*Money, the
force of
warre.*

*The saying of
Archidamus.*

*Cleomenes o-
uercomen by
Antigonus,
for lacke of
money to pay
his souldiers.*

enterprife of *Cleomenes*, seemeth at the first sight a verie rash and desperate attempt: howe-
beit *Polybius* wryteth, that it was an attempt of great wisdom and policie. For *Cleomenes*
vnderstanding that the *MACEDONIANS* were dispersed in garisons in diuers places, and
that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the citie of *ARGOS*, with a certeyne number of foot-
men that were strangers: he inuaded the contrie of the *ARGIVES* with his armie, persua-
ding him selfe, that either *Antigonus* would for shame come and fight with him, or if he
did not, that then he should put him in disgrace with the *ARGIVES*: which in deede came
so to passe. The *ARGIVES* seeing their contrie spoiled by *Cleomenes*, were in a maruelous
rage, and gathering together at *Antigonus* lodgings, they cryed out vnto him, either to
goe into the field, and fight with the enemy: or else if he were affrayed, to resigne his of-
fice of General of *GRECE*, vnto others that were valiantier than him selfe. But *Antigo-
nus* like a wife and excellent Captaine, thinkinge it a dishonour to him rashly to put him
selfe in daunger, and his frendes also, though he were prouoked with many iniuries and
opprobrious wordes: would not goe into the field, but stood constant in his first deter-
mination. Then *Cleomenes* hauing brought his armie hard to the wallles of the citie of *AR-
GOS*, and spoiled and destroyed the contrie rounde about: without lette or daunger he
safely returned home againe. Within a while after, *Cleomenes* beinge aduertised that *Ant-
igonus* was come vnto *TEBEA*, with intent to inuade the contrie of *LACONIA*: he goinge
an other way with his armie, (vnto which to his enemies) they wondered when they saw him
in the morning by the citie of *ARGOS*, spoilinge their contrie, and cuttinge downe their
come, not with sickles and knyues as other doe vfe, but with long poles in forme of Sythes,
that the souldiers as they went sportinge, did ouerthrowe and spoyle it. But when
they came to the place of exercises in the suburbs, called *Cyllabaris*, certaine of the sould-
iers goinge about to haue sette it afire, *Cleomenes* would not suffer them, and tolde them,
that what he had done at *MEGALIPOLIS*, it was rather angrily then honestlye done. Now
Antigonus, presentlye returninge backe againe, beinge minded first to haue gone direct-
ly to the citie of *ARGOS*, but sodainly alteringe his minde, did campe vpon the toppes
of hilles and mountaynes. *Cleomenes* seeming not to be affrayed of him, sent *Heraclides*
to him to desire the keyes of the temple of *Iuno*, and then after he had done sacrifice,
he would departe his waye. Thus mockinge *Antigonus*, after he had sacrificed vnto
the goddesse, vnder the temple that was shut vp, he sent his armie vnto *PHLIVNTA*,
and hauinge driuen awaye the garison out of *OLOGNTA*, he came vnto the citie of
ORCHOMENVM, hauing not onely encouraged his citizens, but gotten euen amongst
the enemies them selues, a fame also to be a noble Captaine, and worthe to manage
greate affaires. For euery man iudged him to be a skillfull souldier, and a valliant Cap-
taine, that with the power of one onely citie, did mainteine warre against the kingdom of
MACEDON, against all the people of *PELOPONNESVS*, and against the treasure of so
greate a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne contrie of *LACONIA* vnspoyled,
but farre otherwise to hurte his enemies contries, and to take so many greate cities
of theirs. But he that sayed first, that money was the sinewe of all thinges, spake it chiefly
in my opinion, in respect of the warres. *Demades* the Orator sayed on a time, when the
ATHENIANS commaunded certaine gallies should be put out of the arsenall into the
sea, and presentlye rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked money: he
that rules the prow, must first see before him. Meaning, munition and vittells must be
prouided, before the shippes be sette out. And it is reported also, that the ancient
Archidamus, when the confederates of the *LACEDEMONIANS* at the beginninge of the
warre of *PELOPONNESVS* required, that they might be sessed at a certeine rate, aun-
swered: the charges of warre haue no certeyne tinte. For like as wrestlers that exercise
their bodies continuallie in games, are better able to wrestle, and ouerthrowe them with
tyme, that haue no strength, but onely arte and slight: euen so Kinge *Antigonus*,
who by the greatnesse of his kingdome did defraye the charge of this warre, did wea-
rie and ouercome *Cleomenes* at the length, bicause he lacked money bothe to paye the
strangers that serued him, and also to mayntayne his owne citizens. For otherwise,
doubtlesse

A doubtlesse the time serued his turne well, bicause the troubles that fell upon *Antigonus* in his
realme, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his
absence did spoyle and destroye the realme of *MACEDON*, and speciallie the *ILLYRIANS* of
the high contrie that came downe then with a greate armie: whereupon, the *MACEDONI-
ANS* beinge spoyled and harried on all sides by them, they sent poste vnto *Antigonus*, to pray
him to come home. If these letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as
they came afterwarde: *Antigonus* had gone his waye, and left the *ACHAIANS*. But for-
tune, that alwayes striketh the stroke in all weightiest causes, gaue such speede and fauour
vnto time: that immediately after the battell was fought at *SELASIA*, (where *Cleomenes* lost
his armie and citie) the verie messengers arriued that came for *Antigonus* to come home,
the which made the ouerthrowe of king *Cleomenes* so muche more lamentable. For if he
had delayed battell but two dayes longer, when the *MACEDONIANS* had bene gone, he might
haue made what peace he would with the *ACHAIANS*: but for lacke of money, he was driuen
(as *Polybius* wryteth) to geue battell, with twentie thousande men, against thirtie thou-
sande: where he shewed him selfe an excellent and skillfull Capitaine, and where his citizens
also fought like valliant men, and the strangers in like case did shewe them selues good sould-
iers. But his onely ouerthrowe was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force
of their battell of footemen. But *Phylarchus* wryteth, that treason was the cause of his o-
uerthrowe. For *Antigonus* had appointed the *ACARNANIANS*, and the *ILLYRIANS* which
he had in his armie, to scale vpon the winge of his enemies armie, where *Euclidas*, king
Cleomenes brother was, to compassse him in behinde, whilst he did sette the rest of his men
in battell. When *Cleomenes* was got vpon some hill to looke about him, to see the coun-
tenance of the enemy, and seeing none of the *ACARNANIANS*, nor of the *ILLYRIANS*:
he was then affrayed of *Antigonus*, that he went about some stratageme of warre. Where-
fore he called for *Demoteles*, whose charge was to take heede of stratagemes and secret am-
bushes, and commaunded him to looke to the reuerwarde of his armie, and to be verie cir-
cumpect all about. *Demoteles*, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, tolde
him that all was cleere in the reuerwarde, and bad him looke to ouerthrowe his enemies be-
fore him. *Cleomenes* trusting this reporte, sette forward against *Antigonus*, and in the ende,
his citizens of *SPARTA* which he had about him, gaue such a ferce charge upon the squa-
dron of the *MACEDONIAN* footemen, that they draue them backe fife furlonges of. But in
the meane time, *Euclidas* his brother, in the other wing of his armie, beinge compassed
in behinde, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and seeing the ouerthrowe, cried out alowde: alas,
good brother, thou art but slaine, yet thou dyest valliantlie, and honestlye, and thy death
shall be a worthie example vnto all posteritie, and shall be song by the praifes of the women
of *SPARTA*. So *Euclidas* and his men beinge slaine, the enemies came straight to sette vpon
Cleomenes winge. *Cleomenes* then seeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no longer
resist the enemy, fledde, and saued him selfe. Many of the strangers also that serued him,
were slaine at this battell: and of fixe thousande *SPARTANS*, there were left aliue but onely
two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* beinge returned vnto *SPARTA*, the citizens comming to see him,
he gaue them counsell to yeeld them selues vnto *Antigonus* the conqueror: and for him selfe,
either aliue or dead he could doe any thing for the honor and benefit of *SPARTA*, that he
would willingly doe it. The women of the citie also, comming vnto them that flying had e-
scaped with him, when he saw then vnarme the men, and bring them drinke to refresh them
with: he also went home to his owne house. Then a maide of the house, which he had ta-
ken in the citie of *MEGALIPOLIS* (and whom he had entertained euer since the death of his
wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refresh him comming hot from the battell: how-
beit he would not drinke though he was extreame drie, nor fit beinge verie wearie, but armed
as he was, layed his arme a crosse upon a pillar, and leaning his head upon it, reposed him selfe
a litle, and casting in his minde all the wayes that were to be thought of, he tooke his frendes
with him, and went to the haue of *Gythium*, and there hauing his shippes which he had ap-
pointed for the purpose, he hoysed sayle, and departed his way. Immediately after his depa-
ture, came *Antigonus* into the citie of *SPARTA*, and curiously intreated the citizens and

*The power of
fortune.
Battell be-
tweene Cleo-
menes and
Antigonus
at Selasie.*

*The treason
of Demoteles.*

*Cleomenes o-
uerthrowen
by Antigo-
nus.*

*Antigonus
wonne the
citie of Spar-
ta.*

inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly despise the auncient honor and dignitie of SPARTA: but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernment, when he had sacrificed to the goddess for his victorie, he departed from thence the third daye, newes being brought him that the warre was verie great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did spoyle his contrie. Now a discale tooke him, whereof he dyed afterwards, which appeared a tickle, mixt with a fore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his discale, and bare it out, that fighting for his contrie, and obteyning a famous victorie, with great slaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet dye honorably, as in deede he did, by *Phylarchus* testimonie, who sayth, that with the force of his voyce, fiercely crying out in the midst of his fight, he tare his lunges and lightes, worse then they were before. Yet in the schooles it is sayd, that after he had wonne the battell, he was so ioyfull of it, that crying out, O blessed day: he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great feuer tooke him withall, that he dyed of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* departing out of the Ile of CYTHERA, went and cast anchor in an other Iland, called *ÆGIALIA*. Then determining to saile ouer to the citie of CYRENA, *Thercion*, one of *Cleomenes* frendes (a man that in warres shewed him selfe verie valliant, but a boaster besides of his owne doings) tooke *Cleomenes* aside, and sayd thus vnto him: Truly O king, we haue lost an honorable occasion to dye in battell, though euery man hath heard vs vaunt and say, that *Antigonus* should neuer overcome the king of SPARTA alieue, but dead. A seconde occasion yet is offered vs to dye, with much lesse honor and fame notwithstanding, then the first. Whether doe we saile to no purpose? Why doe we flie the death at hand, and seeke it so farre off? If it be no shame nor dishonor for the posteritie & race of *Hercules* to serue the successors of *Philip* and *Alexander*: let vs saue then our labor, and long dangerous sailing, and goe yeelde our selues vnto *Antigonus*, who in likelyhoode will better vse vs then *Ptolomy*, because the MACEDONIANS are farre more nobler persons then the EGYPTIANS. And if we disdain to be commaunded by them which haue ouercommen vs in battell, why then will we make him Lord of vs, that hath not ouercommen vs: in steade of one, to make vs inferior vnto both, flying *Antigonus*, and seruing king *Ptolomy*? Can we say that we goe into EGYPT, in respect to see your mother there? A ioyfull sight no doubt, when she shall thinke king *Ptolomy* wiues her sonne, that before was a king, a prisoner, & fugitive now. Were it not better for vs, that hauing yet LACONIA our contrie in fight, and our swordes besides in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great miserie, & so doing to excuse our selues vnto them that are slaine at SELASTIA, for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly loosing our time in EGYPT, to inquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenant and Gouernor in LACEDÆMON? *Thercion* ending his oration, *Cleomenes* answered him thus: Dost thou thinke it a glorie for thee to seeke death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest vnto any man, that can be and yet, wretche that thou art: thou fliest now more cowardly and shamefully, then from the battell. For diuers valliant men, and farre better then our selues, haue often yeelded vnto their enemies, either by some misfortune, or compelled by greater number and multitude of men: but he say I, that submitteth him selfe vnto paine and miserie, reproache and praise of men, he can not but confesse that he is overcome by his owne unhappinesse. For, when a man will willingly kill him selfe, he must not doe it to be rid of paynes and labour, but it must haue an honorable respect and action. For, to liue or dye for his owne respect, that can not but be dishonorable: the which now thou perswadest me vnto, to make me flie this present miserie we are in, without any honor or profite in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we shoulde not yet cast of the hope we haue to serue our contrie in time to come: but when all hope fayleth vs, then we may safely make our selues awaye when we list. Therunto *Thercion* gaue no answer, but as soone as he founde oportunitie to slippe from *Cleomenes*, he went to the sea side, and slewe him selfe. *Cleomenes* hoysing sayle from the Ile of *ÆGIALIA*, went into AFRICK, and was brought by the kinges seruantes vnto the citie of ALEXANDRIA. King *Ptolomy* at his first comming, gaue *Cleomenes* no speciall good, but indifferent intertainment: but after that he had shewed him selfe to be of great wisdom and iudgement, and that *Ptolomy* saw in the simplicity of his LACONIAN life he had also a noble disposition and corage, nothing degenerating from the princely race & blood of *Hercules*, and

The death of
Antigonus
the sonne of
Demetrius,
king of Ma-
cedon.

Cleomenes
fleeth out of
Peloponnes-
sus.

The oration
of Thercion,
vnto Cleome-
nes, against
death.

Cleomenes
oration of
death.

Whyling
death, must
haue honor-
able respect.

Cleomenes
fleeth into
EGYPT vnto
king Ptole-
my.

A and that he yeelded not to his aduersitie: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be ouerthrowne by *Antigonus*, who through the victory of him, had maruelously enlarged his honor and power. Then he began to comfort *Cleomenes*, and doing him as great honor as could be, promised that he would send him with shippes and money into GRECE, and put him againe into his kingdom: & further, gaue him an annuall pencion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talents, with the which he simply and soberly enterreynd him selfe and his men about him: and bestowed all the rest apön his contry men that came out of GRECE into EGYPT. But now, old king *Ptolomy* deceaſing before he could performe the promise he made vnto *Cleomenes*, to send him into GRECE: the Realme falling then into great lasciuiousnes, dronckennes, and into the gouernment of women, his case and miserie was cleane forgotten. For the young king his sonne was so giuen ouer to women and wine, that when he was most sober, and in his best witts, he most disposed him selfe to make feastes and sacrifices, and to haue the taber playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a stage player or iugler, whilst one *Agathocles* his lemman, and her mother, and *Oenantes* a bawde, did rule all the assayres of the state. But when he came to be king, it appeared he had neede of *Cleomenes*: bicause he was afraid of his brother *Magas*, who by his mothers meanes, was very well esteemed of among souldiers. Wherefore he called *Cleomenes* to him, and made him of his priuy counsel, where he deuided by practise, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counsell with him, did counsell him to do it: but *Cleomenes* onely vehemently dissuaded him from it, and tolde him, that if it were possible, rather moe brethren should be begotten vnto the king for the safetie of his person, and for deuiding of the assayres of the kingdom betweene them. Amongst the kinges familiars that was chiefeest about him, there was one *Sosibius* that said vnto *Cleomenes*: so long as his brother *Magas* liued, the souldiers that be strangers, whom the king entertrayned, would neuer be true to him. *Cleomenes* answered him, for that matter there was no danger: for sayth he, of those hired strangers, there are three thousand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knewe at the twinkling of an eye, would be at his commaundement, to come with their armor & weapon where he would appoynt them. These words of *Cleomenes* at that tyme shewed his fayth and good will he bare vnto the king, and the force he was of besides. But afterwards, *Ptolomyes* D fearefulness increasing his mistrust: (as it commonly hapneth, that they that lacke wit, thinke it the best safetie to be fearefull of euery wagging of a strawe, and to mistrust euery man) the remembrance of *Cleomenes* wordes made him much suspected of the Courtiers, vnderstanding that he could doe so much with the souldiers that were strangers: in so much as some of them sayd, see (meaning *Cleomenes*) there is a lyon amongst sheepe. In deede, considering his facions and behauior, they might well say so of him: for he would looke thorough his fingers as though he saw nothing, and yet saw all what they did. In fine, he required an armie & shippes of the king: and vnderstanding also that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the ACHAIIANS and ÆTOLIANS were at great warres together, and that the affaires of his contry did call him home, all PELOPONNESVS being in armes and vpror, he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But neuer a man would giue eare vnto him, and the king also heard nothing of it, bicause he was continually entertained among Ladies, with banckets, dauncing, & masks. But *Sosibius* that ruled all the Realme, thought that to keepe *Cleomenes* against his wil, were a hard thing, and also dangerous: and to let him goe also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a stirring minde, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their gouernment: he thought that also no safe way, sith no giftes nor presents that could be offered him, could soften him. For as the holy bull (which they call in EGYPT Apis) that is suffred in goodly pasture, doth yet desire to followe his naturall course and libertie, to runne and leape at his pleasure, and plainely sheweth that it is a griefto him to be kept still by the Priest: euen so the courtly pleasures did nothing delight *Cleomenes*; but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:

It irks his noble hart to sit at home in slothfull rest,
When martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked best.

Nowe *Cleomenes* standing in these tearmes, there arriued in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras*

DDDD iiii

Cleomenes
returnes.

Nicagoras
Messinian, an
enemy to Cleo-
menes.

Cleomenes
committed to
prison in A-
lexandria.

Cleomenes
prattled to
kill king Pro-
tolmy.

MESSENIAN, who maliced Cleomenes in his hart, but yet shewed as though he loved him. This A
 Nicagoras on a time had sold Cleomenes certain land, but was not payed for it, either because
 he had no present money, or els by occasiō of the warres which gaue him no leasure to make
 payment. Cleomenes one day by chaunce walking vpon the sandes, he sawe Nicagoras landing
 out of his shippe, being newly arriued, and knowing him, he curteously welcomed him, and
 asked what wind had brought him into EGYPT. Nicagoras gently saluting him againe, tolde
 him that he had brought the king excellent horse of seruice. Cleomenes smiling, tolde him, thou
 haddest bene better haue brought him some curifans & daunfers, for they would haue plea-
 sed the king better. Nicagoras faintly laughed at his aunswer, but within few dayes after he did
 put him in remembrance of the land he sold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe
 him to money, telling him that he would not haue prest him for it, but that he had susteyned B
 losse by marchandise. Cleomenes aunswered him, that all his pension was spent he had of the
 king. Nicagoras being offended with this aunswer, he went and told Sosibius of the mocke Cleo-
 menes gaue the king. Sosibius was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make
 the king offended with Cleomenes, he perswaded Nicagoras to write a letter to the king agaynst
 Cleomenes, as though he had conspired to take the cite of CYRENA, if the king had giuen him
 shippes, money, and men of warre. When Nicagoras had written this letter, he tooke shippe,
 and hoysed sayle. Foure dayes after his departure, Sosibius brought his letter to the king, as
 though he had but newly receiued it. The king upon sight of it was so offended with Cleome-
 nes, that he gaue present order he should be shut vp in a great house, where he should haue his
 ordinary dyet allowed him, howbeit that he should keepe his house. This grieved Cleomenes C
 much, but yet he was worse affraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: Ptolomy the
 sonne of Chryfermus, one of the kings familiers, who had oftentimes before bene very conuer-
 sant and familiar with Cleomenes, and did frankly talke together in all matters: Cleomenes one
 daye sent for him, to praye him to come vnto him. Ptolomy came at his request, and familiarly
 discoursing together, went about to disswade him from all the suspicions he had, and excused
 the king also for that he had done vnto him: so taking his leaue he left him, not thinking that
 Cleomenes followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he sharply tooke vp the souldiers, say-
 ing, that they were very negligent and careles in looking to such a fearefull beast as he was, &
 so ill to be taken, if he once escaped their handes. Cleomenes heard what he sayd, and went into
 his lodging againe, Ptolomy knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very D
 wordes againe vnto his friends. Then all the SPARTANS conuicting their good hope into an-
 ger, determined to be reuenged of the iniurie Ptolomy had done them, and to dye like noble
 SPARTANS not tarying til they should be brought to the shambles like fat weathers, to be sold
 and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonor vnto Cleomenes, hauing refused to make
 peace with Antigonus, a noble Prince and warrior: to tary the kinges pleasure till he had left
 his dronckenes and daunfing, and then to come and put him to death. They beeing fully re-
 solved hereof, as you haue heard: king Ptolomy by chaunce went vnto the cite of CANOBYE,
 & first they gaue out in ALEXANDRIA, that the king minded to set Cleomenes at libertie. Then
 Cleomenes friends obseruing the custome of the kings of EGYPT, when they ment to set a pri-
 soner at libertie (which was, to send the prisoners meate, and presents before to their supper) E
 did send vnto him such manner of presents, & so deceiued the souldiers that had the keeping
 of him, saying, that they brought those presents from the king. For Cleomenes him selfe did sa-
 crifice vnto the goddess, and sent vnto the souldiers that kept him, parte of those presents that
 were sent vnto him, and supping with his friends that night, made mery with them, euery
 man being crowned with garlands. Some say, that he made the more haste to execute his en-
 terprise, sooner then he would haue done, by means of one of his men that was priuie vnto
 his conspiracie: who went euery night to ly with a woman he kept, and therefore was affraid
 lest he would bewray them. Cleomenes about noone, perceiuing the souldiers had take in their
 cuppes, and that they were a sleepe: he put on his coate, and vnripping it on the right shoul-
 der, went out of the house with his sword drawn in his hand, accompanied with his friends, F
 following him in that sort, which were thirty in all. Amongest them there was one called Hip-
 potas, who being lame, went very liuely out with them at the first: but when he saw they went
 fairer

A fairer and softly because of him, he prayed them to kil him, because they should not hinder their
 enterprise for a lame man, that could doe them no seruice. Notwithstanding, by chaunce they
 met with a townes man a horsebacke, that came hard by their dore, whome they pluckt from
 his horse, and cast Hippotas vpon him: and then ranne through the cite, and cryed to the
 people, libertie, libertie. Now the people had no other corage in them, but onely commended
 Cleomenes, and wondered at his valiantnes: but otherwise to follow him, or to further his enter-
 prise, not a man of them had any hart in them. Thus running vp and downe the towne, they
 met with Ptolomy (the same whome we sayde before was the ionne of Chryfermus) as he came
 out of the Court: Whereupon three of them setting on him, slue him presently. There was
 also another Ptolomy that was gouernor and Lieutenant of the cite of ALEXANDRIA: who
 hearing a rumor of this sturre, came vnto them in his coche. They went and met him, and first
 hauing driuen away his garde and souldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his
 coche, and slue him also. After that they went towards the castell, with intent to set all the pri-
 soners there at libertie to take their part. Howbeit the gaylers that kept them had so strongly
 locked vp the prison dores, that Cleomenes was repulsd, and put by his purpose. Thus wand-
 ring vp and downe the cite, no man neither came to ioine with him, nor to ressit him, for e-
 uery man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going vp and downe,
 he turned him to his friends, and sayd vnto them: it is no maruell though women commaund
 such a cowardly people, that flye in this sort from their libertie. Thereupon he prayed them
 all to dye like men, and like those that were brought vp with him, and that were worthy of the
 same of his so noble dedes. Then the first man that made him selfe be slayne, was Hippotas,
 who dyed of a wound one of the young men of his company gaue him with a sword at his
 request. After him euery man slue them selues, one after another, without any feare at all, fol-
 lowing Panteas, who was the first man that entred the cite of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a fairer
 young man, and had bene very well brought vp in the LACONIAN discipline, and better then
 any man of his yeares. Cleomenes did loue him dearly, and commaunded him that when he
 should fee he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill him selfe last of all. Now
 they all being layed on the ground, he searched them one after another with the poynt of his
 sword, to see if there were any of them yet left aliue: and when he had pricked Cleomenes on
 the heele amongst others, and saw that he dyed yet knit his browes, he kissed him, & laye downe
 D by him. Then perceiuing that he had yelded vp the ghost, embracing him when he was dead,
 he also slue him selfe, and fell vpon him. Thus Cleomenes hauing reigned king of SPARTA fix-
 teene yeares, being the same manner of man we haue described him to be: he ended his dayes
 in this sort as ye heare. Now, his death being presently bruted through the cite, Cratesicles his
 mother, though otherwise she had a noble minde, did notwithstanding a litle forget her great-
 nes, through the extreme sorow she felt for the death of her sonne: and so embracing Cleome-
 nes sonnes, she fell to bitter lamentacion. But the eldest of his sonnes, (no man mistrusting
 any such matter) found meanes to get out of her handes, & running vp to the toppes of the house,
 cast him selfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and splittred, yet di-
 ed not, but was taken vp crying, and angry with them, that they would not suffer him to dye.
 E This newes being brought to king Ptolomy, he commaunded they should first slea Cleomenes,
 and then hange vp his body, and also, that they should put his children, his mother, and all her
 women wayting on her to death: among the which was Panteas wife, one of the fayrest and
 curteousest women in her tyme. They had not bene long married before, when these mis-
 chieues lighted upon them, at what tyme their loue was then in greatest force. Her parents
 then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept
 her at home by force. Howbeit shortly after she found the meanes to get her a horse, & some
 money, and stole away in the night, and galloped towards the hauen of Tanarus, where find-
 ing a shippe ready bound for EGYPT, she imbarked, and went to seeke her husband, with
 whome she gladly and louingly ledde her life, forsaking her owne contry, to liue in a straunge
 F Realme. Now when the Sergeants came to take Cratesicles to put her to death, Panteas wife
 led her by the arme, carying vp her traine, and did comfort her, although Cratesicles otherwise
 was not affraid to dye, but onely asked this fauor, that she might dye before her litle children.

The ends
and death of Cleo-
menes and his
friends.
The courage of
Panteas.

This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman first shew her children before her eyes, and then her selfe afterwards, who in such great griefe and sorowe, sayd no more but thus: Alas, my poore children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* wife also, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the slayne bodies one after another, and wrapped them vp in such things as she could get, speaking neuer a word, nor shewing any signe or token of griefe: and in fine, hauing prepared her selfe to dye, and plucked of her attyre her selfe, without suffering any other to come neare her, or to see her, but the hangman that was appointed to stryke of her head. In this sorte she dyed as constantly, as the stowtest man liuing could haue done, and had so couered her body, that no man needed after her death to touche her: so carefull was she to her ende, to keepe her honestie, which she had alwayes kept in her life, and in her death was mindefull of her honor, wherewith she decked her body in her life tyme. Thus these *Lacedæmon* Ladies playing their partes in this pitifull tragedie, contending at the time of death, euen with the corage of the slayne *Spartans* their contrymen, which of them should dye most constantly: left a manifest prooffe and testimonie, that fortune hath no power ouer fortitude and corage. Shortly after, those that were appoynted to keepe the body of king *Cleomenes* that hong vpon the crosse, they spied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, in so much as no rauening fowle durst come neare him to eate of it: whereuppon the king fell into a superstitious feare, being affrayd that he had offended the goddess. Hereuppon, the Ladyes in his Court began to make many sacrifices of purification, for the clearing of this sinne: perswading them selues, that they had put a man to death, beloued of the gods, and that he had somethinge more in him then a man. The

Cleomenes hanging vpon a crosse, had a Serpent wreathed about his head.

Living things breeding of the corruption of dead beastes

Vpon the Dragon is consecrated vnto Princes.

ALEXANDRIANS thereuppon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers vnto *Cleomenes*, as vnto a demy god, calling him the sonne of the goddess. Vntill that the learned men brought them from that error, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead and rotten, there breede bees, and of horse also come waspes, & of asses likewise bitels: euen so mens bodies, when the marie melteth and gathereth together, doe bringe forth Serpents. The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in olde tyme, of all other beastes they did consecrate the Dragon to Kings and Princes, as proper vnto man.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.

TIBERIUS



TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHI.



NOW that we haue declared vnto you the historie of the liues of these two *GRECIANS*, *Agis*, and *Cleomenes* afore sayd: we must also write the historie of two *ROMANS*, the which is no lesse lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chaunced vnto *Tiberius* and *Caius*, both of them the sonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*. He hauing bene twise Consul, and once Censor, and hauing had the honor of two triumphs: had notwithstanding more honor and fame onely for his valiantnes, for the which he was thought worthy to marye with *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Scipio*, who ouercame *Hanniball* after the death of his father:

The worthines of Tiberius Gracchus the father. Tiberius Gracchus the father, married Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Affrican.

though while he liued he was neuer his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that *Tiberius* on a tyme found two snakes in his bed, and that the Soothsayers and wysards hauing considered the signification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and also to let them both escape, but one onely: assuring him that if he killed the male, he should not liue long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife *Cornelia* shoulde dye. *Tiberius* then louing his wife dearly, thinking it meeter for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a young woman, should dye before her: he slue the male, and let the female escape, howbeit he dyed soone after, leauing twelue children aliue, all of them begotten of *Cornelia*. *Cornelia* after the death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her house and children, led such a chaste life, was so good to her children, and of so noble a minde: that euery man thought *Tiberius* a wife man for that he dyed, and left her behind him. She remayning widow, king *Ptolomy* made sure vnto her, and would haue made her his wife and Queene. But she refused, and in her widowhed lost all her children, but one Daughter, (whome he bestowed vpon the younger *Scipio African*) and *Tiberius*, and *Caius*, whose liues we presently write: Those the so carefully brought vp, that they being become more ciuill, and better conditioned, then any other *ROMANS* in their time: euery man iudged, that education preuailed more in them, then nature. For, as in the fauors and pictures of *Castor* and *Pollux*, there is a certaine difference discerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wrestling, and the other for running: euen so betwene these two young brethren, amongst other the great likenes betwene them, being both happily borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberrall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithstanding great difference in their actions and doings in the common

The tender loue of Tiberius to his wife Cornelia.

The praise of Cornelia, mother of these Gracchi.

A true description of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.

wealth: the which I thinke conuenient to declare, before I proceede any farther. First of all, A for the fauor of the face, the looke and mouing of the bodye, *Tiberius* was much more milde and tractable, and *Caius* more hotte and earnest. For the first in his orations was very modest, and kept his place: and the other of all the *ROMANES* was the first, that in his oration iected vp and downe the pulpit, and that plucked his gowne ouer his shoullders: as they write of *Cleopatra*, that he was the first of all Orators that opened his gowne, and clapped his hand on his thighe in his oration. Furthermore, *Caius* wordes, and the vehemencie of his perswasion, were terrible and full of passion: but *Tiberius* wordes in contrary manner, were mild, and moued men more to compassion, beeing very proper, and excellently applyed, where *Caius* wordes were full of finenes and curiositie. The like difference also was betweene them in their fare and dyet. For *Tiberius* alwayes kept a conuenient ordinarie: and *Caius* also in respect of other *ROMANES*, liued very temperately, but in respect of his brothers fare, curiously and superfluously. Inomuch as *Drusus* on a tyme reproued him, because he had bought certayne Dolphyns of siluer, to the value of a throwland two hundred and fiftie Drachmas for euery pound waight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall disposition of them both, agreeing with the diuersitie of their tongues, the one being milde and plausible, and the other hotte and chollerike: inomuch that otherwhile forgetting him selfe in his oration, agaynst his will he would be very earnest, and strayne his voice beyond his compasse, and so with great vncomelines confound his wordes. Yet finding his owne fault, he deuised this remedye. He had a seruauant called *Lucius*, a good wise man, who with an instrument of Musicke he had, by the which they teache men to ryse and fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he euer stode behinde him: and when he perceyued that his Maisters voyce was a litle too lowde, and that through choller he exceeded his ordinary speache: he played a sotte stoppe behinde him, at the lownde whereof *Caius* immediately fell from his extremitie, and easily came to him selfe agayne. And here was the diuersitie betweene them. Otherwise, for their hardines against their enemies, the iustice vnto their tennants, the care and paynes in their offices of charge, and also their continencie against voluptuousnes: in all these they were both alike. For age, *Tiberius* was elder by nyne yeares, by reason whereof their severall authoritie and doings in the common wealth fell out at sundry times. And this was one of the chiefest causes why their doings prospered not, because they had not both authoritie in one selfe time, neither could they ioyne their power together: the which if it had mette at one selfe time, had bene of great force, & peraduenture invincible. Wherefore we must write particularly of them both, but first of all we must begin with the elder. He, when he came to mans state, had such a name and estimation, that immediately they made him fellow in the college of the Priests, which at *ROME* are called Augures: (being those that haue the charge to consider of signes and predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes, then for nobility. The same doth *Appius Claudius* witness vnto vs, one that hath bene both Consul and Censor, & also President of the Senate, and of greater authoritie then any man in his time. This *Appius* at a supper when all the Augures were together, after he had saluted *Tiberius*, & made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in marriage. *Tiberius* was very glad of the offer, and there-withall the mariage was presently concluded betweene them. Thereupon *Appius* comming E home to his house, at the threshold of his dore he called a lowd for his wife, and told her. *Anistia*, I haue bestowed our Daughter *Clodia*. She wondering at it, O goddes sayd she, and what needed all this haste? what couldest thou haue done more, if thou haddest gotten her *Tiberius* Gracchus for her husband? I know that some refer this historie vnto *Tiberius*, father of these two men we write of, and vnto *Scipio* the *AFRICAN*: but the most part of writers agree with that we write at this present. And *Polybius* him selfe also writeth, that after the death of *Scipio* *AFRICAN*, his friendes beeing met together, they chose *Tiberius* before all the other young men of the citie, to marye him vnto *Cornelia*, being free, and vnpromised, or bestowed upon any man by her father. Now *Tiberius* the younger being in the warres in *AFRIKE* vnder *Scipio* the second, who had maryed his sister: lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine in- dued with many noble giftes of nature, to allure mens hearts to desire to follow his valiantnes. So in a short tyme he did excell all the young men of this tyme, as well in obedience, as in the

Tiberius made Augustus

Tiberius married Appius Claudius daughter

Tiberius Gracchus soldiers fare

valiantnes of his person: inomuch that he was the first man that scaled the walles of the enemies, as *Fannius* reporteth, who sayeth that he scaled the walles with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterprife. So that being present, all the campe were in loue with him: & when he was absent, euery man wished for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was chosen Treasorer, and it was his chauce to goe against the *NUMANTINES*, with *Caius Mancinus* one of the Consuls, who was an honest man, but yet had the worst lucke of any Captaine the *ROMANES* had. Notwithstanding, *Tiberius* wisdome and valiantnes, in this extreame ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glorye to him, but also most wonderfull; the great obedience and reuerence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did so trouble and grieue him, that he could not tell him selfe, whether he was Captaine or not. For when he was ouerthrowen in great foughten fieldes, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The *NUMANTINES* hearing of it, first tooke his campe, and then ranne after them that fled, and setting vpon the rereward, slue them, and enuyronned all his armye. So that they were driuen into straight and narrow places, where out they could by no means escape. Thereupon *Mancinus* dispayring that he could get out by force, he sent a Herald to the enemies to treat of peace. The *NUMANTINES* made aunswere, that they would trust no man but *Tiberius* onely, and therefore they willed he shoulde bee sent vnto them: They desired that, partly for the loue they bare vnto the vertues of the young man, because there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly also, as remembering his father *Tiberius*, who making warres in *SPAYNE*, and hauing there subdued many nations, he C granted the *NUMANTINES* peace, the which he caused the *ROMANES* afterwards to confirme and ratifie. Hereupon *Tiberius* was sent to speake with them, and partly obeynting that he desired, and partly also granting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby assuredly he saued the liues of twenty thousand *ROMANES* Citizens, besides slaves and other stragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithstanding, the *NUMANTINES* tooke the spoyle of all the goods they founde in the *ROMANES* campe, amonge the which they founde *Tiberius* bookes of accompt touching the money disbursed of the treasure in his charge. *Tiberius* beeing maruailous desirous to haue his bookes agayne, returned backe to *NUMANTIA* with two or three of his friendes onely, though the armye of the *ROMANES* were gone farre on their waye. So comming to the towne, he spake vnto the gouernors of the citie, and prayed them to redeliuer him his bookes of accompt, because his malicious enemies shoulde not accuse him, calling him to accompt for his doings. The *NUMANTINES* were very glad of this good happe, and prayed them to come into the towne. He standing still in doubt with him selfe what to doe, whether he shoulde goe into the towne or not: the gouernors of the citie came to him, and taking him by the hande, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friendes, and that he would trust them. Whereupon *Tiberius* thought best to yeelde to their perswasion, beeing desirous also to haue his bookes agayne, and the rather, for feare of offending the *NUMANTINES*, if he shoulde haue denied and mistrusted them. When he was brought into the citie, they provided his dyner, and were very earnest with him, intreating him to dyne with them. Then they gaue him E his bookes agayne, and offered him moreouer to take what he woulde of all the spoyle they had gotten in the campe of the *ROMANES*. Howebeit of all that he woulde take nothing but frankensence, which he vsed, when he did any sacrifice for his contry: and then taking his leaue of them, with thanks he returned. When he was returned to *ROME*, all this peace concluded was viterly miliked, as dishonorable to the maiestie of the Empire of *ROME*. Yet the parents and friendes of them that had serued in this warre, making the greatest part of the people: they gathered about *Tiberius*, saying that what faultes were committed in this seruice, they were to impute it vnto the Consul *Mancinus*, and not vnto *Tiberius*, who had saued such a number of *ROMANES* liues. Notwithstanding, they that were offended with this dishonorable peace, would that therein they shoulde follow the example of their forefathers in the like case. For they sent backe their Captaines naked vnto their enemies, because they were contented the *SAMNITES* shoulde spoyle them of that they had, to escape with life. Moreouer, they did not onely send them the Captaines and Consuls, but all those also that bare any

Tiberius Gracchus chosen Quaestor

Tiberius Gracchus concluded peace with the Numantines

The peace broken with the Numantines

office in the feld, and had confented vnto that condition: to the ende they might lay all the periuir and breache of peace among them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the love and good will the people did beare vnto *Tiberius*. For they gaue order, that the Consul *Mancinus* should be sent naked, and bound vnto the *Nymantines*, and for *Tiberius* sake, they pardoned all the rest. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great sway at that time in *Rome*, and was a man of greatest account, did helpe him at that pinche: who notwithstanding was ill thought of, because he did not also saue the Consul *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the *Nymantines*, considering it was made by *Tiberius* his friend & kinsman. But these mistakings grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* friends, & certain learned men, which stirred him vp against *Scipio*. But yet it fell not out to open malice betwene them, neither followed there any hurte upon it. And surely I am perswaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into those troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio Africanus* had bene present, when he passed those thinges he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in warres at the siege of *Nymantia*, when *Tiberius* upon this occasion passed these lawes. When the *Romans* in olde tyme had ouercome any of their neighbours, for raunfom they tooke oftentimes a great deale of their land from them, parte whereof they solde by the cryer, for the benefite of the common wealth, and parte altho they referred to their state as demaine, which afterwards was let out to farme for a small reue yearly to the poore Citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the riche men inhaunted the rents, and so began to thrust out the poore men. Thereupon was an ordinance made, that no Citizen of *Rome* should haue aboue fise hundred acres lande. This lawe for a tyme did bridle the couetousnes of the riche men, and did ease the poore also that dwelt in the contrie, upon the farmes they had taken vp of the common wealth, and so liued with their owne, or with that their Aunccestors had from the beginning. But by proces of time, their riche neighbours, by names of other men, got their farmes out their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly seene in it in their own names. Whereupon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, went but with faint corage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp of children: So that in short time, the free men left *Italy*, and slaues and barbarous people did replenish it, whom the rich men made to plough those landes, which they had taken from the *Romans*. *Caius Lelius*, one of *Scipios* friends, gaue an attempt to reforme this abuse: but because the chieftest of the citie were against him, fearing it would breake out to some vprore, he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called *Lelius* the wise. But *Tiberius* being chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation afore sayd, being allured vnto it (as diuers writers report) by *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Blossius* the Philosopher: of the which, *Diophanes* was banished from the citie of *Mitylene*, and *Blossius* the *Italian* from the citie of *Cumes*, who was scholler and famillier vnto *Antipater* of *Tarsus* at *Rome*, by whom he was honored by certaine workes of Philosophie he dedicated vnto him. And some also do accuse their mother *Cornelia*, who did twir her sonnes in the teeth, that the *Romans* did yet call her *Scipios* mother in law, and not the mother of the *Gracchi*. Other say it was *Spartus Posthumus*, a companion of *Tiberius*, and one that contended with him in eloquence. For *Tiberius* returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputacion, and well beloved of euery one: he sought to excell him by attempting this noble enterprife, and of so great expectacion. His owne brother *Caius* in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the warres of *Nymantia*, passing through *Thyscan*, he founde the contrie in manner vnhabited: and they that did followe the ploughe, or keepe beastes, were the moste of them slaues, and barbarous people, comen out of a strange contrie. Whereupon euer after it ranne in his minde to bringe this enterprife to passe, which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine, it was the people onely that moste set his harte afire to couet honor, and that hastened his determination: first bringing him to it by lylles sette vppon euery wall, in euery porche, and vpon the tombes, praying him by them to cause the poore Citizens of *Rome* to haue their landes restored, which were belonging to the common wealth. This notwithstanding he him selfe made not the lawe alone of his owne head, but did it by the counsell and aduise of the chieftest men of *Rome*, for vertue and estimation: Amonge the which, *Crassus* the high Bishoppe was one, and *Mutius Scauola* the Lawyer, that then was Consul,

Why Tiberius preferred the law Agraria.

Ingura.

Why Caius Lelius was called the wise Tiberius Gracchus chosen Tribune of the people.

Counsellors to Tiberius for preferring the law.

A Consul, and *Appius Claudius* his father in lawe. And truly to seemeth, that neuer lawe was made with greater fauor, then that which he preferred against so great iniustice, and auarice. For thise that should haue bene punished for transgressing the lawe, and should haue had the landes taken from them by force, which they vniuilly kept against the lawe of *Rome*, and that should also haue bene amerced for it: he ordeyned that they should be payed by the common wealth to the value of the landes, which they held vniuilly, and so should leaue them to the poore Citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and reliefe. Now though the reformation established by this lawe, was done with such great fauor: the people notwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was past, so that they might haue no more wronge offered them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great possessions, hated the lawe, and their auarice, and for spight and selfwill (which would not lesse them yeeld) they were ready to foode with the Lawyer that had preferred the lawe, and sought by all deuise they could to disswade the people from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this law *Agraria* againe to disswade the common wealth, and to make some alteration in the state. But they prevailed not. For *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it selfe was good and iust, with such eloquence as might haue iustified an euill cause, was inuincible: and no man was able to argue against him to confute him, when speaking in the behalfe of the poore Citizens of *Rome*, the people being gathered round about the pulpit for orations) he told them, that the wild beastes through *Italy* had their dennes and caues of abode, and that the men that fought, and were slaine for their contrie, had nothing els but ayer and light, & so were compelled to wander vp & downe with their wiues & children, hauing no resting place nor house to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their souldiers, when they encourage them in banel to fight valiantly for the graues, the temples, their owne houses, & their predecestors. For, said he, of such a number of poore Citizens as there be, there can not a man of them shew any auncient house or tombe of their aunccestors: because the poore men doe go to the warres, & be slaine for the rich mens pleasures and wealth: besides they falsely call them Lordes of the earth, where they haue not a handfull of ground, that is theirs. These & such other like wordes being vttered before all the people with such vehemency & trothe, did so moue the common people withall, and put them in such a rage, that there was no aduersarye of his able to withstand him. Therefore, leauing to contrary and deny the lawe by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in *Marcus Octavius*, colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in office, who was a graue and wise young man, and *Tiberius* very famillier friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the confirmation of this lawe: he prayed them to holde him excused, because *Tiberius* was his very friend. But in the ende, being compelled vnto it through the great number of the riche men that were importunate with him: he did withstande *Tiberius* lawe, the which was enoughe to ouerthrowe it. For if any one of the Tribunes speake against it, though all the other passe with it, he ouerthroweth it: because they all can doe nothing, if one of them be against it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this first fauorable law, and in a rage preferred an other more grateful to the common people, as also more extreme against the riche. In that law he ordeyned, that whoeuer had any lande contrary to the auncient lawes of *Rome*, that he should presently depart from them. But thereupon there fel out cotinual brables in the pulpit for orations, against *Octavius*: in the which, though they were very earnest and vehement one against another, yet there passed no fowle words from them, (how hot soeuer they were one with another) that should shame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth such a stay & knowledge in a man, not onely in thinges of pleasure to make him regard his credit, both in word & deed: but in passion and anger also, & in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereupon *Tiberius* finding that this lawe among others touched *Octavius*, because he enioyed a great deale of lande that was the common wealthes: he prayed him secretly to contend no more against him, promising him to giue him of his owne, the value of those lands which he should be driuen to forsake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he sawe *Octavius* would not be perswaded, he then preferred a law, that all Magistrats and Officers should cease their authority, till the lawe were either past, or reiected, by voices of the people: & thereupon be set his

Lex Agraria.

Tiberius motions.

Marcus Octavius Tribune, did with stand Tiberius lawe.

The modest contention betwix Tiberius and Octavius.

own scale upon the shores of the temple of Saturnus where the coffers of the treasure lay, but the treasurers their selves during that time, should neither take out nor put in any thing, great penalties to be inflicted by the Praetors or such other Magistrates of authority, that should break this order. Hereupon all the Magistrates fearing this penalty, did leave to exercise their office for the time. But when the rich men that were of great livings, changed their apparel, and walked very sadly up and down the market place, and layed secret wayes to kill *Tiberius*, having hired men to kill him, which caused *Tiberius* him selfe, openly before them all, to wear a short dagger vnder his longe gowne, properly called in Latine, Dolon. When the day came that this lawe should be established, *Tiberius* called the people to give their voyces, and the rich men on the other side, they tooke away the pots by force, wherein the peeples of many voyces, were thrown, so that there was like to fall out great fustie upon it. For the sedition of *Tiberius* was the stronger side, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not bene for *Manlius* & *Fulvius*, both the which had ben Consuls, who went vnto him, & besought him with the teares in their eyes, & holding vp their hands, that he would let the lawe alone. *Tiberius* thereupon, foreseeing the instant danger of some great mischief, as also for the reverence he bare vnto two such noble persons, he stayed a litle, & asked them what they would haue him to doe. They made answer, that they were not able to counsel him in a matter of so great waight, but they praised him notwithstanding, he would be contented to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. Thereupon he granted them presently. But afterwards perceiuing that the Senate saie upon it, & had determined nothing, he cause the rich men were of too great authority: he entred into another deuise that was neither honest nor meete, which was to deprive *Octavius* of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to passe the law. But before he tooke that course, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with courteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to stand no more against him, & to doe the people this pleasure, which required a matter iust & reasonable, & onely requested this final recompence for the great paines they tooke in seruice abroad for their contry. *Octavius* denied him plainly. Then said *Tiberius* openly that both of them being brethren in one false place and authority, & contrary one to another in a matter of so great waight, this contention could not be possibly ended, without ciuill warre: and that he could see no way to remedy it, vnles one of them two were depofed from their office. Thereupon he bad *Octavius* begin first with him, & he would rise from the benche with a good will, and become a priuate man, if the people were so contented. *Octavius* would doe nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replied, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his mind, upon a better breathe and consideration: and so dismissed the assemblye for that daye. The next morning the people being againe assembled, *Tiberius* going vp to his seate, attempted agayne to perswade *Octavius* to leaue of. In fine, finding him still a man vnremouable, he referred the matter to the voyce of the people; whether they were contented *Octavius* should be depofed from his office. Nowe there were five and thirtie trybes of the people, of the which, fifteneene of them had already passed their voyces agaynst *Octavius*, so that there remayned but one trybe more to put him out of his office. Then *Tiberius* made them staye for proceeding any further, and prayed *Octavius* agayne, embracing him before all the people, with all the intreatye possible: that for selfewill sake he would not suffer such an open shame to be done vnto him, as to be put out of his office: neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so pitifull a deede. They saie that *Octavius* at this last intreatie was somewhat moued and wonne by his perswasions, and that weeping, he stayed a longe tyme, and made no answer. But when he looked upon the rich men that stood in a great company together, he was ashamed (I thinke) to haue their ill willes, and rather betooke him selfe to the losse of his office, and so bad *Tiberius* doe what he would. Thereupon he being depofed by voyces of the people, *Tiberius* commaunded one of his enfranchised bondmen to pull him out of the pulpit for orations: for he vsed his enfranchised bondmen in steede of Senators. This made the sight so much more lamentable, to see *Octavius* thus shamefully plucked away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would haue come vnto him; but the rich men came to rescue him; and would not suffer him to doe him further hurt.

So

As *Octavius* faued him selfe toying away alone, after he had bene refused thus from the fury of the people. Moreover, there was a faithfull seruant of *Octavius*, who stepping before his Maister to saue him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out, against *Tiberius* minde; who ranne to the rescue with all speede when he heard the noyse. After that, the lawe Agraria passed for diuision of landes, and three Commissioners were appoynted to make inquirie and distribution thereof. The Commissioners appoynted were these: *Tiberius* him selfe; *Appius Claudius* his father in lawe; and *Caius Gracchus* his brother: who was not at that tyme in Rome; but in the campe with *Scipio* AFRICAN, at the siege of the citie of NVMANTIA. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly passed ouer these matters; and no man durst withstand him: and furthermore, he substituted in *Octavius* place no man of qualitie, but only one of his followers, called *Mutius*. Wherewith the noble men were so sore offended with him, that fearing the increase of his greatnes, they being in the Senate house did what they could possible to doe him despite and shame. For when *Tiberius* demanded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he should goe abroad to make diuision of these landes, as they vially graunted vnto others, that many tymes went in farre meaner commiffions: they flatly denyed him, and through the procurement of *P. Nasica* (who being a great landed man in his contry, shewed him selfe in this action his mortall enemy, taking it greuously to be compelled to depart from his land) onely graunted him nyne of their oboli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the people on the other side were all in an vprore against the rich. Infomuch as one of *Tiberius* friends being deade vpon the sodaine, vpon whose body being deade there appeared very ill signes: the common people ranne sodainly to his buriall, and cryed out that he was poysoned. And so taking vpp the beere whereon his bodie laye vpon their shoulders, they were present at the fire of his funerals, where immediately appeared certaine signes to make them suspect, that in deede there was vehemence cause of presumption he was poysoned. For his belly burst, whereout there issued such abundance of corrupt humors, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetch another, the which also they could not make to burne, vntil that they were compelled to cary the bodie into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much a doe to make it burne. *Tiberius* seeing that, to make the common people myrne the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his sonnes before them, and besought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that dispayred of his health and safetie. About that tyme dyed *Attalus*, surnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN brought his will to Rome, in the which he made the people of Rome his heires. Wherefore *Tiberius*, still to encrease the good wil of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediately, that the ready money that came by the inheritance of this king should be distributed amongst the poore Citizens, on whose losse it should fall to haue any parte of the diuision of the landes of the common wealth, to furnishe them towards house, and to set vpp their tillage. Furthermore, he sayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to doe to take any order with them, but that the people were to dispose of them, and that he him selfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, infomuch as there was one *Pompey* a Senator, that standing vp, sayde: that he was next neighbour vnto *Tiberius*, and that by reason of his neighbourhood he knew that *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN had giuen him one of king *Attalus* royall bands, with a purple gowne besides, for a token that he should one day be king of Rome. And *Quintus Metellus* also reproued him, for that his father being Censor, the ROMANES hauing supped in the towne, and repaying euery man home to his house, they did put out their torches and lights, because men seeing them returne, they should not thinke they taried too long in companie banquetting: and that in contrary manner, the seditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his sonne home, and accompany him all night long vp and downe the towne. At that tyme there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodnes nor honestie in him, howbeit taken for a great reasoner, and for a fittell questioner and answerer. He prouoked *Tiberius* to answer him, whether he had not committed a shamefull facte to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the lawes of Rome should haue bene holy, & vntouched. The people rooke this prouocation very angrily, and *Tiberius* also coming out, and hauing assembled the

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Tiberius dis-
payres *Octa-
uius* of his
Tribuneship.

Tiberius pre-
sents the
lawe Agraria.

King *Attalus*
made the
people of
Rome his
heire.
Tiberius law,
for desiding
of *Attalus*
money.

Titus Annius
a fittell ques-
tioner and
answerer of
things.

people, commaunded them to bringe this *Annius* before him, that he might be endoyted in the market place. But he finding him selfe farre inferior vnto *Tiberius*, both in dignitie and eloquence, ranne to his fine furtill questions, to take a man at his worde: and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceede to his accusation, that he would first answer him to a question he would aske him: *Tiberius* bad him saye what he would. So silence being made, *Annius* asked him: if thou wouldest defame me, and offer me iniurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he should ryse to take my parte, and anger thee: wouldest thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that *Tiberius* was so gauled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his orations of any man: yet at that tyme he held his peace, and had no power to speake, and therefore he presently dismissed the assembly. Afterwards, vnderstanding that of al the things he did, the deposing of *Officius* from his office was thought (not onely of the nobilitie, but of the common people also) as fowle and wilfull a parte as euer he played, for that thereby he had imbased, and vterly ouerthrowen the dignitie of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration vntill that present tyme: to excuse him selfe therefore, he made an excellent oration to the people, whereby shall appeare vnto you some special poyntes thereof, to discerne the better the force and effect of his eloquence. The Tribuneship sayd he, in dede was a holy and sacred thing, as particularly consecrated to the people, and established for their benefit and safetie: Where contrariwise, if the Tribune doe offer the people any wronge, he thereby minisheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wills by voyces, besides that, he doth also imbashe his owne authoritie, leauing to doe the thing for the which his authority first was giuen him. Or otherwise we could not choose but suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him, to ouerthrow the Capitoll, or to set fire on the arsenal: and yet notwithstanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the people still, though a lewde Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authoritie and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, thinke you, that a Tribune when he list may, take a Consul, and commit him to prison: and that the people should not withstand the authoritie of the Tribune, who gaue him the same, when he would vse his authoritie to the preiudice of the people? for the people are they that doe choose, both Consul and Tribune. Furthermore, the kingly dignitie (because in the same is conteyned the absolute authoritie and power of all other kindes of Magistrates and offices together) is consecrated with very great and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare vnto the godhead: and yet the people expelled king *Tarquin*, because he vsed his authoritie with crueltie, and for the iniurie he offered one man onely, the most auncient rule and gouernment, (by the which the foundation of Rome was first layed) was vterly abolished. And who is there in all the citie of Rome to be reckoned so holy as the Vestall Nunnes, which haue the custodie and keeping of the euerlasting fire? and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, she is buried alieue for her offence: for when they are not holy to the goddesses, they lose the libertie they haue, in respect of seruing the goddesses. Euen so, if so al it is vnmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, should for the peoples sake be reuerenced any more: Seeing that through his owne folly he hath depriued him selfe of that authoritie they gaue him. And if it be so that he was chosen Tribune by the most parte of the trybes of the people: then by greater reason is he iustly depriued, that by all the whole trybes together is forsaken and depoid? There is nothing more holy nor inuiolate, then things offered vp vnto the goddesses: and yet it was neuer seene that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remoue and transport them from place to place, as they thought good. Euen so, they may as lawfully transference the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offering consecrated to the goddesses. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or Magistrate may lawfully depose him selfe: For, it hath bene often seene, that men in office haue depriued them selues, or otherwise haue sued to be discharged. This was the effect of *Tiberius* purgation. Now his friends perceiuing the threats the riche and noble men gaue out against him, they wished him for the safetie of his person, to make sure to be Tribune againe the next year. Whereupon he began to flatter the common people againe afresh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when eury

The oration
of *Tiberius*
Gracchus,
touching the
power and au-
thoritie of the
Tribunes.

Other letters
made by *Ti-
berius* *Grac-
chus*.

Citizen

A citizen of Rome was bound to goe to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull also for men to appeale from sentence of the Iudges vnto the people, and thrust in also amongst the Senators (which then had absolute authoritie to iudge among them selues) a like number of the Roman Knights, and by this meanes fought to weaken and imbashe the authority of the Senate, increasing also the power of the people, more of malice then any reason, or for any iustice or benefit to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voyces of the people for the confirmation of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the stronger in the assembly, because all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarrelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake vp the assembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be the first man in the market place: apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, & looking heauely vpon the matter, praying the people assembled to haue compassion vpon him, saying, that he was affrayed least his enemies would come in the night, and ouerthrow his house to kill him. Thereupon the people were so moued withall, that many of them came and brought their rentes, and lay about his house to watche it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickens, by signes of the which they doe diuine of things to come, brought them vnto him, and cast them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one only, and yet with much a doe, shaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but only lift vp her left wing, and put forth her legge, and so ranne into the cage againe. This signe made *Tiberius* remember an other he had had before. He had a maruelous fayer helmet and very riche, which he ware in the warres: vnder it were crept two snakes vnwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, because of the ill signes of the chickens: notwithstanding, he went out of his house, when he heard that the people were assembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote such a blow against a stone at the threshold of the doore, that he brake the nayle of his great toe, which fell in suche a bleeding, that it bled through his shooe. Againe, he had not gone farre, but he saw vpon the toppes of a house on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there past a great number of people by, yet a stone which one of these rauens cast from them, came & fell hard at *Tiberius* foote. The fall thereof staied the slowest man he had about him. But *Blossius* the Philosopher of Cumes that had accompanyd him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the harts of all his followers: that *Tiberius* being the sonne of *Gracchus*, and nephew of *Scipio* the AFRICAN, and the chiefe man besides of all the peoples side, for feare of a rauens, should not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing sporte of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a trick of a tyrant that raigned in dede, and that for pride and disdain did abuse the peoples good wills. Furthermore, diuers messengers came vnto him, and sayd that his friends that were in the Capitoll, sent to pray him to make hast, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honorably receiued: for the people seeing him coming, cried out for ioy to welcome him, and when he was gotten vp to his seate, they shewed them selues both careful and louing towards him, looking warily that none came neere him, but such as they knew well. While *Mutius* beganne againe to call the tribes of the people to geue their voyces, he could not proceede according to the accustomed order in the like case, for the great noyse the hindmost people made, thrusting forward, and being driuen backe, and one mingling with an other. In the meane time, *Flavius Flaccus*, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might see him, and when he saw that his voyce could not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a signe with his hande that he had some matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* straight bad them make a lane through the prease. So, with much a doe, *Flavius* came at length vnto him, and tolde him, that the riche men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Consull to their wills, determined them selues to come and kill him, hauing a great number of their frendes, and bondmen armed for the purpose. *Tiberius* immediately declared this conspiracy vnto his friends and followers: who straight girt their long gownes vnto them, and brake the sergeants iaulens which they carried in their handes to make roome among the people, and tooke the trunchions of the same

Valerius
signes vnto
Tiberius.

Flavius *Flac-
cus* beareth
the conspiracy
against *Tibe-
rius*.

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to resist those that would set upon them. The people also that stood furthest of, marveled at it, and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a signe to tell them the danger he was in, layd both his hands on his head, because they could not heare his voyce for the great noyle they made. His enemies seeing the signe he gaue, ranne presently to the Senate, crying out, that *Tiberius* required a royall bande or diadem of the people, and that it was an euident signe, because they sawe him clappe his handes upon his head. This tale troubled all the companie. Whereupon *Nasica* belought the Consul, chiefe of the Senate, to help the common wealth, and to take away this tyrant. The Consul gently aunswere agayne, that he would vse no force, neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as also he would not receiue *Tiberius*, nor protect him, if the people by his perswasion or commaundement, should commit any acte contrarie to the law. *Nasica* then rising in anger, fith the matter is so, sayd he, that the Consul regardeth not the common wealth: all you then, that will defende the authoritie of the law, follow me. Thereupon he cast the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, & went straight to the Capitoll. They that followed him also tooke their gownes, and wrapt them about their armes, and layed at as many as they might, to make them geue way: and yet very few of the people durst meete with such states as they were to stay them, because they were the chiefe men of the citie, but euery man flying from them, they fell one on an others necke for haile. They that followed them, had brought from home great leauers & clubbes, and as they went, they tooke vp seete of tressles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowen and broken, running away, and hyed them a pace to meete with *Tiberius*, striking at them that stood in their way: so that in short space they had disperfed all the common people, and many were slaine flying. *Tiberius* seeing that, betooke him to his legges to saue him selfe, but as he was flying, one tooke him by the gowne, and stayed him: but he leauing his gowne behinde him, ranne in his coate, and running fell vpon them that were downe before. So, as he was rising vp agayne, the first man that strake him, and that was plainly seene strike him, was one of the Tribunes his brethren, called *Publius Satureius*: who gaue him a great rappe on the head with the foote of a chaire, & the second blow he had, was geuen him by *Lucius Rufus* that boasted of it, as if he had done a notable acte. In this tumult, there were slaine aboue three hundred men, and were all killed with stauies and stones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the first sedition among the citizens of Rome, that fell out with murder, and bloodshed, since the expulsion of the kings. But for all other former dissensions (which were no trifles) they were easily pacified, either partie geuing place to other: the Senate for feare of the commons, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it seemeth, that *Tiberius* him selfe would easily haue yeelded also, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perswasion, so they had ment good faith, and would haue killed no man: for at that time he had not in all, aboue 3000. men of the people about him. But surely it seemes this conspiracie was executed against him, more for very spite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparent cause they presupposed against him. For prooffe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous cruelty they vsed to his body being dead. For they would not suffer his owne brother to haue his bodie to burie it by night, who made earnest sute vnto them for it: but they threw him amongst the other bodies into the riuier, and yet this was not the worst. For, some of his friends they banished without forme of law, and others they put to death, which they could meete withall. Among the which, they slue *Diophanes* the Orator, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they inclosed in a pye among snakes and serpentes, and put him to death in this sorte. *Blossius* also the Philosopher of Cumes, was brought before the Consuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confessed vnto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commaunded him. When *Nasica* did aske him, and what if he had commaunded thee to set fire on the Capitoll? He made him aunswere, that *Tiberius* would neuer haue geuen him any suche commaundement. And when diuers others also were still in hand with him about that question: but if he had commaunded thee? I would fure haue done it, sayd he: for he would neuer haue commaunded me to haue done it, if it had not bene for the commoditie of the people. Thus he escaped at that time, and afterwards fled into Asia vnto *Aristonicus*, whom misfortune hauing ouerthrowen, he slue him selfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that present time,

*Nasica dash
set upon Ti-
berius Grac-
chus.*

*Tiberius
Gracchus the
Tribune
slaine.*

*Tiberius
friends slaine.
The cruell
death of
Caius Billius.*

As there no more withstand the law Agraria, for diuision of the lands of the common wealth, but suffered the people to appoint an other Commisioner for that purpose, in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon *Publius Crassus* was chosen, being allied vnto *Tiberius*, for *Publius Crassus* (*Tiberius* brother) had married his daughter *Licinia*. Yet *Cornelius* his souldier, who was not *Crassus* daughter, *Caius* married, but the daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the *Allobroges*. Howbeit the best wryters and authority agree with that we wryte. But whosoever was done, the people were maruelously offended with his death, and men might easily perceiue, that they looked but for time and opportunity to be reuenged, and did presently thereon *Nasica* to accuse him. Whereupon the Senate fearing some trouble towards him, deuised a way vpon no occasion, to sende him into Asia. For the common people did not dissimble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were verie round with him, and called him tyrant, and murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his handes in the blood of the holy Tribune, and within the most sacred temple of all the citie. So in the ende he was infected to forsake Rome, though by his office he was bounde to solemnise all the greatest sacrifices, because he was then chiefe Bishoppe of Rome. Thus, trauieling out of his contrie, he meant meane man, and troubled in his minde: he dyed shortly after, not farre from the citie of *Perinthum*. Truly it is not greatly to be wondered at, though the people so much hated *Nasica*, considering that *Scipio* the African him selfe (whom the people of Rome for iustice and valour had loued better then any man else whatsoeuer) was like to haue lost all the peoples good will, if they bare him, because that being at the siege of *Nymantia*, when newes was brought him of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this verse of *Horace*:
Such end upon him euer light,
Which in such doings doth delight.
 Furthermore, being asked in the assembly of the people, by *Caius*, & *Publius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he answered them, that he did not like his doings. After that the people handled him very christly, & did euer breake of his oration, which they neuer did before: he him selfe also would reuile the people euen in the assembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the first, because he feared the enemies of his deade brother, or otherwise for that he sought meanes to make them more hated of the people: he absented him selfe for a time out of the common assembly, and kept at home and meddled not, as a man contented to liue meanelly, without busying him selfe in the common wealth: in so much as he made men thinke and reported both, that he did utterly mislike those matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirty yeare old when he was slaine. But in proceesse of time, he made his manners and conditions (by little and little) appeare, who hated sloth and euill sortie, and was least of all geuen vnto any couetous minde of getting: for he gaue him selfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwarde to practise in the common wealth. So that it appeared plainly, that when time came, he would not stand still, and looke on. When one *Pestus* a frende of his was sued, he tooke upon him to defend his cause in courte. The people that were present, and heard him speake, they leaped for ioy to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators besides were but children to him. Hereupon the rich men began to be affrayed agayne, and whispered among them selues, that it behoued them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chaunced so that he was chosen Treasorer, and it was his fortune to goe into the Ile of *Sardinia*, with the Consul *Orestes*. His enemies were glad of that, and he him selfe was not sorry for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes, as he was wise and excellent Orator: but yet he was affrayed to come into the pulpit for Orations, and misliked to deale in matters of state, albeit he could not altogether deny the people, and his friends that prayed his furtherance. For this cause therefore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might absente him selfe for a time out of Rome: though diuers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and desirous of the common peoples good will and fauor, then his brother had bene before him. But in deede he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the first he was drawn rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deale in the common wealth. *Cicero* the Orator also sayth, that *Caius* was bent altogether to flie from office in the common wealth, and to liue

*Nasica chiefe
Bishoppe of
Rome.*

*Scipios sen-
tence of the
death of Ti-
berius Grac-
chus.*

*Caius Grac-
chus manners.*

*Caius Grac-
chus Questor
in Sardinia.*

*Caius Gracchus
visits
and dreams.*

quietly as a priuat man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* brother) appeared to him in his sleepe, and calling him by his name, sayd vnto him: brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canst not possible escape? For we were both predestined to one manner of life and death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when *Caius* arrived in *SARDINIA*, he shewed all the proofes that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the young men of his age in hardines against his enemies, in iustice to his inferiors, and in loue & obedience towards the Consul his Captaine: but in temperance, sobrietie, and in painfullnes, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chaunce fell out very sharpe, & full of sickenes in *SARDINIA*: whereupon the Consul sent vnto the cities to helpe his souldiers with some clothes: but the townes sent in poste to *ROME*, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegacion reasonable, whereupon they wrote to the Consul to finde some other meanes to clothe his people. The Consul could make no other shift for them, and so the poore souldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went him selfe vnto the cities and so perswaded them, that they of them selues sent to the *ROMANES* campe such thinges as they lacked. This being caried to *ROME*, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauor, and in dede it made the Senate also affrayed. In the necke of that, there arrived Ambassadors of *AFRICK* at *ROME*, sent from king *Micipsa*, who told the Senate that the king their maister, for *Caius Gracchus* sake, had sent their armie come into *SARDINIA*. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadors out of the Senate, and so gaue order that other souldiers shoulde be sent in their places that were in *SARDINIA*: and that *Orestes* should still remaine Consul there, meaning also to continue *Caius* their Treasurer. But when he hearde of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to *ROME* in choller. When men saw *Caius* returned to *ROME* vnlooked for, he was reproofed for not only by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his returne verie straunge before his Captaine, vnder whom he was Treasurer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, answering his accusation, he so turned the peoples mindes that heard him, that they all sayd he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had serued twelue years in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeres: and that he had continued Treasurer vnder his Captaine, the space of three yeres, where the law gaue him libertie to returne at the end of the yere. And that he alone of all men eile that had bene in the warres, had caried his purse full, and brought it home empty: where others hauing dronke the wyne which they caried thither in vessells, had afterwarde brought them home full of gold & siluer. Afterwarde they went about to accuse him as accessarie to a conspiracie, that was reuealed in the citie of *FRIGELLIS*. But hauing cleared all that suspicion, and being discharged, he presently made sute to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of qualitie his sworne enemies. On the other side also he had so great fauor of the common people, that there came men out of all partes of *ITALIE* to be at his election, & that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voyces vpon the toppes of houses. Nowe the noble men could no otherwise let the people of their will, nor preuent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was only pronounced the fourth. But when he was once posselt officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, because he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of calamitie offered him: which made him bolde to speake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matters fouer he spake of, he alwayes fell in talke of that, remembering them what matters had passed: & laying before them the examples of their auncesters who in olde time had made warre with the *PHALISCS*, by the meanes of one *Genucius* Tribune of the people, vnto whom they had offered iniurie: who also did condemne *Caius Petunius* to death, because that he only would not geue a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where these sayd he, that standing before you in sight, haue slaine my brother *Tiberius* with staues, and haue dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie ouer, to throw it into the riuier: and with him also haue most cruellie slaine all his frendes they coule come by, without any lawe on iustice at all. And yet by an ancient custome of long time

*Caius Gracchus returns
with one of
Sardinia vnto
Rome.*

*Caius Gracchus, Tribune
of the people.*

A time obserued in this citie of *ROME*, when any man is accused of treason, and that of duty he must appeare at the time appointed him: they doe notwithstanding in the morning sende a trumpet to his house, to summonie him to appeare: and moreover the Iudges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremony was performed: so carefull and respectiue were our predecessors, where it touched the life of any *ROMANE*. Now *Caius* hauing first stirred vp the people with these perswasions (for he had a maruelous lowde voyce) he preferred two lawes.

The first, that he that had once bene put out of office by the people, should neuer after be capable of any other office.

The seconde, that if any Consul had banished any citizen without lawfull accusation, the sentence and hearing of the matter should pertaine to the people.

The first of these two lawes did plainly defame *Octavius*, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people depofed from the Tribunshippe. The seconde also touched *Popilius*, who being Prator, had banished his brother *Tiberius* frendes: whereupon he stayed not the trial, but willingly exiled him selfe out of *ITALIE*. And touching the first law, *Caius* him selfe did afterwards reuoke it, declaring vnto the people, that he had saued *Octavius* at the request of his mother *Cornelia*. The people were verie glad of it, and confirmed it, honoring her no lesse for respect of her sonnes, then also for *Scipios* sake her father. For afterwarde they call her image in brasse, & set it vp with this inscription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*. Many comon matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, & eloquently pleaded in her behalfe, by *Caius* against her aduersaries. As when he sayd vnto one of them: how darest thou presume to speake euill of *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* to her sonne? And the other partie also that slandered her, being sorely suspected for a Sodomite: and art thou so impudent, sayd he, to shew thy face before *Cornelia*? Hast thou brought forth children as she hath done? And yet it is wel knowe to all men in *ROME*, that she being but a woman, hath liued longer without a man, than thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words sharpe & stinging, and many such like are to be gathered out of his wrytinges. Furthermore he made many other lawes afterwarde to increase the peoples authoritie, and to imbase the Senates greatnes.

The first was, for the restoring of the Colonies to *ROME*, in diuiding the landes of the common wealth vnto the poore citizens that should inhabite there.

The other, that they shoulde apparell the souldiers at the charge of the common wealth, and that it should not be deducted out of their paye: and also, that no citizen should be billed to serue in the warres, vnder seuentene yeres of age at the least.

An other law was, for their confederats of *ITALIE*: that through all *ITALIE* they shoulde haue as free voyces in the election of any Magistrate, as the naturall citizens of *ROME* it selfe.

An other setting a reasonable price of the corne that should be distributed vnto the poore people.

An other touching iudgement, whereby he did greatly minish the authority of the Senate. For before, the Senators were onely Iudges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honored and feared of the people, and the *ROMANE* Knights: and now he ioyned three hundred *ROMANE* Knights vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it so to passe, that all matters iudiciall shoulde be equally iudged, among those six hundred men. After he had passed this law, it is reported he was verie curious in obseruing all other thinges, but this one thing specially: that where all other Orators speaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators sate, and to that side of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwards towards the other side of the market place, and after that kept it constantly, and neuer failed. Thus, by a litle turning and altering of his looke only, he remoued a great matter. For he so transferred all the government of the common wealth from the Senate, vnto the iudgement of the people: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they shoulde behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people hauing not only confirmed the law he made touching the Iudges, but geuen him also full power and authoritie to choose amonget the *ROMANE* Knights suche Iudges as he liked of: he founde thereby he had absolute power in his owne

*Caius Gracchus
lawes.*

*Cornelia, mother
of the
Gracchi, honored
of the
people of
Rome.*

*Other lawes
preferred by
Caius Gracchus.*

*Caius Gracchus
gives power.*

hands, inſomuche as the Senators them ſelues diſke counſell of him. So did he ever give a good counſell, and did preferre matters meete for their honor. As amongſt others, the lawe he made touching certaine wheate that *Fabius* Vicepraetor had ſent out of SPAYNE: which was a good and honorable acte. He perſwaded the Senate that the corne might be ſolde, and ſo to ſend backe againe the money therof vnto the townes and cities from whence the corne came: and therewithall to puniſh *Fabius* for that he made the Empire of ROME hatefull and intolerable vnto the prouinces and ſubiectes of the ſame. This matter wanne him great loue and commendation of all the prouinces ſubiect to ROME. Furthermore, he made lawes for the reſtoring of the decayed townes, for mending of high wayes, for building of garners for prouiſion of corne. And to bring all theſe things to paſſe, he him ſelfe tooke vpon him the onely care and enterpriſe, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of ſo great affaires. For, he followed all thoſe things ſo earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: inſomuch that they who moſt hated and feared him, wondred moſt to ſee his diligence and quick diſpatche in matters. The people alſo wondred muche to beholde him only, ſeeing alwaies ſuche a number of laborers, artiſcers, Ambaſſadors, officers, ſouldiers, and learned men, whom he eaſily ſatiſfied and diſpatched, keeping ſtill his eſtate, and yet viſing great curteſie and ciuilitie, entertaining euery one of them priuately: ſo that he made his accuſers to be ſound lyes, that ſayd he was a ſtately man, and very cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conuerſation and deedes, then he was otherwiſe in his Orations. But the greateſt paines and care he tooke vpon him was, in ſeeing the high wayes mended, the which he woulde haue as well done, as profitable done. For he would caſt the cawcies by the lyne in the ſoſteſt ground in the fields, and then woulde paue them with hard ſtone, and caſt a great deale of grauell vpon it, which he cauſed to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the riuers had eaten into, he raiſed them vp, or elſe made bridges ouer them, with an euen height equall to either ſide of the cawcie: ſo that all his worke caried a goodly leauell withall euen by the lyne or plummet, which was a pleaſure to beholde it. Furthermore, he deuised theſe high wayes by myles, euery myle containing eight furlonges, and at euery myles ende he ſet vp a ſtone for a marke. At either end alſo of theſe high wayes thus paued, he ſet certaine ſtones of conuenient height, a prety way a ſunder, to helpe the trauellers by to take their horſe backes againe, without any helpe. The people for theſe things highly praiſing & extolling him, and being ready to make ſhew of their loue and good will to him any maner of way: he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a requeſt to make vnto them, the which if it woulde pleaſe them to graunt him, he woulde thinke they did him a maruelous pleaſure: and if they denied him alſo, he cared not muche. Then euery man thought it was the Conſulſhippe he ment to aſke, and that he woulde ſue to be Tribune and Conſul together. But when the day came to chooſe the Conſuls, euery man looking attentively what he woulde doe: they marueled when they ſawe him come downe the fieldes of *Mars*, and brought *Caius Fannius* with his friends, to further his ſute for the Conſulſhippe. Therein he ſerued *Fannius* turne, for he was preſently choſen Conſul: and *Caius Gracchus* was the ſeconde time choſen Tribune againe, not of his owne ſute, but by the good will of the people. *Caius* perceiving that the Senators were his open enemies, and that *Fannius* the Conſul was but a ſlacke frende vnto him, he began againe to currie fauor with the common people, and to preferre new lawes, ſetting forth the lawes of the Colonies, that they ſhould ſend of the poore citizens to replenish the cities of TARENTVM and CAPVA, & that they ſhould graunt all the Latines the freedom of ROME. The Senate perceiving his power grew great, and that in the end he woulde be ſo ſtrong that they could not withſtande him: they deuised a new and ſtraunge way to plucke the peoples good will from him, in granting them things not altogether very honeſt. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with *Caius*, called *Linus Drusus*, a man nobly borne, and as well brought vp as any other ROMANE: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greateſt men of eſtimation in ROME. The chiefeſt Senators went vnto him, and perſwaded him to take parte with them againſt *Caius*, not to vie any force or violence againſt the people to withſtand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them thoſe things which were more honeſtly

Other Lawes of
Caius Grac-
chus.

The Italian
myle con-
taineth eight
furlonges.

Caius Grac-
chus choſen
Tribune the
ſecond time.

Linus Dru-
sus one of the
Tribunes.

A honeſtie for them to deny them with their ill will. *Linus* offering to pleaſure the Senate with his authority, preferred lawes neither honorable nor profitable to the common wealth, & were to no other ende, but contending with *Caius*, who ſhould moſt flatter the people of them two, as plaiers do in their common plaires, to ſhew the people paſtime. Whereby the Senate ſhewed, that they did not ſo much miſlike *Caius* doings, as for the deſire they had to ouerthrow him & his great credit with the people. For where *Caius* preferred but the replenishing of the two cities, and deſired to ſend the honeſteſt citizens thither: they objected againſt him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other ſide alſo they fauored *Drusus*, who preferred a law that they ſhould replenish twelue Colonies, & ſhould ſend to euery one of them three thouſande of the pooreſt citizens. And where they hated *Caius* for that he had charged the poore citizens with an annual rent for the lands that were deuised vnto them: *Linus* in contrary manner did pleaſe them by diſburdening them of that rent & payment, letting the haue the lands ſcotfree. Furthermore alſo, where *Caius* did anger the people, becauſe he gaue all the Latines the freedom of ROME to geue their voyces in chooſing of Magiſtrates as freely as the naturall ROMANES: when *Drusus* on thother ſide had preferred a law that thenceforth no ROMANE ſhould whip any ſouldier of the Latines with rods to the warres, they liked the law, & paſt it. *Linus* alſo in euery law he put forth, ſaid in all his orations, that he did it by the counſell of the Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people: and this was all the good he did in his office vnto the common wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleaſed with the Senate, & where they did before hate all the noble men of the Senate, *Linus* tooke away that malice, when the people ſaw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common wealth, with the conſent & furtheraunce of the Senate. The only thing alſo that perſwaded the people to thinke that *Drusus* ment vprightly, & that he only reſpected the profit of the common people was: that he neuer preferred any law for him ſelfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the reſtoring of theſe Colonies which he preferred, he alwaies ſent other Commiſſioners, & gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any money him ſelfe: where *Caius* tooke vpon him the charge & care of all things himſelfe, & ſpecially of the greateſt matters. *Rubrius* alſo an other Tribune, hauing preferred a law for the reedifying & replenishing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which *Scipio* had raſed and deſtroyed: it was *Caius* happe to be appointed one of the Commiſſioners for it. Whereupon he tooke ſhippe, & ſailed into DAFRIE, *Drusus* in the meane time taking occaſion of his abſence, did as much as might be to ſecke the fauor of the common people, and ſpecially by accuſing *Fulvius*, who was one of the beſt friends *Caius* had, & whom they had alſo choſen Commiſſioner with him for the diuiſion of theſe landes among the citizens, whom they ſent to replenish theſe Colonies. This *Fulvius* was a ſeditious man, & therefore maruelouſly hated of the Senate, & withall ſuſpected alſo of them that tooke parte with the people, that he ſecretly practiſed to make their confederates of ITALIE to rebell. But yet they had no euident prooff of it to iuſtifie it againſt him, more then that which he himſelfe did verifie, becauſe he ſemed to be offended with the peace & quietnes they enjoyed. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of *Caius* ouerthrow, becauſe that *Fulvius* was partly hated for his ſake. For when *Scipio AFRICAN* was found dead one morning in his houſe, without any maniſteſt cauſe how he ſhould come to his death ſo ſuddenly: (ſaying that there appeared certaine blinde markes of ſtripes on his body that had bene geuen him: as we haue declared at large in his life) the moſt parte of the ſuſpicion of his death was layed to *Fulvius*, being his mortall enemy, & becauſe the ſame day they had bene at great wordes together in the pulpit for orations. So was *Caius Gracchus* alſo partly ſuſpected for it. Howſoeuer it was, ſuch a horrible murder as this, of ſo famous & worthy a man as any was in ROME, was yet notwithstanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it: becauſe the common people would not ſuffer the accuſation to goe forward, fearing leaſt *Caius* would be found in fault, if the matter ſhould go forward. But this was a great while before. Now *Caius* at that time being in AFRICA about the reedifying and replenishing of the city of CARTHAGE againe, the which he named IVNONIA: the voice goeth that he had many ill ſignes & tokens appeared vnto him. For the ſtaffe of his enſigne was broken with a vehemet blaſt of wind, & with the force of the enſigne bearer that held it faſt on thother ſide. There came a ſlaw of winde alſo that caried a

Lawe prefer-
red by *Linus*
Drusus.

*Linus Dru-
sus* pacifieth
the people a-
gainſt the Se-
nate.

Fulvius Com-
miſſioner with
Caius, a verie
ſeditious man.

The death of
Scipio ſup-
poſeth the
leſſe.

Fulvius
ſignes ap-
pearing vnto
Caius.

way the sacrifices vpon the aulters and blew them quite out of the circuite which was marked A out for the compasse of the city. Furthermore, the woulues came and tooke away the markes which they had set downe to limite the bonds of their circuite, & caried him quite away. This notwithstanding, *Caius* hauing dispatched all things in the space of three score & ten daies, he returned incontinently to ROME, vnderstanding that *Fulvius* was oppressed by *Drusus*, and that those matters required his presence. For *Lucius Hostilius* that was all in all for the nobility, & a man of great credit with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Consulshippe, by *Caius* practise, who caused *Fannius* to be chosen: he had good hope this yere to speede, for the great number of friends that furthered his sute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to set *Caius* beside the saddle, & the rather, because his estimation and countenance he was wont to haue among the people, began now to decay, for that they were full of such deuises as his were: because there were diuers others that preferred the like to please the people withal, & yet with the Senates great good will & fauor. So *Caius* being returned to ROME, he remoued from his house, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a house vnder the market place, to shew him selfe thereby the lowlier & more popular, because many of the manner sorte of people dwelt thereabouts. Then he purposed to goe forward with the rest of his lawes, & to make the people to establish the, a great number of people repairing to ROME out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counselled the Consul *Fannius* to make proclamation, that all those which were no natural ROMANES, resident & abiding within the city selfe of ROME: that they should depart out of ROME. Besides all this, there was a straunge proclamation made, and neuer seene before: that none of all the friends & confederates of the ROMANES, for certaine daies should come into ROME. But *Caius* on thother side set vp bills on euery post, accusing the Consul for making so wicked a proclamation: & further, promised the confederates of ROME to aide them, if they would remaine there against the Consuls proclamation. But yet he performed it not. For when he saw one of *Fannius* sergeants carry a friend of his to prison, he held on his way, & would see nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of like-hood because he feared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or else because he was loth (as he said) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which fought it of him. Furthermore, he chaunced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occasion. The people were to see the pastime of the sword plaiers or fencers at the sharp, within the very market place, and there were diuers of the officers that to see the sport, did set vp scaffoldes D rounde about, to take money for the standing. *Caius* commaunded them to take them downe againe, because the poore men might fee the sport without any cost. But not a man of the would yeeld to it. Wherefore he staid till the night before the pastime should be, & then he tooke all his laborers he had vnder him, & went & ouerthrew the scaffoldes euery one of the: so that the next morning all the market place was cleare for the common people, to see the pastime at their pleasure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruelously, & tooke him for a worthy man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, & tooke him for a bold presumptuous man. This seemeth to be the chiefe cause why he was put from his third Tribuneship, where he had the most voices of his side: because his colleagues, to be reuenged of the part he had plaied the, of malice & spight, made false report of the voices. Howbeit there E is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulse, & it is reported he spake somewhat too proudly to his enemies, that were mery with the matter, & laughed him to scorn: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkly his deedes had wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies hauing chosen *Optimius* Consul, they began immediately to reuoke diuers of *Caius* lawes: as among the rest, his doings at CARTHAGE for the redifying of that city, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, because they might haue iust occasion of anger to kill him. *Caius* notwithstanding did patiently beare it at the first but afterwards his friends, & specially *Fulvius*, did encourage him so, that he began againe to gather men to resist the Consul. And it is reported also, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in it, secretly hying a great number of straungers which she sent vnto ROME, as if they had bene F reapers, or haruest men. And this is that she wrote secretly in her letter, vnto her sonne in ci-phers. And yet other write to the contrary, that she was very angry he did attempt those things.

When

This man is named after-
wardes Opti-
mius.

Caius Grac-
chus fell out
with the Tri-
bunes.

Caius Grac-
chus repulsed
from the third
Tribuneship.

A When the day came that they should proceede to the reuocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Consul *Optimius* had done sacrifice, one of *Caius* sergeants called *Quintus Antyllus*, carrying the entrails of the beaſt sacrificed, said vnto *Fulvius*, and others of his tribe that were about him: giue place to honest men, vile citizens that ye be. Some say also, that besides these iniurious wordes, in skorne & contempt he held out his naked arme to make the ashamed. Whereupon they slue him presently in the field with great bokins to wyte with, which they had purposely made for that intent. Hereupon the common people were maruelously offended for this murder, & the chiefe men of both sides all were diuersly affected. For *Caius* was very fory for it, & bitterly reposed them that were about him, saying, that they had giuen their enemies the occasion they looked for, to set vpon the *Optimius* D the Consul in contrary maner, taking this occasion, rose apon it, & did stirre vp the people to be reuenged. But there fell a shower of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Consul hauing assembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was dispatching causes with-in, some had take the body of *Antyllus* & layed it naked vpon the beere, & so caried it through the market place (as it was agreed vpon before amongst the) & brought it to the Senate dore: where they began to make great mone & lamentation, *Optimius* knowing the meaning of it, but yet he dissembled it, & seemed to wonder at it. Whereupon the Senators went out to see what it was, & finding this beere, in the market place, some fell a weeping for him that was dead, others cried out that it was a shamefull act, & in no wise to be suffered. But on the other side, this did reuise the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednes of the ambitious noble C men: who hauing the felues before slaine *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune, & within the Capitoll it selfe, & had also cast his body into the riuier, did now make an honorable shew openly in the market place, of the body of a sergeant *Antyllus* (who though he were wrongfully slaine, yet had himselfe geuen the cause that slue him, to do that they did) & all the whole Senate were about the beere to bewaile his death, & to honor the funerals of a hyerling, to make the people all kill him, that was only left the protector & defender of the people. After this, they went againe vnto the Capitoll, & there made a decree, whereby they gaue the Consul *Optimius* extraordinary power & authority, by absolute power to provide for the safety of the common wealth, to preferue the city, & to suppress the tyrans. This decree being established, the Consul presently commaunded the Senators that were present there, to go arme the felues: & ap- D pointed the ROMANES Knights, that the next morning betimes euery man should bring two of their men armed with the. *Fulvius* on the other side, he prepared his force against them, & assembled the common people together. *Caius* also returning from the market place, staid before the image of his father, & looked earnestly apon it without euer a word speaking, only he burst out a weeping, and fetching a great sigh, went his way. This made the people to pite him that saw him: so that they talked among them felues, that they were but beaſts & cowards at such a straight to forsake fo worthy a man. Therupon they went to his house, staid there all night & watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with *Fulvius*, that passed away the night in guseling and drinking drunke, crying out, and making noyse, *Fulvius* him selfe being dronke first of all, who both spake and did many thinges farre vnmeet for his calling. For they that E watched *Caius* on thother side, were very forowfull, and made no noyse, euen as in a common calamitie of their contrie, deuising with them felues what would fall out apon it, waking, and sleeping one after an other by turnes. When the day brake, they with *Fulvius* did awake him, who slept yet foundly for the wine he dranke ouer night, and they armed them felues with the spoiles of the GALLES that hong rounde about his house, whom he had ouercome in battell the same yeare he was Consul: and with great cries, and thundering threats, they went to take the mount Auentine. But *Caius* would not arme him selfe, but went out of his house in a long gowne, as if he would haue gone simply into the market place according to his wonted manner, sauing that he caried a short dagger at his girdel vnder his gowne. So as he was going out of his house, his wife stayed him at the dore, and holding him by the one hand, and a litle child F of his in her other hand, she sayd thus vnto him: Alas *Caius*, thou doest not now goe as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to speake to the people, neither to preferre any new lawes: neither doest thou goe vnto an honest warre, that if vnfortunately that should

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Sedition be-
tweene Caius
Gracchus &
the Senate.

Antyllus, C.
Gracchus
sergeant
slaine.

An ordinance
made by the
Senate, &
against C.
Gracchus.

The people
defended C.
Gracchus.

The words of
Licia to her
husband *Caius*
Gracchus.

happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the least mourne for thy death with A honor. But thou goest to put thy selfe into bloodie burchers handes, who most cruelly haue slaine thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goest, a naked man vnarmed, intending rather to suffer, then to doe hurt. Besides, thy death can bring no benefit to the common wealth. For the worse part hath now the vpper hand, considering that sentence passeth by force of sword. Had thy brother bene slaine by his enemies, before the cite of *Nymantia*: yet had they gotten vs his bodie to haue buried him. But such may be my misfortune, that I may presently go to pray the riuier or sea to geue me thy bodie, which as thy brothers they haue likewise throught wen into the same. Alas, what hope or trust is left vs now, in lawes or gods, sithence they haue slaine *Tiberius*? As *Licinia* was making this pitifull mone vnto him, *Caicus* fayer and softly pulled his hand from her, and left her, geuing her neuer a word, but went on with his friends. B But she reaching after him to take him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatting there a great while, speaking neuer a word: vntill at length her seruants tooke her vp in a swoone, and caried her so vnto her brother *Crassus*. Now *Fulvius*, by the perswasion of *Caicus*, when all their faction were met: sent his younger sonne (which was a prety fayer boy) with a *Heraulds* rodde in his hand for his safetie. This boy humbly presenting his dutie, with the teares in his eyes, before the Consul and Senate, offered them peace. The most of them that were present thought verie well of it. But *Optimius* made aunswere saying, that it became them not to send messengers, thinking with fayer wordes to winne the Senate: but it was their dutie to come the selfes in persons, like subiects & offenders to make their triall, & so to craue pardon, & to seeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he should not retorne C againe to them, but with this condicion he had prescribed. *Caicus* (as it is reported) was ready to go and cleare him selfe vnto the Senate: but the residue would not suffer him to go. Whereuppon *Fulvius* sent his sonne backe againe vnto them, to speake for them as he had done before. But *Optimius* that was desirous to fight, caused the boy to be taken, and committed him in safe custodie, & then went presently against *Fulvius* with a great number of footemen well armed, & of *Cabret* archers besides: who with their arrowes did more trouble & hurt their enemies, then with any thing else, that within a while they all began to flie. *Fulvius* on the other side fled into an old hottehouse that no body made reckoning of, and there being found shortly after, they slue him, and his eldest sonne. Now for *Caicus*, he fought not at all, but being mad with him selfe, and grieved to see such bloodshed: he got him into the temple of *Diana*, D where he would haue killed him selfe, had not his very good friends *Pomponius* and *Licinius* saved him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his sword from him, and counselled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding vp both his hands vnto the goddesse, he besought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage, to be reuenged of this their ingratitude & treason. For the common people (or the most parte of them) plainly turned their coats, when they heard proclamation made, that all men had pardon graunted them, that would retorne. So *Caicus* fled anon, and his enemies followed him so neere, that they ouertooke him upon the wodden bridge, where two of his friends that were with him stayed, to defende him against his followers, and bad him in the meane time make shift for him selfe, whilst they fought with them upon the bridge: and so they did, and kept them that not a man got the bridge of them, vntill they were both slaine: Nowe there was none that fled with *Caicus*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithstanding, euerie man did still encorage and counsell him, as they do men to winne a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horse, though he often required it, because he sawe his enemies so neere vnto him. This notwithstanding, by their defense that were slaine upon the bridge, he got ground on them so, that he had leasure to crepe into a litle grove of wodde which was consecrated to the furies. There his seruant *Philocrates* slue him, and then slue him selfe also, and fell dead vpon him. Other write notwithstanding, that both the maiister & seruant were ouertaken, and taken alue: and that his seruant did so straight embrace his maiister that none of the enemies could strike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was slaine him selfe. So *Fulvius* frendes called *Septimulcius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, because proclamation

Fulvius sent his sonne to the Consul with a litle wandie rodde to offer peace.

The death of Fulvius and his eldest sonne.

The flight of Caicus.

The faithfulness of Caicus Gracchus seruants.

A macion was made before they fought by trompet, that whosoener brought the heades of *Fulvius* and *Caicus*, they should be payed the weight of them in gold. Wherefore this *Septimulcius* caried *Caicus* head vpon the toppe of his speare vnto *Optimius*: wheruppon the scales being brought to wey it, it was found that it weyed seuentene pounce weight and two third partes of a pound, because *Septimulcius* besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this villanie, that he had taken out his braine, and in lieu thereof had filled his scull with lead. Now the other also that brought *Fulvius* head, because they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodie of these two men, *Caicus Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thousand that were slaine) were all thrown into the riuier, their goods confiscate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Furthermore, they tooke from *Licinia* *Caicus* wife, her ioynter: but yet they delt more cruelly and beastly with the young boy, *Fulvius* sonne: who had neither lift vp his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to the to make peace before they fought, whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which most of all other grieved the people, was the temple of concord, the which *Optimius* caused to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in maner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of *Rome*. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inscription of the temple these verses:

A furious fait and full of beastly shame.

This temple built, that beareth conquestes name.

C This *Optimius* was the first man at *Rome*, that being Consul, vsurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or iustice condemned three thousand citizens of *Rome*, besides *Fulvius Flaccus*, (who had also bene Consul, and had receiued the honor of triumphe) and *Caicus Gracchus* a young man in like case, who in vertue & reputation excelled all the men of his yeares. This notwithstanding, could not keepe *Optimius* from theuerie and extortion. For when he was sent Ambassador vnto *Iugurthe* king of *Nymidia*, he was bribed with money: & therupon being accused, he was most shamefully conuicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his dayes with this reproch and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: because at the time of the ouerthrow he delt beastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But shortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren D of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set vpin an open and honorable place, consecrating the places where they had bene slaine: and many of them also came and offred to them, of their first frutes and flowers, according to the time of the yeere, & went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as vnto the temples of the gods. Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble hart: and as for the chappells which they built & consecrated vnto them in the place where they were slaine, she said no more, but that they had such graues, as they had deserued. Afterwards she dwelt continually by the mount of *Misene*, and neuer chaunged her manner of life. She had many friends; and because she was a noble Ladie, and loued euer to welcome strangers, she kept a very good houle, and therefore had alwayes great repaire vnto her, of *Gracians* & learned E men: besides, there was no king nor Prince, but both receiued gifts from her, and sent her againe. They that frequented her copany, delighted maruelously to heare her report the dedes and maner of her fathers life, *Scipio Africanus*: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the actes and death of her two sonnes, *Tiberius* and *Caicus Gracchi*, without shedding teare, or making any thew of lamentacion or grieve, no more then if he had told an history vnto them that had requested her. In so much some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had ouercome and taken her reason and sence from her, to feelee any sorowe. But in deede they were senselesse to say so, not understanding, howe that to be noble borne, and vertuouls F brought vp, doth makemen temperaty to digest sorow, and that fortune oftentimes ouercomes vertue, which regardeth honestie in all respects, but yet with any aduerfity she can not take away the temperaunce from them, whereby they patiently beare it.

The temple of concord built by Optimius the Consul.

Optimius the first Consul, vsurping the power of the Dictator.

Optimius bribed with money of Iugurthe, and condemned. The Gracchi were much haughty desired of the people.

The magnanimity of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

The power of learning to overcome sorow.

THE COMPARISON OF Tiberius and Caius Gracchi with Agis and Cleomenes.



The wisdom
of the Gracchi.

NOW that we be come to the end of this history, we are to compare the A lines of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two Gracchi: their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best geuen to vertue, and as well taught and brought vp, as any ROMANES that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in Agis and Cleomenes. For they hauing bene very ill brought vp, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldest men were almost spoyled: yet did they notwithstandinge make them selues the first maisters and example of sobrietie, temperaunce, and simplicitie of life. Furthermore, the two first hauing liued in that time, when ROME flourished most in honor and vertuous desires: they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their auncesters. These two last also being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrarie disposition, and finding their contric altogether without any order, and infected with dissolute life: were not therefore any whit the more moued with desire to do well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gaue vnto the two Gracchi, was, their abstinence and integritie from taking of money all the time they were in office, and delt in matters of state, euer keeping their hands cleane, and tooke not a pennie wrongfully from any man. Where Agis on thother side was offended if any man praised him, for that he tooke nothing from an other man: seeing that he dispossest him selfe of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in ready coyne to the value of six hundred talents. Whereby men may easely iudge, how grievous a sinne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: seeing that he thought it a kinde of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruelous great difference in their alterations, and rening of the state, which they did both preferre. For the actes of the two ROMANES were to mend high wayes, and to reedifie and replenish decayed townes: and the worthiest acte Tiberius did, was the lawe Agraria, which he brought in for diuiding

A diuiding of the lands of the common wealth amongst the poore Citizens. And the best acte his brother Caius also did, was the mingling of the Iudges: adding to the three hundred Senators, three hundred ROMAN knights to be indifferent Iudges with them. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes in contrary manner were of opinion, that to reforme final faults, & to redresse them by lile and lile, was (as Plato sayd) to cut of one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards seven in the place; and therefore they tooke upon them a change and innovation, euen at once to roote out all the mischiefs of their contry, (or to speake more truly, to take away the disorder which brought in all vice and mischief to the common wealth) and so to restore the citie of SPARTA againe to her former aunient honorable estate. Nowe this may be said againe, for the gouernment of the GRACCHI: that the chiefe men of ROME were euer against their purposes. Where, in that that Agis attempted, and Cleomenes ended, they had the noblest ground that could be, & that was the aunient lawes and ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equalitie: the first, instituted in old time by Lycurgus, the other confirmed by Apollo. Furthermore, by the alterations of the first, ROME became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which Cleomenes did, all GREECE in short time sawe that SPARTA commaunded all the rest of PELOPONNESVS, and fought at that time against those that were of greatest power in all GREECE, for the signorie thereof. Whereby their onely mark & purpose was, to rid all GREECE from the warres of the GAVLES and ILLYRIANS, and to restore it againe to the honest gouernment of the race and lyne of Hercules. Their deathes, one thinks, doe thew great difference of their corages. For the GRACCHI fighting with their owne Citizens, were slaine flying. Of these two also, Agis, because he would put neuer a Citizen to death, was slaine in manner voluntarily: and Cleomenes receiuing iniurie flood to his defence, and when he had no opportunitie to doe it, he slowly killed him selfe. And so may it be said on thother side, that Agis did neuer any noble acte of a Captaine or fauldrer, because he was slaine before he could come to it. And for the victories of Cleomenes on thother side, may be opposed the scaling of the walls of CARTHAGE, where Tiberius was the first man that at the assault got vp vpon the wall, which was no small exploit: and the peace which he made also at the sege of NVMANTIA, whereby he saued twenty thousand fighting men of the ROMANES, the which had no meanes otherwise to saue their liues. And Caius also in the selfe same warre, at the sege of NVMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of warre: so that there is no doubt, but if they had not bene slaine so soone as they were, they might haue bene compared with the excellentest Captaines that euer were in ROME. Again, touching their doings in ciuill pollicie, it appeareth that Agis delt more slackly, being abused by Agellans: who likewise deceiued the poore Citizens of the diuision of the landes which he had promised them. In fine, for lacke of corage, because he was very young, he left the thinges vndone which he had purposed to haue performed. On thother side, Cleomenes went too rowndly to worke to renew the aunient gouernment of the common wealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much crueltie, whom he might easily haue wonne, or otherwise by force haue gotten the vpper hand. For it is not the parte of a wise Philition, nor of a good gouernor of a common weale to vse the sword, but in great extremitie, where there is no other helpe nor remedie: & there lacked iudgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for iniury is euer ioyned with crueltie. The GRACCHI on thother side, neither the one nor the other, began to embrew their hands in the blood of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt Caius, yet he would neuer defend him selfe: and where it was known that he was very valliant in battell with his sword in his hand against the enimie, he shewed him selfe as cold againe in the vprore against his Citizens. For he went out of his house vnarmed, and fled when he saw them fight: being more circumspect not to doe hurt, then not to suffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearefull to offend any man. For they were driuen, either to yeeld to them that followed them, or els if they stayed, to stande to their defence, because they might keepe them selues from hurt. And where they accuse Tiberius for the faults he committed, the greatest that euer he did, was when he deposest Othanius his colleague from the Tribuneship, and that he him selfe made sure for the second. And as for Caius, they falsely accused him for the death of Antyllus the Sergeaunt, who in deede was slaine vn-

The Affes of
the Gracchi
did little profit
Rome.

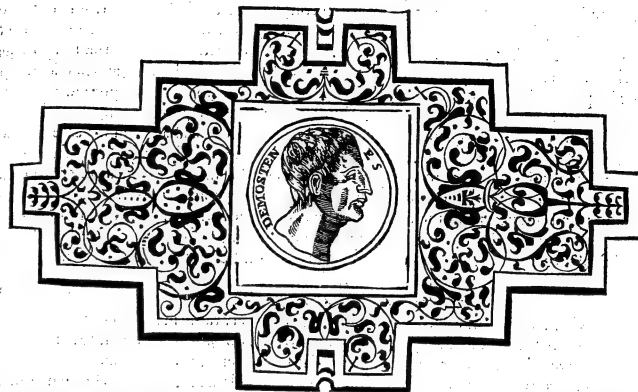
The ends of
the Gracchi
unfortunate.

The desires of
the Gracchi.

The faults of
the Gracchi.

known to him, and to his great griefe. Where *Cleomenes* on thother side, although we should A forget the murder he committed vpon the Ephores, yet he set slaues at libertie, and ruled the kingdom in manner him selfe alone: but yet for manners sake onely he ioyned his owne brother with him, which was of the selfe same house. And when he had perswaded *Archidamus*, (who was next heire to the kingdom of the other royall house) to be bold to returne home from *Messena* vnto *Sparta*: he suffered him to be slayne, and bicause he did not reuenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was consenting to his death. *Lycorgus* on the other side, whose example he did counterfeate to followe, bicause he did willingly resigne the kingdom vnto his brothers sonne *Charilam*, and being afraid also, that if the young child should chaunce to miscary, they would suspect him for his death: he exiled him selfe out of his owne contry a long time, trauellling vp and downe, and returned not to *Sparta* againe, B before *Charilam* had gotten a sonne to succede him in his kingdom. But we can not let another *Græcian* by *Lycorgus* comparable vnto him. We haue declared also that amongst *Cleomenes* deedes, there were many other greater alterations then these, and also many other breaches of the lawe. So they that doe condemne the manners of the one and the other, say, that the two *Græcians* from the beginning had an aspyring minde to be tyrannes, still practising warres. Whereas the two *Romanes* onely, euen by their most mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing els, but for an extreame ambition, and did confesse that they were too earnest and vehement aboute their nature, in any strife or contention they had with their aduersaries, and that they yelded vnto that choller and passion, as vnto ill windes, which brought them to doe those things they did in the ende. For what more iust or honest intent could they haue had, then the first was: had not the riche men (euen through stowmes and C authoritie to ouerthrow the lawes) brought them against their wills into quarrell: the one to saue his life, the other to reuenge his brothers death, who was slayne without order, iustice, or the authoritie of any officer? Thusthou maiest thy selfe see the difference, that was betwene the *Græcians* and *Romanes*: and now to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I think that *Tiberius* was the stowtest of the foure, that the younge king *Agis* offended least, and that for boldnes and courage, *Caius* came nothing neare vnto *Cleomenes*.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Demosthenes.

HE that made the litle booke of the praise of *Alcibiades*, touching the vi-
storie he wanne at the horse rase of the Olympian games, (were it the
Poet *Euripides* as some thinke, or any other) my friende *Sofista*: sayde,
that to make a man happy, he must of necessitie be borne in some fa-
mous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, douteles, true happi-
nes chiefly consisteth in the vertue and qualities of the minde, being a
matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or
in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a fayer or
fowle mother. For it were a madnes to thinke that the litle village of

True happi-
nes consisteth
in the minde
and manners
of man, not in
any place or
contry.

Ivlide, being the least part of the Ile of *Ceo* (the whole Iland of it selfe being but a small
B thing) and that the Ile of *Ægina* (which is of so final a length, that a certaine *Athenian* on
a time made a motion it might be taken away, bicause it was but as a strawe in the sight of the
hauen of *Piræa*) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comediants: and not breed
an honest, iust, and wise man, and of noble corage. For, as we haue reason to thinke that artes
and sciences which were first deuised and inuented to make some things necessary for mens
vse, or otherwise to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in litle poore villages:
So are we to iudge also, that vertue, like a strong and frutefull plant, can take roote, and bringe
forth in euery place, where it is grafted in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently
away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and liue not as we should: we can
not accuse the meanenes of our contry where we were borne, but we must iustly accuse our
C selues. Surely he that hath taken vpon him to put forth any worke, or to write any historie, in-
to the which he is to thrust many straunge things vnknown to his contry, and which are not
ready at his hand to be had, but disperfed abroad in diuers places, and are to be gathered out
of diuers bookes and authorities: first of all, he must needes remaine in some great and famous
citie thoroughly inhabited, where men doe delight in good and vertuous things, bicause there
are commonly plenty of all sortes of bookes: and that perusing them, and hearing talke also of
many things besides, which other Historiographers peraduenture haue not written of, and
which will cary so much more credit, bicause men that are aliue may presently speake of them
as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery poynt, hauing
many and diuers necessary things conteyned in it. But I my selfe that dwell in a poore litle

Expedient for
an Historio-
grapher to be
in a famous
citie.

Plutarches cō-
try very litle.

towne, and yet doe remayne there willingly least it should become lesse: while I was in I T A L Y, and at R O M E, I had no lyeure to study and exercise the Latine tongue, aswell for the great busines I had then to doe, as also to satisfie them that came to learne Philosophie of me: so that euen somewhat too late, and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latine bookes in my hand. And thereby, a straunge thing tell you, but yet true: I learned not, nor vnderstood matters so much by the words, as I came to vnderstand the words, by common experience & knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to know howe to pronounce the Latine tongue well, or to speake it readily, or to vnderstand the signification, translations, and fine ioyning of the simple words one with another, which doe bewtifie & set forth the tongue: surely I iudge it to be a maruailous pleasant and sweete thing, but withall it requirith a long and laborious study, meete for those that haue better lyeure then I haue, & that haue young yeares on their backs to follow such pleasure. Therefore, in this present booke, which is the list of this work, where I haue taken vpon me to compare the liues of noble men one with another: vnder-taking to write the liues of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, we will consider and examine their nature, manners and condicions, by their acts and deedes in the gouernment of the common wealth, not meaning otherwise to conferre their workes and writings of eloquence, nether to define which of them two was sharper or sweeter in his oration. For, as the Poet *Ion* sayth,

In this behalfe a man may rightly say,

The Dolphynes in their proper soyle doe play.

The which *Cacilius* lide vnderstanding, being a man very rashe in all his doings, hath vnadvisedly written and set forth in print, a comparison of *Demosthenes* eloquence, with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an easie matter for euery man to know him selfe, then the goddes needed haue giuen vs no commaundement, nether could men haue said that it came from heauen. But for my opiniõ, me thinks fortune euen from the beginning hath framed in manner one self mowld of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, and hath in their natures facioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitious, both of them to loue the libertie of their contry, and both of them very feareful in any danger of warres. And likewise their fortunes seeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is harde to finde two Orators againe, that being so meanelly borne as they, haue comen to be of so great power and authoritie as they two, nor that haue defused the ill will of kings & noble men so much as they haue done, nor that haue lost their Daughters, nor that haue bene banished their contries, & that haue bene restored againe with honor, and that againe haue fled, and haue bene taken againe, nor that haue ended their liues with the libertie of their cõtry. So that it is hard to be iudged, whether nature haue made them liker in manners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workemaiters strued one with the other, to whome they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

Demosthenes the father of this Orator *Demosthenes*, was as *Theopompus* writeth, one of the chiefe men of the cite, and they called him *Macharopæus*, to wete, a maker of sworde blades, bicause he had a great shoppe where he kept a number of blades to forge them. But touching *Æschines*, the Orators report of his mother, who said that she was the Daughter of one *Gelon* (that fled from A T H E N S being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to say whether it be true, or deuised of malice to doe him despite. Howsoever it was, it is true that his father died, leauing him seuen yeare olde, and left him reasonable wel: for his goods came to litle lesse then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wronge: for they stole a great parte of his goods then selues, and did let the rest runne to naught, as hauing litle care of it, for they would not pay his schoolemaisters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learne the liberal sciences which are usually taught vnto honest mens sonnes: and to further that want also, he was but a weakling, & very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to schoole, nether his masters also durst keepe him too hard to it, bicause he was but a sickly childe at the first, and very weak. And it is reported also, that the surname of *Battalus* was giuen him in mockery by other schooleboyes his companions, bicause of his weaknes of body. This *Battalus* (as diuers men doe report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whome the Poet *Antiphanes* do mocke

Demosthenes compared with Cicero.

The persage of Demosthenes.

The patrimony left Demosthenes.

Demosthenes why he was called Battalus.

A mocke him, deuised a litle play. Others also doe write of one *Battalus*, a dissolute Orator, and that wrote lasciuious verses: and it seemeth that the A T H E N I A N S at that time did call a certaine part of mans body vncomely to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argus* (which surname men say was also giuen him) he was so called, either for his rude and beastly manners, (bicause some Poets doe call a snake *Argus*) or els for his manner of speech, which was very vnpleasant to the eare: for *Argus* is the name of a Poet, that made alwayes bawdy & ill fauored songs. But hereof enough as *Plato* said. Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moued him to giue him selfe to eloquence, was this. *Calistratus* the Orator was to defend the cause of one *Oropus* before the Iudges, and euery man longed greatly for this daye of pleading, both for the excellencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly knowen to all. *Demosthenes* hearing his schoolemasters agree together to goe to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolemaster to be so good, as to let him goe with him. His Maister graunted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the halldore where this matter was to be pleaded, he so intreated them, that they placed his scholar in a very good place, where being set at his ease, he might both see and heare all that was done, and no man could see him. Thereupon, when *Demosthenes* had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he sawe howe he was wayted vpon home with such a trayne of people after him: but yet he wondred more at the force of his great eloquence, that could so turne and conuey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon he left the studie of all other sciences, and all other exercises of witte and bodye,

which other children are brought vp in: and beganne to labor continually, and to frame him selfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator amonge the rest. His Maister that taught him Rethoricke was *Isæus*, notwithstanding that *Isocrates* also kept a schoole of Rethoricke at that time: either bicause that being an orphan he was not able to paye the wages that *Isocrates* demanded of his schollers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he founde *Isæus* manner of speeche more proper for the vse of the eloquence he desired, bicause it was more finer, & subtler. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithstanding, that he had red certayne bookes, hauing no name of any author, which declared that *Demosthenes* had bene *Platoes* scholler, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronounciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one *Cresibius*, who reporteth that *Demosthenes* had secretly redde *Isocrates* workes of Rethoricke, and also *Alcidamus* bookes, by meanes of one *Calistus* SYRACVSAN, and others.

Wherefore when he came out of his wardeshippe, he beganne to put his gardians in sure, and to write orations and pleas against them: who in contrary manner did euer vse delays and excuses, to saue them selues from giuing vp any accompt vnto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exercise (as *Thucydides* writeth) it prospered so well with him, that in the ende he obtrayned it, but not without great paynes and daunger: and yet with all that he could doe, he could not recouer all that his father left him, by a good deale. So hauing now gotten some boldnes, and being vsed also to speake in open presence, and withall, hauing a feeling and delight of the estimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward him selfe, and to practise in matters of state. For, as there goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an O R C H O M E N I A N, who hauing a grieuous paine in the spleene, by aduise of the Phisitions was willed to runne long courses to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end so lusty & nymble of body, that afterwards he would needes make one to runne for games, & in deede grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Euen so the like chaunced vnto *Demosthenes*. For at the first, beginning to practise oratorie for recouerie of his goods, and thereby hauing gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke upon him to speake to the people in assemblies, touching the gouernment of the common wealth, euen as if he should haue contended for some game of price, & at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventred to speake openly, the people made such a noyse, that

he could scant be heard, and besides they mocked him for his manner of speeche that was so straunge, bicause he vsed so many long confused peryods, and his matter he spake of was so intricate with arguments one upon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to

Demosthenes, why he was named Argus.

Calistratus the Orator.

The earnest desire of Demosthenes to learne eloquence. Isæus, Demosthenes scholl master of Rethorike.

Demosthenes first practise in drawing up perning of orations.

A remedie for the paine of the spleene.

Demosthenes mocked of the people for his long orations.

*Demosthenes
impediments
of nature.*

heare him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well vnderstand what he ment, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the ende of his sentence. So that at length, perceiuing he was thus reiecte, he gaue ouer to speake any more before the people, and halfe in dispaire withdrew him selfe into the haue of Piræa. There *Euonymus* the *THESSALIAN* being a very olde man, founde him, and sharply reprovved him, and told him that he did him selfe great wronge, considering, that hauing a manner of speeche much like vnto *Pericles*, he drowned him selfe by his saynt harte, bicause he did not seeke the way to be bolde against the noyse of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burden of publike orations, but suffering it to growe feeble, for lacke of vse and practise. Furthermore, being once againe repulled and whistled at, as he returned home, hanging downe his heade for shame, and vterly discouraged: *Satyrus* an excellent player of comedies, being his famillier friende, followed him, and went and spake with him. *Demosthenes* made his complaynt vnto him, that where he had taken more paynes then all the Orators besides, and had almost euen worne him selfe to the bones with studie, yet he coule by no meanes deuise to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but by bye all day long, and Maryners that vnderstoode nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on thother side that they made no accompt of him. *Satyrus* then answered him, thou sayest true *Demosthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without booke certain veries of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*. Thereupon *Demosthenes* presently rehearsed some vnto him, that came into his minde. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gaue them quite another grace, with such a pronounciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becoming the verses, that *Demosthenes* thought them cleane changed. Whereby perceiuing how much the action (to wete, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth giue grace and comelines in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speake of, to exercise to please well, vntil therewithall he doe also study to haue a good pronounciation and gesture. Thereupon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole euen in my time, & he would daily goe downe into it, to facion his gesture and pronounciation, and also to exercise his voice, and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three monethes one after another, and did haue his heade of purpose, bicause he durst not goe abroad in that sorte, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to declame upon, and to practise to please of the matters he had had in hande before, or els vpon occasion of such talke as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed betwene him and his friendes in talke together, and alleaged also both his owne and their answers. And if peradventure he had bene at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeat it by him selfe: and would finely cowche and conuey it into proper sentences, and thus chaunge and alter euery way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quicke capacite by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreame labor. And for prooofe hereof, they make this probable reason, That they neuer sawe *Demosthenes* make any oration on the suddain, and that oftentimes when he was sette in the assemblee, the people would call him by his name, to say his opinion touching the matter of counsell then in hand: Howbeit that he neuer rose vpon their call, vnles he had first studied the matter well he would speake of. So that all the other Orators would many times giue him at awayne for it: as *Pythias* among others, that tawnting him on a tyme, tolde him, his reasons smelled of the lampe. Yea, replied *Demosthenes* sharply againe: so is there great difference, *Pythias*, betwixt thy labor and myne by lamplight. And him selfe also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he would speake, nether did he also offer to speake, before he had made briefes of that he would speake. He sayd furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that he would be careful before what he would say to them. For this prepatiuie (q he) doth shewe that he

*Demosthenes
seld in plea-
cing the
suddain.*

*Demosthenes
in his oration
studied to
please the
people.*

doth

A doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary manner also, he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he despiseth their authoritie, & that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vie force against them, rather then reason and perswasion. But yet further to enlarge the prooofes, that *Demosthenes* had no hart to make any oration on the suddain, they doe alleage this reason: that *Demades* many times rose vpon the sodaine to mainteine *Demosthenes* reasons, when the people otherwhile did reiect him: and that *Demosthenes* on thother side did neuer rise to make *Demades* words good, which he had spoken in his behaffe. But now might a man aske againe: if *Demosthenes* was so timorous to speake before the people vpon the sodaine: what ment *Æschines* then to say, that he was maruelous bold in his words. And how chaunceth it, that he rising vpon the sodaine, did presently answer the Orator *Pythias* *BIZANTIENE* in the field, that was very lusty in speech, (& rough like a vehement running streame) against the *ATHENIANS*. And how chaunced it that *Lamachus* *MYRRINEIAN*, hauing made an oration in the praise of *Philip* and *Alexander*, kings of *MACEDON*, in the which he spake all the ill he coule of the *THEBANS*, and of the *OLYNTIANS*, and when he had red and pronounced it in the open assembly of the Olympian games: *Demosthenes* upon the instant rising vpon his seene, declared, as if he had red some historie, & poynted as it were with his finger vnto all the whole assembly, the notable great seruice & worthy deedes the which the *CHALCIDIANS* had done in former times, for the benefit and honor of *GREECE*. And in contrary maner also, what michiel & inconuenience came by meanes of the flatterers, that altogether gaue them selues to curry fauor with the *MACEDONIANS*? With these and such like perswasions, *Demosthenes* made him selfe sturte amongst the people, that the Orator *Lamachus* being affraid of the sodaine vpror, did secretly conuey him selfe out of the assembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, *Demosthenes* in my opinion facioning him selfe euen from the beginning, to followe *Pericles* steppes and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not so requisite for him, and that he would counterfeate his grauitie and sober countenance, and to be wise, not to speake ouer lightly to euery matter at all adventures: Iudging, that by that manner of wisdom he came to be great. And like as he would not let slippe any good occasion to speake, where it might be for his credit: so would he not likewise ouer rashely hazard his credit and reputation to the mercy of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vpon the sodaine without premeditation before, doe shewe more boldnes and courage, then those which he had written, and studied long before: if we may beleue the reports of *Eratostratus*, *Demetrius* *PHALARIAN*, and of the other comical Poets. For *Eratostratus* sayd, that he would be often caried away with choller and furie. *Demetrius* also sayth, that speaking one daye to the people, he swate a great othe in ryme, as if he had bene possessed with some diuine spirit, and sayd,

*Demosthenes
terrified La-
machus in his
oration.*

*Orator
and
his
speech
was
very
bold
and
courageous.*

*The natural
eloquence
of
Demades the
Orator.*

*Theophrastus
judgements
of Orators.*

*Phocion cal-
led the axe of
Demosthenes
orations.*

By sea and land, by rivers, springes, and Ponds.

There are also certaine comical Poets that doe call him *Ropoperperethra*, as who would say, a great babler that speaketh all things that cometh to his tongues ende. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rhetorick called, Antitheton: which is, opposition, with saying, *Sic recepit sicut cepit*, (which significth, heooke it as he found it.) In the vife of this figure *Demosthenes* much pleased him selfe; vnles the poet *Antiphanes* speake it of pleasure, deriding the coisell he gaue the people, not to take the Ile of *HALONESVS* of king *Philip*, as of gift: but to receiue it as their owne restored. And yet euery body did graunt, that *Demades* of his owne naturall wit, without arte, was inuincible: and that many times speaking vpon the sodaine, he did vterly overthrow *Demosthenes* long studied reasons. And *Aristo*, of the Ile of *CHIO*, hath written *Theophrastus* iudgement of the Orators of that time. VVho being asked what manner of Orator he thought *Demosthenes*: he answered, worthy of this cite. Then again, how he thought of *Demades*: about this cite, said he. The same Philosopher writeth also, that *Polyenctus* *SPHETTIAN*, (one of those that practised at that time in the common wealth) gaue this sentence: that *Demosthenes* in dedee was a great Orator, but *Phocion*'s tongue had a sharper vnderstanding, bicause in fewe wordes, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that *Demosthenes* him selfe said also, that as oft as he saw *Phocion* get vp into the pulpit for orations to speake against him, he was wont to say to his friends: see, the axe of my words

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nifeth. And yet it is hard to iudge, whether he ſpoke that in reſpect of his tongue, or rather for the eſtimation he had gotten, becauſe of his great wiſedome: thinking (as in deeде it is true) that one word only, the twinkling of an eye, or a nod of his head of ſuch a man (that through his worthines is attained to that credit) hath more force to perſwade, then all the fine reaſons & deuifes of Rhetorick. But now for his bodily defects of nature, *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that he heard *Demosthenes* him ſelfe ſay, being very olde, that he did helpe them by theſe meanes. Firſt, touching the ſammering of his tongue, which was very far, and made him that he could not pronounce all ſyllables diſtinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pybble ſtones into his mouth, which he found vpon the ſands by the riuers ſide, & ſo pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his ſmal and ſoft voice, he made that lower, by running vp ſteepe and high hills, vtering euen with full breath ſome orations or verſes that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glaſſe in his houſe, and euer ſtanding on his ſeete before it, he would learne and exerciſe him ſelfe to pronounce his orations. For prooſe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cauſe, and tolde him that one had beaten him: and that *Demosthenes* ſayd agayne vnto him, I doe not beleue this is true thou telleſt me, for ſurely the other did neuer beate thee. The playntif then thruſting out his voyce alowde, ſayde: what, hath he not beaten me? yes, in deeде, & *Demosthenes* then: I beleue it now, for I heare the voyce of a man that was beaten in deeде. Thus he thought, that the found of the voyce, the pronunciation or geſture in one ſort or other, were thinges of force to beleue or diſcredit that a man ſayth. His countenance when he pleaded before the people, did maruailouſly C pleaſe the common ſorte: but the noble men, and men of vnderſtanding, found it too baſe and meane, as *Demetrius Phalerius* ſayde, amonge others. And *Hermippus* writeth, that one called *Aeſion*, being asked of the ancient Orators, and of thoſe of his tyme, answered: that euery man that had ſeene them, would haue wondred with what honor, reuerence, and modeſtie, they ſpoke vnto the people: howbeit that *Demosthenes* orations (whoſe other red them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therefore we may eaſily iudge, that the orations *Demosthenes* wrote are very ſeuere and ſharpe. This notwithstanding, otherwhile he would giue many pleaſant and witty anſwers apon the ſodain. As when *Demades* one day ſayd vnto him, *Demosthenes* will teach me: after the common prouerbe, the ſowe will teach *Minerva*. He answered ſtraight againe: This *Minerva* not long ſince, was in Collytus ſtreete, taken in adulterie. A certain theefe alſo called *Chaleus* (as much to ſay, as of copper) ſtepping forth to ſaye ſomewhat of *Demosthenes* late ſitting vp a nights, and that he wrote and ſtuded the moſt part of the night by lampe light: in deeде, & *Demosthenes*, I know it grieues thee to ſee my lampe burne all night. And therefore, you, my Lordes of ATHENS, me thinkes you ſhould not wonder to ſee ſuch robberies in your citie, conſidering we haue theeuſes of copper, and the wallſes of our houſes be but of claye. We could tell you of diuers others of his like writte and pleaſant anſwers, but theſe may ſuffice for this preſent: and therefore we will proceede to conſider further of his nature and conditions; by his actes and deedes in the affaires of the common wealth. Now *Demosthenes* firſt beginning when he came to deale in the affaires of the ſtate, was in the time of the warre made with the PHOCIANS, as him ſelfe reporteth: and as appeareth E further in his orations which he made againſt *Philip*: of the which, the laſt were made after the warre was ended, & the firſt doe touch alſo ſome particuler doings of the ſame. He made the oration againſt *Midias*, when he was but 32. yeare old, and was of ſmall countenance & reputation in the common wealth: the want whereof was the chiefſt cauſe (as I thinke) that induced him to take money for the injury he had done him, & to let his action fall againſt him.

He was not of a meeke and gentle mind,

But ſeuer and haſty to reuenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no ſmall enterpriſe, nor that could take effect by a man of ſo ſmall power & authoritie as him ſelfe, to ouerthrow a man ſo wealthy, ſo befriended, & ſo eloquent as *Midias*: he therefore yielded him ſelfe vnto thoſe, that did ſpeake & intreate for him. Neither do I think that the three thouſand Drachmas which he receiued, could haue bridled the bitternes of his nature, if otherwiſe he had ſeene any hope or likelihood that he could haue pre-

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Demosthenes
by induſtry
reformeth his
defects of na-
ture.

Demosthenes
countenance
and geſture
miſliked of
the nobilitie.

Demosthenes
witty anſwers.

The time of
Demosthenes
commencing to
practiſe in the
affaires of the
ſtate.
Diſpleaſure
breueth *Demosthenes*
and *Midias*.

ailed againſt him. Now at his firſt coming vnto the common wealth, taking a noble matter in hid to ſpeak againſt *Philip*, for the defence & maintenance of the lawes & liberties of the GREECIANS, wherein he handled him ſelfe worthely: that in ſhort ſpace he wanne him maruelous fame for his great eloquence and plaine manner of ſpeech. Thereby he was maruelouſly honored alſo through all GREECE, and greatly eſteemed with the king of PERSIA: and *Philip* him ſelfe made more accompt of him, then of all the Orators in ATHENS, & his greateſt foes which were moſt againſt him, were driuen to confeſſe that they had to doe with a famous man. For, in the orations which *Aeſchines* & *Hyperides* made to accuſe him, they write thus of him. And therefore I maruell what *Theopompus* ment, when he wrote that *Demosthenes* had a ſturtell, vnconſtant mind, & could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters B of ſtate. For in contrary manner, in my iudgement, he continued conſtant ſtill to the end, in one ſelfe maner & order, vnto the which he had betaken him ſelfe at the beginning: & that not onely he neuer changed all his life time, but to the contrary he loſt his life, becauſe he would be no chaungeling. For he did not like *Demades*, who to excuſe him ſelfe for that he had oft turned coate in matters of gouernment, ſaid, that he went oftentimes againſt his own ſayings, as matters ſel out but neuer againſt the benefit of the common wealth. And *Aelanus* alſo, who was euer againſt *Callistratus*, hauing his mouth ſtopped many times with money, he would vp to the pulpit for orations, & tel the people, that in deeде *Callistratus*, which maintaineth the contrary opinion againſt me, is mine enemy, & yet I yeld vnto him for this time: for the benefit of the common wealth muſt cary it. And another alſo, *Nicomachus Meſſenian*, who being firſt of C *Cassanders* ſide, toke part afterwards with *Demetrius*, & then ſaid, that he did not ſpeake againſt him ſelfe, but that it was meeete he ſhould obey his ſuperiors. They can not detect *Demosthenes* with the like, that he did euer halt or yeld, either in word or deeде: For he euer continued firme and conſtant in one mind in his orations. Inſomuch that *Panetius* the Philoſopher ſayth, that the moſt part of all his orations are grounded vpon this maxime and principle: that for it ſelfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honeſt. As the oration of the crowne, the which he made againſt *Aristocrates*: that alſo which he made for the franchises and freedom: and in fine, all his orations againſt *Philip* of MACEDON. And in all thoſe he doth not perſwade his contry men to take that which is moſt pleaſant, eaſieſt, or moſt profitable: but he proueth that oftentimes honeſtie is to be preferred aboue ſaſetie or health. So that, had he in D all his orations and doings, ioyned to his honeſtie, curteſie, and francke ſpeeche, valliantnes in warres, and cleane hands from bribery: he might deſeruedly haue bene compared, not with *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus*, *Hyperides*: and ſuch other Orators: but euen with the higheſt, with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worſt way in gouernment of the common wealth, becauſe he was ſuſpected that he tooke part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valliantnes, wiſedome and iuſtice, he was euer thought as honeſt a man, as *Ephialtes*, and *Aristides*. But *Demosthenes* on thother ſide (as *Demetrius* layth) was no man to truſt to for warres, neither had he any power to reſuſe gifts and bribes. For, though he would neuer be corrupted with *Philip* king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold and ſiluer that was brought from the cities of SYRIA & EGYPTANA, & was very ready to praife & commend the deedes of their anceſtors, E but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honeſteſt man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And beſides, he did euer ſpeake more boldly and plainly to the people then any man els, and would openly contrary their mindes, and ſharply reprove the ATHENIANS for their faultes, as appeareth by his orations. *Theopompus* alſo writeth, that the people on a time would haue had him to accuſe a man, whome they would needes haue condemned. But he reſuſing to doe it, the people were offended, and did mutine againſt him. Thereupon he riſing vp, ſayd openly vnto them: my Lordes ATHENIANS, I will alwayes counſell ye to that which I thinke beſt for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be againſt your mindes: but fallſely to accuſe one, to ſaſiſie your mindes, though you commaund me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did againſt *Aniſiphon*, ſheweth plainly that he was no people F pleaſer, and that he did leane more vnto the authoritie of the Senate. For when *Aniſiphon* was quit by the people in an aſſembly of the citie: *Demosthenes* notwithstanding tooke him, & called him againe into the Court of the Areopagites, and did not paſſe vpon the peoples ill will,

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Demosthenes
an enemy to
the Macedo-
nians.

The conſten-
cy of *Demosthenes*
deſend
againſt
Theopompus.

Note the in-
conſtancy and
ſuall mutation
of theſe Ora-
tors.

Demosthenes
reſtoreth ho-
neſty, as a ſpe-
ciall rule in
his orations.

Demosthenes
a timorous
man, and gi-
uen to bribes.

Demosthenes
franke ſpeake
in his orations

but there convinced him for promising *Philip* of *Macedon* to burne the arsenal of *Athenians* A
 so by sentence of that court he was condemned, & suffered for it. He did also accuse the *Nunne*
Theorides for many lewd parts committed, & amongst others, for that she taught flaures to de-
 ceive their maisters: & so following the matter against her to death, she was condemned, and
 executed. It is thought also, that he made the oration *Apolodorus* spake against the *Prator* *Ti-*
motheus, & proued thereby that he was a detter to the common wealth, & so a naughty man: &
 that he wrote those orations also intituled vnto *Formio* and *Stephanus*, for the which he was in-
 iustly reprocured. For *Formio* pleaded against *Apolodorus* with the oration which *Demosthenes* selfe
 had made for him: which was euen alike, as if out of one selfe cutlers shoppe; he had solde his
 enemies swords one to kil another. And for his known orations, those which he made against
Androtion, *Timocrates*, and *Aristocrates*: he caused them to giue them vnto others, when he had
 not yet delc in matters of state. For in deede when he did put them forth, he was not passing
 feuen or eight and twenty yeare olde. The oration which he made against *Aristogiton*, and the
 other also of libertie, against *Ctesippus* the sonne of *Cabrias*, he spake them, as he saith him selfe,
 (or as others write) openly vnto the people, because he intended to marry *Chabrias* mother.
 Howbeit he did not, but married a *SAMIAN* womā, as *Demetrius Magnus* writeth in his booke
 he made intituled *Synonyma*, and in that he wrote against *Aeschines*: where he accuseth him
 that he delc falsly when he was Ambassador. It is not known whether it was euer recited or
 not, although *Idomenus* writeth, that there lacked but thirry voices onely to haue quit *Aes-*
chines. But in this me thinks he spake not truly, and doth but coniecture it, by that the one &
 the other haue sayd in their orations against the crowne, in the which, neither the one nor the
 other doe say precisely, that this accusation proceeded to iudgement. But let other that lyst
 decide this doubt. Now before the warre began, it was euident enough, to which parte *De-*
mosthenes would incline in the common wealth: For he would neuer leaue to reprove and
 withstand *Philippes* doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in *Philippes* Court, then any
 man els, he was sent vnto him the tenth perfon with nyne others in ambassade. *Philippe* gaue
 them all audience one after another: howbeit he was more carefull and circumspect to aun-
 swer *Demosthenes* oration, then all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not *De-*
mosthenes so much honor, nor gaue him so good entertainment, as to his other companions. For
Philipp thewed more kindness, and gaue better countenance vnto *Aeschines*, and *Philocrates*, then
 vnto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise *Philip*, and sayd that he was a well spoken D
 Prince, a fayrer man, and would drinke freely, and be pleasant in company: *Demosthenes* sym-
 led at it, and turned all those thinges to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing
 commendable nor meete for a king. For the first was a qualitie meete for a pleader, the second
 for a woman, and the third for a sponge. In fine, warres falling out betwene them, because *Phi-*
lip of the one side could not liue in peace, & the *ATHENIANS* on the other side were stil in-
 censed & stirred vp by *Demosthenes* daily orations. Whereupon, the *ATHENIANS* first sent into the
 Ile of *Euboea*, (the which by meanes of certaine priuate tyrannes that had taken the townes,
 became subiect againe vnto *Philip* following a decree *Demosthenes* had preferred, & so went to
 expulſe the *MACEDONIANS* againe. After that also he caused them to send ayde vnto the *BI-*
ZANTIANS, & vnto the *PERINTHIANS*, with whom *Philip* made warre. For he so perswaded the E
ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto those two nations, &
 the faults which either of both the cities had committed against them in the warres, touching
 the rebellion of their confederats: & he caused them to send them ayde, which kept them frō
Philips force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto all the great cities of *GREECE* as
 Ambassador, he did so sollicit & perswade them, that he brought them all in manner to be a-
 gainst *Philip*. So that the army which their tribe should find at their common charge, was fif-
 teene thousand footemen, all straungers, and two thousand horsemen, besides the Citizens
 of euery citie which should also serue in the warres at their charge: and the money leaued
 for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly disbursed. *Theophrastus* writeth, that
 it was at that tyme their confederats did pray that they would set downe a certaine summe F
 of money, what euery citie shoulde paye: and that *Crobylus* an Orator shoulde make aun-
 swer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was
 infinite

Demosthenes
orations which
were true and
which faile.

Demosthenes
doings against
Philip.

Demosthenes
stirred up
Greece against
the Macedo-
nians.

A infinite. Now all *GREECE* being in armes, attending what should happen, and all these people
 and cities being vnite in one league together: as, the *EVBOIANS*, the *ATHENIANS*, the *CO-*
RIINTHIANS, the *MEGARIANS*, the *LEVCADEANS*, and the *GOROYRIANS* the greatest mat-
 ter *Demosthenes* had to do, was to perswade the *THEBANS* also to enter into this league, because
 their contry confined and bordered with *ATTICA*, besides, their force and power was of great
 importance, for that they caried the fame of all *GREECE* at that time, for the valliantest fouldi-
 ers. But it was no trifling matter to winne the *THEBANS*, and to make them breake with *Philip*,
 who but lately before had bound them vnto him by many great pleasures which he had done
 to them, in the warre of the *PHOCIANS*: besides also that betwike *ATHENS* & *THEBES*, by rea-
 son of vicinitie, there fell out daily quarels and debates, the which with euery litle thing were
 B soone renewed. This notwithstanding, *Philipp* being proude of the victorie he had wonne by
 the citie of *AMPHISSE*, when he came and invaded the contry of *ELATIA*, and was entred in-
 to *PHOCIDE*: the *ATHENIANS* were then so amased with it, that no man durst occupie the
 pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assemblie stand-
 ing in a doubt with great silence, *Demosthenes* onely steppe vp, and did agayne giue them coun-
 sell to seeke to make league and alliance with the *THEBANS*: and so did further encourage the
 people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwayes wont to doe. Then with others he was
 sent Ambassador vnto *THEBES*: and *Philipp* also for his parte, sent Ambassadors vnto the
THEBANS, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus*, two gentlemen *MACEDONIANS*, and with them, *Dio-*
chus, *Thestylus*, and *Thrasidamus*, to aunſwer and withstand the perswasions of the *ATHENIAN*
 C Ambassadors. Thereupon the *THEBANS* beganne to aduise them selues for the best, and layd
 before their eyes the miserable frutes and calamities of warre, their woundes being yet greene,
 and vnured, which they gotte by the warres of *PHOCIDE*. Notwithstanding, the great force
 of *Demosthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did so inflame the *THEBANS* courage with
 desire of honor, that it rode vnder their feete all manner of considerations, and did so raise
 them with the loue and desire of honestie: that they cast at their heeles, all feare of daunger,
 all remembrance of pleasures receiued, and all reason perswading the contrary. This acte of
 an Orator was of so great force, that *Philipp* forthwith sent Ambassadors vnto the *GRECI-*
 ANS, to intreate for peace, and all *GREECE* was vppe, to see what would become of this sturte.
 Thus, not onely the Captaines of *ATHENS* obeyed *Demosthenes*, doing all that he commaun-
 D ded them: but the gouernors also of *THEBES*, and of all the contry of *BOEOTIA* besides. And
 the assemblies also of the counsell of *THEBES* were as well gouerned by him, as the assemblies
 of *ATHENS*, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, and hauing a like authoritie
 to commaund both, and not vndeferredly, as *Theopompus* sayth, but by iust desert. But some fatall
 destinie, and the reuolucion of times had determined the finall ende of the libertie of *GREECE*
 at that time, cleane contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestiall signes
 that did foreshewe and prognosticate what ende should ensue thereof. And amongst others,
Apolloer Nunne gaue these dreadful oracles: and this olde prophecie of the *SIBYLS* was com-
 monly song in euery bodys mouth.

VVhat time the bloody battell shall be fought at Thermodon,
 God graunt I may be farre away, or els (to looke thereon)
 Haue Eagles vying to soare above, among the clowdes on hye.
 For there the vanquish side shall weepe, and Conquerer shall dye.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a litle riuer of our contry of *CHERONIA*, the which
 falleth into the riuer of *Cephissus*: howbeit at this present time there is neuer a riuer nor brook
 in all our contry, that I know, called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that riuer which we call
 now *Hæmon*, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of *Hæmules*, where the
GRECIANS lay in campe. And it maybe, that because it was filled with dead bodies, and that it
 ranne bloud at the day of the battell, it chaunged her name, & was sunamed *Hæmon*, because
Hæma in the Greeke tongue, signifieth bloud. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithstanding, that this
 Thermodon was no riuer, but that certaine men setting vp their tent, and trenching it about,
 found a litle image of stone, whereupon were engrauen these letters, whereby it appeareth
 that it was a man called Thermodon, who caried an *AMAZON* hart in his armes, & that for this
 GGGG iij

Demosthenes
force of elo-
quence in-
spired the
Thebans
with the
Athenians,
and wonne
them from
Philip
king of Ma-
cedon.

The overthrow
of the Greci-
ans fore-
told as Chæ-
ronia, by
signes
and ancient
oracles.

The river of
Thermodon,
or Hæmon, in
the contry of
Chæronia.

Another opi-
nion of Ther-
modon.

image of *Themodon*, they do bring such another olde oracle as this:

Ye Ernes and Ravens taryll the field of Themodon:
There will be store of Carcasses of men to feede vpon.

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the mothe of these things. But *Demosthenes* trusting to the valliantes and power of the *Grecians*, and being maruelously incouraged to see such a great number of valliant & resolute me, so willing to fight with the enemy: he bad them be of good corage, & not to baste about such oracles, & to giue care to those prophecies. And furthermore, he told them plainly, that he did mistrust the Nunne *Pythia* did leane vnto *Philip*, as fauoring him, & did put the *Thebians* in mind of their Capitaine *Epaminondas*, & the *Athenians* of *Pericles*, & perswaded them, that those two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that such prophecies were no other, but a fine cloke for cowards, & that taking no heede to them, they did dispatch their matters according to their owne discretion. Vntill this present time, *Demosthenes* shewed him selfe alwaies an honest man: But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valliant acte any thing answerable to the orations whereby he had perswaded the people. For he left his ranc, & cowardly cast away his weapons to runne the lighter, & was not alhamed at all, as *Pythias* said, of the words written vpon his shield in golden letters, which were, *Good Fortune*. Now *Philip* hauing wonne the battell, he was at that present so ioyfull, that he fell to committ many fond parts. For after he had droncke well with his friends, he went into the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, & there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the decree which *Demosthenes* had preferred, (by the which, the *Athenians* accordingly proclaimed warres against him) rising and falling with his voyce, and dauncing in C

Demosthenes
fleeth from
the battell.

Demosthenes
word and de-
uise open his
foiuld.

Demosthenes, the some of *Demosthenes* Paeanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to waxe sober, & leauing his dronkenness, & that he had remembred him selfe what danger he had bene in: then his heare stood bolt upright vpon his head, considering the force & power of such an Orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his Realme & life at a battell. Now *Demosthenes* fame was so great, that it was caried euen to the great king of *Persias* court, who wrote vnto his Lieutenants & gouernors, that they should feede *Demosthenes* with money, & should procure to entertaine him aboute all the men in *Greece*, as he that could best withdraw *Philip*, & trouble him with the warres and tumults of *Greece*. And this was afterwards proued by letters found of *Demosthenes* him selfe, D the which came to king *Alexanders* hands in the cite of *Sardis*, and by other writings also of the gouernors & Lieutenants of the king of *Persia*: in the which were named directly the expresse sommes of money which had bene sent & giuen vnto him. Now, the *Grecians* being thus ouerthrowen by battell, the other Orators, aduerfaries vnto *Demosthenes* in the common wealth, began to set upon him, & to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not only cleere him of all the accusations obiected against him, but did continue to honor him more then before, & to call him to assemblies, as one that loued the honor and benefit of his contry. So that when the bones of their contry men which were slayne at the battell of *Cheronnea*, were brought to be openly buried according to the custom: the people gaue him the honor to make the funeral oration in praise of the dead, & made no shew of sorow or griefe for the losse E they had receiued: (as *Theopompus* witnesseth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner shewed that they did not repent them in following of his counsell, but did honor him that gaue it. *Demosthenes* then did make the funeral oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would neuer subscribe any, to preuent the sinister lucke & misfortune of his name, but did passe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew coragious againe, shortly after that he vnderboode of the death of *Philip*, who was slaine immediately after the victorie he wanne at *Cheronnea*. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the prophetic or oracle in the two last verses:

*The vanquished be voyles his lucklesse lot,
 And he that vwinnes, with life elsapeth not.*

Now *Demosthenes* hearing of *Philip*s death, before the newes were openly known, to preuent them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better lucke to come. Ther eupon he went

Demosthenes
corrupted with
money of the
king of Persia

Demosthenes
praiseth them
that were
slaine at the
battell of Cheronnea.

The death of
Philip king of
Macedon.

A wet with a cheerfull countenance into the assembly of the counsell, & told them there, that he had had a certain dreame that promised great good hap, & that out of had vnto the *Athenians*: & immediately after, the messengers arriued that brought certain newes of king *Philip*s death. Thereupon the *Athenians* made sacrifices of ioy to the goddesses for this happie newes, and appointed a crowne vnto *Pausanias* that had slaine him. *Demosthenes* also came abroad in his best gowne, and crowned with flowers, seuen dayes after the death of his daughter, as *Aeschines* reporteth: who reproareth him for it, and noteth him to be a man hauing life loue or charitie vnto his owne children. But in deede *Aeschines* selfe deserueth more blame, to haue such a tender womanish hart, as to beleue, that weeping, and lamenting, are signes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and constancie doe passe away B such misfortunes. But now to the *Athenians* againe. I can neither thinke nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signes of ioy, as to weare crownes & garlands vpon their heads, nor also to sacrifice to the goddesses for the death of a Prince, that behaued him selfe so Princely and courteously vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For, though in dede all cruelty be subiect to the reuenge of the goddesses, yet is this an act of a vile and base minde, to honor a man, and while he liued to make him free of their cite, & now that an other hath slaine him, they to be in such an exceeding iolittie withall, and to exceede the bondes of modestie so farre, as to rampe in manner with both their feete vpon the dead, and to sing songs of victorie, as if they them selues had bene the men that had valliantly slaine him. In contrarie manner also, I praise and commend the constancie and corage of *Demosthenes*, that he leauing the reares and C lamentation of his home trouble vnto women, did him selfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefite of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of corage, and worthy to be a gouernor of a common wealth, neuer to stowpe nor yeeld, but alwayes to be found stable and constant, for the benefite of the common wealth, reiecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the seruice of his contrie, and to keepe his honor much more carefully, then common players vse to doe, when they play the partes of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to geue them iust occasion. But omitting those reasons, if there be no reason (as in deede there is not) to leaue and forsake a man in his sorow and trouble, without geuing him some wordes of comfort, and rather to deuise some D matter to assuage his sorow, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke vpon some pleasanter things: euen as they should keepe fore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene & darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles & grieues at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to ioyne their priuate grieues with common ioyes, to the end, that the better may obscure & take away the worle? But thus farre I digressed from my historie, enlarging this matter, because *Aeschines* in his Oration touching this matter, did moue the peoples hartes too much to womanish sorow. But now to the rest. The cities of *Greece* being againe stirred vp by *Demosthenes*, made a new league againe together: and the *Thebians* also hauing armed them selues by his practise, did one day set vpon the garrison of the *Macedonians* within their city, and slue many of them. E The *Athenians* prepared also to maintaine warre on the *Thebians* behalfe and *Demosthenes* was dayly at all the assemblies of counsell, in the pulpit, perswading the people with his Oration: and he wrote also into *Asia* vnto the king of *Persias* Lieutenants and Captaines, to make warre with *Alexander* on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as much to say, as foole. But after that *Alexander* hauing set all his things at stay within his realme, came him selfe in perlon with his armie, and inuaded the contrie of *Borotia*: then fell the pride of the *Athenians* greatly, & *Demosthenes* also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length, the poore *Thebians* being left vnto them selues, forsaken of euerie man: they were compelled them selues alone to beare the brunte of this warre, & so came their city to vter ruine and destruction. Thereby the *Athenians* being in a marcelous feare and perplexitie, did fadainly choose Ambassadors to send vnto this young king, and *Demosthenes* chiefly among others: F who being affrayed of *Alexanders* furie and wrath, durst not goe to him, but returned from mount *Cytheron*, and gaue vp the Ambassade. But *Alexander* sent to summe the *Athenians*

Demosthenes
preferreth the
iay of his con-
trie, before
the sorow of
his owne
daughter.

Aeschines re-
proued by
Plutarch for
his funde be-
leefe, that
blubbering
and sorrow
are signes of
lowe and cha-
ritie.

Plutarch
praiseth *De-*
mosthenes
constancie, for
leauing of his
mourning, to
reioyce for his
common com-
mon benefite.

Demosthenes
raisset up the
Grecians a-
gainst *Alexander*.

Alexander required certain Orators of Athens. Demosthenes tale of the sheepe and woulues.

N I A N S, to send vnto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both doe write: or eight, A as the most writers and best historiographers doe reporte, which were these: *Demosthenes*, *Polycritus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Calisthenes*, and *Charidemus*. At which time, they wryte that *Demosthenes* told the people of A T H E N S, the fable of the sheepe and woulues, how that the woulues came on a time, and willed the sheepe, if they woulde haue peace with them, to deliuer them their massiues that kept them. And so he compared him selfe, and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the contrie, vnto the dogges that kepe the flocks of sheepe, and calling *Alexander* the woulfe. And so forth, sayd he, like as you see these come maisters bringing a fample of their come in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that lide doe sell all that they haue: so I thinke you will all wonder, that deliuering of vs, you will also deliuer your selues into the handes of your enemies. *Aristobolus* of C A S S A N D R A reporteth this matter thus. Now the A T H E N I A N S being in consultation, not knowing how to resolue: *Demades* hauing taken five talents of them whom *Alexander* demaunded, did offer him selfe, and promised to goe in this Ambassade vnto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them, either bicause he trusted in the loue the king did beare him, or else for that he thought he hoped he should finde him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the blood of beastes which he had slaine. Howsoeuer it happened, he perswaded the people to send him vnto him, and so handled *Alexander*, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the citie of A T H E N S. Thereupon *Alexander* being retyred, *Demades* and his fellows bare all the sway and authoritie, and *Demosthenes* was vnder foote. In deede when *Agis* king of L A C E D E M O N, came with his armie into the field, he began a lide to rowse him selfe, and to lift vp his head: but he shrunke choller againe C soone after, bicause the A T H E N I A N S woulde not rise with the L A C E D E M O N I A N S, who were ouerthrowen, and *Agis* slaine in battell. At that time was the cause of the crowne pleaded against *Ctesiphon*, and the plea was written a lide before the battell of C H E R O N E A, in the yeare when *Charondas* was Prouost of A T H E N S: howbeit no sentence was giuen but ten yerres after that *Aristophan* was Prouost. This was such an open iudgement, and so famous, as neuer was any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthines of the Iudges that gaue sentence thereof: who did not leaue *Demosthenes* to his enemies, although in deede they were of greater power then he, and were also supported with the fauor and good will of the M A C E D O N I A N S: but they did notwithstanding so well quit him, that *AEschines* had not so muche as the list parte of mens voyces and opinions D in his behalfe. Wherefore immediately after sentence geuen, he went out of A T H E N S for shame, and trauelled into the contrie of I O N I A, and vnto the R H O D E S, where he did teache Rethoricke. Shortly after, *Harpalus* flying out of *Alexanders* seruice, came vnto A T H E N S, being to be charged with many fowle matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigality: and also bicause he feared *Alexanders* furie, who was grown seuerer and cruel, vnto his chiefeft seruantes. He comming now amongst the A T H E N I A N S, with store of gold and siluer, the Orators being greedie and desirous of the golde and siluer he had brought: beganne straight to speake for him, and did counsell the people to receiue & protect a poore suter that came to them for succour. But *Demosthenes* gaue counsell to the contrarie, and bad them rather driue him out of the citie, and take heed they brought not warres upon their backs, for E a matter that not onely was not necessarie, but furthermore meere vniust. But within fewe daies after, inuently being taken of all *Harpalus* goods, he perceiving that *Demosthenes* tooke great pleasure to see a cuppe of the kings, and considered verie curiously the facion & workmanhippe vpon it: he gaue it him in his hand, to iudge what it weyed. *Demosthenes* peasing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heauie: so he asked how many pound weight it weyed. *Harpalus* smiling, answered him: it will wey three twentie talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cuppe, with the twentie talents. This *Harpalus* was a verie wise man, and found straight by *Demosthenes* countenance that he loued money, and could presently iudge his nature, by seeing his pleasaunt countenance, and his eyes still vpon the cuppe. So *Demosthenes* refused not his gift, and being ouercomen withall, as if he had receiued a garri- son into his house, he tooke *Harpalus* parte. The next morning, he went into the assemblie of the people, hauing his necke bound vp with wolfe and rolles. So when they called him by his

The iudgement of the crowne vnto Ctesiphon.

Harpalus a great money man came to Athens, flying from Alexander.

Demosthenes bribed by Harpalus with twenty talents.

A his name to steppe vp into the pulpit to speake to the people as he had done before he made a signe with his head, that he had an impediment in his voyce, & that he could not speake. But while men laughing at his fine excuse, tolde him it was no finanche that had stopped his witt that night, as he would make them beleue: but it was *Harpalus* argenty synache which he had receiued, that made him in that case. Afterwards when the people vnderstoode that he was corrupted, *Demosthenes* going about to excuse him selfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noyle and exclamacion against him. Thereupon there rose vp a pleasaunt conceited man, that sayd: why my maisters, do ye refuse to heare a man that hath * such a golden tongue? The people thereupon did immediatly banishe *Harpalus*, and searing least king *Alexander* would require an accompt of the gold and siluer which the Orators had robbed and pilfered away among them: they made very diligent searche and inquire in euery mans house, excepting *Callicles* house, the sonne of *Arrenidas*, whose house they would haue searched by no means, bicause he was but newly married, and had his newespowle in his house, as *Theopompus* wryteth. Nowe *Demosthenes* desiring to shewe that he was in fault, preferred a decree, that the court of the Areopagites should heare the matter, and punish them that were found faultie, and therewithall straight offered him selfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the summe of fiftie talents, and for lacke of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickely body. So he brake prison, partly without the priuie- tie of his keepers, and partly also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a C scape. Some doe report that he fled not farre from the citie: where it was told him that certaine of his enemies followed him, whereupon he would haue hidden him selfe from them. But they them selues first called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houses to helpe him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Ther: they did comfort him the best they could, & perswaded him to be of good cheere, & not to dispaire for the misfortune that was comen vnto him. This did pearce his hart the more for forow, that he answered them: why, would you not haue me beforie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the citie where in deede I haue so curteous enemies, that it is hard for me to finde any where so good frends: So he tooke his banishment vmanly, and remained the most parte of his banishment in the citie of A G I N A, or at the citie of T R O E Z E N, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the contrie of A T T I C A, and weepe bitterly. And some haue written certaine words he spake, which shewed no minde of a man of corage, nor were aunswerable to the noble things he was wont to perfwade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of A T H E N S, he looked backe againe, and holding vp his handes to the castell, sayd in this sorte: O Ladie *Minerva*, Ladie patronesse of this city: why dost thou delight in three so mischieuous beastes: the owle, the draggon, and the people? Besides, he perswaded the young men that came to see him, and that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offered him two wayes at the first, the one to goe into the assembly of the people, to make Orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had known as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that medleth with the affaires of the state, the feare, the enuie, the accusations, and troubles in the fame: he would rather haue chofen the way to haue suffered death. So, *Demosthenes* continuing in his exile, king *Alexander* dyed, and all G R E C E was vp againe: insonmuch as *Leofthenes* being a man of great valure, had shur vp *Antipater* in the citie of L A M B A, and there kept him straightly besieged. Then *Pytheas* and *Callimedes*, surnamed *Carabos*, two Orators, and both of them banished from A T H E N S, they tooke parte with *Antipater*, and went from towne to towne with his Ambassadors and frendes, perswading the G R E C I A N S not to sturre, neither to take parte with the A T H E N I A N S. But *Demosthenes* in contrarie maner, ioyning with the Ambassadors sent from A T H E N S into euerie quarter, to sollicite the cities of G R E C E, to seeke to recouer F their libertie: he did aide them the best he could, to sollicite the G R E C I A N S, to take armes with the A T H E N I A N S, to driue the M A C E D O N I A N S out of G R E C E. And *Phylarchus* wryteth, that *Demosthenes* encountered with *Pytheas* wordes in an open assemblie of the people in a

* This conceit can hardly be expressed in any other language, then in Greeke. For he sayth, in axouids vñ rñv xouids xgoues: alluding to the words xouids, which signifies eth to delight by pleasaunt speech or sound.

Demosthenes banishment.

Demosthenes took his banishment grievously.

Three mischieuous beastes.

Antipater besieged of the Athenians.

certaine towne of *ARCADIA*. *Pytheas* hauing spoken before him, had said: like as we presume alwaies that there is some sicknesse in the house whether we doe see asses milke brought: so must that towne of necessitie be sicke, wherein the Ambassadors of *ATHENS* doe enter. *Demosthenes* answered him againe, turning his comparison against him: that in dedde they brought asses milke, where there was neede to recouer health: and euen so, the Ambassadors of *ATHENS* were sent, to heale and cure them that were sicke. The people at *ATHENS* vnderstanding what *Demosthenes* had done, they so reioycied at it, that presently they gaue order in the field, that his banishment should be reuoked. He that perswaded the decree of his reuocation, was called *Damon*, *PEANIAN*, that was his nephew: and thereupon the *ATHENIANS* sent him a galley to bring him to *ATHENS*, from the city of *ÆGINA*. So *Demosthenes* being arriued at the haue of *Piræa*, there was neither *Gouernour*, *Priest*, nor almost any towne's man left in the city, but went out to the haue to welcome him home. So that *Demetrius* *MAGNESIAN* wryteth, that *Demosthenes* then lifting vp his handes vnto heauen sayed, that he thought him selfe happie for the honor of that iorney, that the returne from his banishment was farre more honorable, then *Alcibiades* returne in the like case had bene. For *Alcibiades* was called home by force: & he was sent for with the good will of the citizens. This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not dispence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuised a way to deceiue the lawe: for they had a manner to geue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and sette out the altuer of *Iupiter* *fauor*, for the day of the solemnitie of the sacrifice, the which they did yearly celebrate vnto him: so they gaue him the charge to make this preparation for the summe of fifty talents being the summe of the fine aforesayd wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the good happe of his restitution to his contry and goodes. For the affaires of the *GRECIANS* were immediately after brought to vter ruine. For the battell of *Crannon* which they lost, was in the moneth *Munichyon* (to wit, *Julie*) and in the moneth *Boedromion* next ensuing, (to wit, *August*) the garrison of the *MACEDONIANS* entred into the forte of *Munichya*. And in the moneth *Pynepson* (to wit, the October following) *Demosthenes* died in this manner. When newes came to *ATHENS*, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were coming thither with a great armie, *Demosthenes* and his friends got out of the towne a litle before they entred, the people, by *Demades* perswasion, hauing condemned them to dye. So, euery man making thurst for him selfe, *Antipater* sent souldiers after them to take them: and of them *Archias* was *Captaine*, furnished *Phygadothetas*, as muche to say, as a hunter of the banished men. It is reported that this *Archias* was borne in the citie of *THYRIAS*, and that he had bene sometimes a common player of tragedies: and that *Polus* also who was borne in the citie of *ÆGINES*, (the excellentest crafter maister in that facultie of all men) was his scholler. Yet *Hermippus* doth recite him amongst the number of the schollers of *Lacritus* the Orator. And *Demetrius* also wryteth, that he had bene at *Anaximenes* schoole. Now, this *Archias* hauing founde the Orator *Hyperides* in the citie of *ÆGINA*, *Aristoniscus* *MARATHONIAN*, and *Himeræus* the brother of *Demetrius* the *PHALERIAN*, which had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Aiax*: he tooke them out of the temple by force, and sent them vnto *Antipater*, who was at that time in the citie of *CLÉONES*, where he did put them all to death: and some say, that he did cut of *Hyperides* tongue. Furthermore, hearing that *Demosthenes* had taken sanctuary in the Ile of *CALAVRIA*, he tooke litle pinnasses, and a certaine number of *THRACIAN* souldiers, & being comen thither, he sought to perswade *Demosthenes* to be contented to goe with him vnto *Antipater*, promising him that he should haue no hurt. *Demosthenes* had a straunge dreame the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedie contending with *Archias*, and that he handled him selfe so well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commend him, and gaue him the honor to be the best player: howbeit that otherwise, he was not so well furnished, as *Archias* and his players, and that in all manner of furniture he did farre exceede him. The next morning when *Archias* came to speake with him, who vsing gentle wordes vnto him, thinking thereby to winne him by fayer meanes to leaue the sanctuary: *Demosthenes* looking him full in the face, sitting still where he was, without remouing, sayd vnto him: O *Archias*, thou diddest neuer perswade me when thou playedst a play, neither shalt thou now perswade me, though

Demosthenes
called home
from exile.

Demosthenes
fine of fifty
talents remitted.

Archias *Phygadothetas*, a
hunter of the
banished men.

Demosthenes
dream.

A though thou promise me. Then *Archias* began to be angrie with him, and to threaten him. O, sayd *Demosthenes*, now thou speakest in good earnest, without dissimulation, as the Oracle of *MACEDON* hath commanded thee: for before, thou spakest in the cloudes, and farre from thy thought. But I pray thee stay a while, till I haue written somewhat to my frendes. After he had sayd so, he went into the temple as though he would haue dispatched some letters, and did put the ende of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his manner was when he did vse to write any thing, and held the ende of the quill in his mouth a preiie while together: then he cast his gowne ouer his head, and layed him downe. *Archias* souldiers seeing that, being at the dore of the temple, laughing him to scorne (thinking he had done so for that he was affrayed to dye) called him coward, and beast. *Archias* also coming to him, prayed him to rise, and beganne to vse the former perswasions, to him, promising him that he would make *Antipater* his frende. Then *Demosthenes* feeling the payson worke, cast open his gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, sayd vnto him: Nowe when thou wilt, play *Creons* parte, and throwe my bodie to the dogges, without further graue or buriall. For my parte, O god *Neptune*, I do goe out of thy temple being yet alieue, because I will not prophane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the *MACEDONIANS*, haue not spared to defile thy sanctuary with blood, and cruell murder. Hauing spoken these wordes, he prayed them to stay him vp by his armeholes, for his feete began already to faile him, and thinking to goe forward, as he past by the author of *Neptune*, he fel downe, and geuing one gaspe, gaue vp the ghost. Now touching the payson, *Aristo* reporteth, that he sucked and drew it vp into his mouth out of his quill, as we haue sayd before. But one *Pappus*, (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his history) wryteth, that when he was layed on the ground before the altuer, they founde the beginning of a letter which sayd: *Demosthenes* vnto *Antipater*, but no more. Nowe his death being thus fodaine, the *THRACIAN* souldiers that were at the temple dore, reported that they saue him plucke the payson which he put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had bene a pece of gold he had swallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the house that serued him, being examined by *Archias* about it: tolde him that he had caried it about him a long time, for a preseruatiue for him. *Eratothenes* wryteth, that he kept this payson in a litle boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers also that do reporte his death diuersly, but to recite them all it were in vaine: fauing that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demosthenes* verie frende) sayd, that he dyed not so fodainly by payson, but that it was the speciall fauor of the gods (to preserue him from the crueltie of the *MACEDONIANS*) that so fodainly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele so litle paine. *Demosthenes* dyed the sixteenth day of the moneth *Pynepson* (to wit, October) on the which day they doe celebrate at *ATHENS* the feast of *Ceres*, called *Teimophoria*, which is the dolefullest feast of all the yeare: on the which day also, the women remaine all day longe in the temple of the goddesse, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the *ATHENIANS* to honor him according to his desertes, did cast his image in brasse, & made a lawe besides, that the oldest man of his house shoulde for euer be kept within the palace, at the charge of the common wealth: and ingraued these verses also upon the base of his image.

Demosthenes
sucked payson
to kill him
selfe, in the
temple of
Neptune,
in the Ile of
Calavria.

The death of
Demosthenes.

The time of
Demosthenes
death.

The *Athenians*
honoured
Demosthenes
after his
death.

Hadst thou *Demosthenes* had strength according to thy hart,

The *Macedons* should not haue wrought the *Greekes* such vwoe and smart.

For they that thinke, that it was *Demosthenes* him selfe that made the veres in the Ile of *CALAVRIA*, before he tooke his payson: they are greatly deceiued. But yet a litle before my first coming to *ATHENS*, there went a reporte that such a thing happened. A certaine souldier being sent for to come vnto his Captaine, did put such peeces of gold as he had into the handes of *Demosthenes* statue, which had both his hands ioyned together: and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, diuers leaues whereof either blown of by winde by chaunce, or else by further of purpose by the souldier, couered so this golde, that it was there a long time, and so man found it: vntill such time as the souldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereupon this matter running abroad in euery mans mouth, there were diuers wise men that tooke occasion of this subiect, to make epigrammes in the praise of *Demosthenes*, as one who in

his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enjoy the honor he thought he had newly gotten. For the iustice of the goddess, reuenger of the death of *Demosthenes*, brought him into *MACEDON*, to receive iust punishment by death, of those whom he dishonestly flattered: being before grown hefull to them, and afterwards committed a fault whereby he could not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did persuade, and pray *Perdiccas*, to make him selfe king of *MACEDON*, & to deliuer *GREGA* from bondage, saying that it hong but by a threde, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, *Antipater*, *Dinarchus*. *CORINTHIAN* accused him, that he wrote these letters: the which so grievously offended *Cassander*, that first he slewe his owne sonne in his armes, and then commanded they should afterwards kill *Demades*, making him feeble then by those miseries which are the cruellest that can happen vnto man, that traitors betraying their owne contrie do first of all betray them selues. *Demosthenes* had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleue him. Thus, my friend *Sofinus*, you haue what we can deliuer you, by reading, or report, touching *Demosthenes* life and doings.

* He seyth
Antigonus,
in the life of
Phocion.

Demades
death and re-
ward for his
regin.

THE LIFE OF Marcus Tullius Cicero.



*Cicero's ge-
venage.*



*Cicero, why fo
called.*

Stouching *Cicero's* mother, whose name was *Helmia*, it is reported she was a gentlewoman borne, & liued alwayes verie honestly: but for his father, the reports of him are diuers and infinite. For some say that he was borne and brought vp in a fullers shoppe: others report that he came of *Tullius* *Astius*, who while he liued was honored among the *VOISCES* as king, and made verie sharpe and cruell warres with the *ROMANES*. But surely it seemes to me, that the first of that name called *Cicero*, was some famous man, and that for his sake his offspring continued still that surname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men scorned it, because *Cicero* in English signifieth a riche pease. That *Cicero* had a thing vpon the tippe of his nose, as it had bene a litle wart, muche like to a riche pease, whereuppon they surnamed him *Cicero*. But this *Cicero*, whose life we write of now, nobly aunswered certaine of

of his frendes on a time geuing him counsell to chaunge his name, when he first made sure for office: and beganne to practise in matters of state: that he woulde endeavour him selfe to make the name of the *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, then the *Seamus*, or *Catalis*. After that, *Cicero* beinge made Treasorer in *SICILIE*, he gaue an offering of certeine flourelt to the goddess, and at large engraued on it his two first names, *MARCUS TULLIUS*: and in place of his third name, he pleasauntly commaunded the workman to cut out the forme and facion of a riche pease. Thus muche they wryte of his name. Nowe for his birth, it was sayed that his mother was brought a bedde of him without any paine, the third daye of Ianuarie: on which day the Magistrates and Gouernours of *ROME* doe vse at this present, yearly to make solemne prayers and sacrifices vnto the goddess, for the health and prosperitie of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurse, that did prognosticate vnto her she gaue a childe sucke, which in time to come should doe great good vnto all the *ROMANES*. Nowe though such thinges may seeme but dreames and fables vnto many, yet *Cicero* him selfe shortly after proued this prophetic true: because that when he came of age to learne, he grew so toward, and wanne suche fame among the boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacite. For thereuppon came the other boyes fathers them selues to the schoole to see his face, and to be eye witnesses of the reporte that went of him, of his sharpe and quicke witte to learne. But others of the rude and baser sorte of men were offended with their sonnes, because to honor *Cicero*, they did alwayes put him in the midst betwene them, as they went in the streetes. *Cicero* in deede had suche a naturall witte and vnderstanding, as *Plato* thought meete for learning, and apt for the studie of Philosophie. For he gaue him selfe to all kinde of knowledge, and there was no arte, nor any of the liberal sciences, that he disdaind: notwithstanding in his first young yeares he was apter, and better disposed to the studie of Poetrie, then any other. There is a pretie poeme of his in verses of eight stauces, called *Pontius Glaucus*, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boye. After that, beinge geuen more earnestlie vnto this studie, he was not onely thought the best Orator, but the best Poet also of all the *ROMANES* in his time: and yet doth the excellencie of his eloquence, and commendacion of his tongue continue, euen to this daye, notwithstanding the great alteration and chaunge of the Latine tongue. But his Poetrie hath lost the name and estimation of it, because there were many after him that became farre more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childlike studies, he became then *Philos* scholler, the Academicke Philosopher, the onely scholler of all *Clitomachus* schollers, whome the *ROMANES* esteemed so muche for his eloquence, and loued more for his gentle behauiour and conuersation. He gaue him selfe also to be a follower of *Mutius Scapula*, who at that time was a greates man in *ROME*, and Prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct *Cicero* in the lawes of *ROME*. He did also followe *Sylla* for a time, in the warres of the *MARSIANS*. But when he sawe that the common wealth of *ROME* fell to ciuill warres, and from ciuill warres to a monarchie: then he returned againe to his booke and contemplative life, and frequented the learned men of *GREGA*, and alwayes studied with them, vntill *Sylla* had gotten the vpper hande, and that he sawe all the common wealth againe at some stay. About that time, *Sylla* causing the goods of one that was sayd to be blasime, to be sold by the srier: (beinge one of the outlawes and proscripes, to witte, banished by billes sette vp on postes) *Chrysogonus*, one of *Syllas* freed bondemen, and in great fauour with his maister, bought them for the summe of two thousand Drachmes. Therewithall the sone and heire of the deade person called *Rofinus*, beinge maruelouslie offended, he shewed that it was too shamefull an abuse: for his fathers goodes amounted to the summe of two hundred and fiftie talentes. *Sylla* finding him selfe thus openlie touched with publike fraude and deceite, for the onely gratifyinge of his man: he procured *Chrysogonus* to accuse him, that he had killed his owne father. Neuer an Orator durst speake in *Rofinus* behalfe to defende his cause, but thronge colour, fearing *Syllas* crueltie and seueritie. Wherefore poore *Rofinus*, the young man, seeinge his man forsake him, had no other refuge but to goe to *Cicero*, whome his frendes did counsell and perswade boldly to take vpon him the defence of *Rofinus*, cause: for he should neuer haue a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring him

Cicero *Quid*
for.

Cicero's
birth.

An image ap-
peared to Ci-
cero's nurse.

Cicero's so-
wardnes and
wis.

Cicero a most
his Poet.

Cicero, *Philos*,
scholler,
the Acad-
emicke *Philos*-
opher.
Cicero fol-
lower of *Mu-*
tius Scapula.

Rofinus was
in fau.

HHHH

selfe into estimation, as this. Thereupon *Cicero* determined to take his cause in hand, and did handle it so well, that he obtained the thing he sued for: whereby he wanne him great fame and credit. But yet being affrayed of *Syllas* displeasure, he absented him selfe from *Rome*, and went into *Greece*, gettinge it out that his trauell was for a disease he had vpon him. In deede *Cicero* was dogge leane, a litle eater, and would also eate late, because of the great weakenesse of his stomacke: but yet he had a good lowde voyce; though it was somewhat harsh, and lacked grace and comelynesse. Furthermore he was so earnest and vehement in his Oration that he mounted still with his voyce into the highest tunes: insomuche that men were affrayed it would one daye put him in hazard of his life. When he came to *Athens*, he went to heare *Antiochus* of the cite of *Ascalona*, and fell in greate likinge with his sweete tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he misliked his newe opinions in Philosophie. For *Antiochus* had then forsaken the opinions of the newe Academicke Philosophers, and the sect of the Cameades: being moued thereunto, either through the manifest proofe of things, or by his certaine iudgement; or (as some say) for that of an ambition or dissention against the schollers and followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, he had reposed the resolutions of the Academicks, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the moste parte to the Stoickes opinions. Howebeit *Cicero* had most affection vnto the Academicks, and did studie that sect more then all the rest, of purpose, that if he sawe he were forbidden to practise in the common wealth at *Rome*, he would then goe to *Athens* (leaving all places and Orators in the common wealth) to bestowe the rest of his time quietly in the studie of Philosophie. At length, when he hearde the newes of *Syllas* death, and sawe that his bodie was growen to good state and health by exercise, and that his voyce became daily more and more to fill mens eares with a sweete and pleasant founde, and yet was lowde enough for the constitution of his bodie: receiuing letters dayly from his frendes at *Rome*, that prayed him to returne home, and moreover, *Antiochus* selfe also earnestlie perswadinge him to practise in the common wealth: he beganne againe to fall to the studie of Rethorike, and to frame him selfe to be eloquent, being a necessarie thing for an Orator, and did continually exercise him selfe in making Orations vpon any speache or propofition, and so frequented the chiefe Orators and masters of eloquence that were at that time. To this ende therefore he went into *Asia* vnto *Rhodes*, and amongst the Orators of *Asia*, he frequented *Xenocles* *Adramettin*, and *Dionysius* *Magnesian*, and studied also with *Menippus* *Cartian*: at *Rhodes* he hearde *Apollonius* *Molon*, and the Philosopher *Pofidonius*. And it is reported also, that *Apollonius* wanting the Latine tongue, he did pray *Cicero* for exercise sake, to declaim in *Greece*. *Cicero* was verie well contented with it, thinkinge that thereby his fautes shoulde be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and euerie man praised him one after another. Howebeit *Apollonius* all the while *Cicero* spake, did neuer shewe any glad countenance: and when he had ended, he stayed a greate while and sayed neuer a worde. *Cicero* misliking withall, *Apollonius* at length sayed vnto him. As for me *Cicero*, I doe not onely praise thee, but more then that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorie for poore *Greece*, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely giftes and honor left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the *Romanes*. Nowe *Cicero* being verie well disposed, to goe with good hope to practise at *Rome*, he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was tolde him. For, inquiring of the god *Apollo* *Delphian*, howe he might doe to winne fame and estimation: the Nunne *Pythias* answered him he shoulde obtayne it, so that in his doings he would rather followe the disposition of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to *Rome*, at the first he proceeded verie warily, and discretely, and did not willingly seeke for any office, and when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: for they commonlie called him the *Greekian*, and scholler, which are two wordes; the which the artificers, (and such base mechanickall people at *Rome*) haue euer readie at their tongues ende. Nowe he beinge by nature ambitious of honour, and pricke forward also by the persuation of his father and frendes: in the ende he beganne to pleade, and then obtained

Cicero a weak man.

Cicero, Antiochus scholler.

The commendation of exercise.

Cicero goes into Asia, and to Rhodes.

Cicero declaimed in Greece.

Apollonius estimates of Cicero.

An Oracle giuen to Cicero.

Ciceroes first practising in the common wealth.

A obteyned not the chiefe place by litle and litle, but so soone as he fell to practise, he was immediately esteemed aboue all the other Orators and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronounciation, hauing the selfe same defectes of nature at the beginning, which *Demosthenes* had: to reforme them, he carefully studied to counterfeate *Rogius*, an excellent commedian, and *Aesop* also a player of tragedies. Of this *Aesop* men wryte, that he playing one day *Atreus* parte vpon a stage (who determined with him selfe how he might be reuenged of his brother *Thyestes*) a seruant by chaunce hauing occasion to runne sodainly by him, he forgetting him selfe, struing to shewe the vehement passion and furie of this king, gaue him such a blowe on his head with the scepter in his hand, that he slue him dead in the place. Euen so *Ciceroes* words were of so great force to perswade, by means of his grace and pronounciation. For he mocking the Orators that thrust out their heades, and cried in their Orations, was wont to say that they were like to lame men, who were driuen to ryde, because they could not goe a foote: euen so (sayed he) they crie out, because they can not speake. Truly pleasaunt townes doe grace an Orator, and sheweth a fine witte: but yet *Cicero* vied them so commonly, that they were offensiu vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious coffer and spitefull man. He was chosen Treasorer in the time of dearth, when there was great scarcetie of corne at *Rome*: and the prouince of *Sicilie* fell to his lotte. At his first comming thither, the *Sicilians* misliked him verie much, because he compelled them to sende corne vnto *Rome*: but after they had founde his diligence, iustice, and lenitie, they honored him aboue any Gouernor that euer was sent from *Rome*. Nowe there were diuers young gentlemen of *Rome* of noble houses, who beinge accused for sundrie fautes committed in warres against their honor, and martiall discipline, had bene sent backe againe vnto the Prætor of *Sicilie*: for whome *Cicero* pleaded, and did so excellently defende their cause, that they were pardoned euerie man. Thereupon, thinking well of him selfe, when his time expired, he went to *Rome*, and by the way there happened a pretty iest vnto him. As he passed through the contrie of *Campania*, (otherwise called the lande of labor) he met by chaunce with one of the chiefe *Romanes* of all his friends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they sayd of him at *Rome*, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all *Rome* had bene full of the glorie of his name and deedes. His frende asked him againe: and where hast thou bene *Cicero* all this while, that we haue not seene thee at *Rome*? This killed his hart straight, when he sawe that the reporte of his name and doings, entring into the cite of *Rome* as into an infinite sea, was so sodainly vanquished away againe, without any other fame or speech. But after that, when he looked into him selfe, and sawe that in reason he tooke an infinite labor in hande to attaine to glorie, wherein he sawe no certaine ende whereby to attaine vnto it: it cut of a great parte of the ambition he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure he tooke to heare his owne praise, and to be ouermuche geuen to desire of honor and estimation: those two things continued with him euen to his dying day, and did oftsoones make him swarue from iustice. Furthermore, when he beganne thorowly to practise in the affaires of the state, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftes men shoulde haue many sortes of instruments and tooles without life, to knowe the names of euerie one of them, the places where they shoulde take them, and the vse whereto they shoulde employ them: and that a man of knowledge and qualitie (who doth all things with the helpe and seruice of men) shoulde be slothfull, and carelesse, to learne to knowe the names of his citizens. Therefore he gaue him selfe to knowe, not onely mens names of qualitie, but the streetes also they dwelt in, what parte of the cite fouer it was: their goodly houses in the contrie; the frendes they made of, and the neighbours whome they companied with. So that when he went abroade into *Italy*, wherefoeuer he became, *Cicero* coulde shewe and name his frendes houses. He was not verie riche, and yet he had enough to serue his turne: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loued him the better, because he tooke no fee nor gifte for his pleading, what cause soeuer he had in hande, but then specially, when he defended a matter against *Verres*. This *Verres* had bene Prætor of *Sicilie*, and had committed many lewde partes there, for the which the *Sicilians* did accuse him.

Refine and AEsop the men players.

Cicero, a fine Towne.

Cicero chosen Quaestor.

Cicero diligence, iustice, and lenitie.

Cicero, ambitious, & desire of praise.

Cicero geuen to know mens names, their houses, and frendes.

Ciceroes doing against Verres.

Cicero taking upon him to defende their cause, made *Verres* to be condemned, not by pleading, but in manner without pleading, and in this sorte. The Prætors being his Iudges, and fauoring *Verres*, had made so many reuolumentes and delayes, that they had driuen it of to the laste day of hearing. Cicero perceiuing then he shoulde not haue day light to speake all that he had to say against him, and that thereby nothing shoulde be done and iudged: he rose vp, and sayed, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought forth the witnesses before the Iudges, and hauing caused their depocitions to be taken, he prayed they would proceede to sentence, according to their euidence geuen on that behalfe. Yet some doe reporte, that Cicero gaue many pleasant tawntes and girdes, in pleading the accusation of the SICILIANS against *Verres*. The ROMANES doe call a bore, *Verres*. There was one *Cælius*, the sonne of a freed bondman, who was suspected to holde the superstition of the IEWES. This *Cælius* would haue put by the SICILIANS from following the accusation of *Verres*, and would haue had the matter of his accusation only referred to him, for the prosecuting of it against him. Cicero skorning his sute, sayd vnto him: what hath a Iewe to doe with a Iwine? This *Verres* had a sonne somewhat about twentie yeares of age, who (as the reporte went) had a verie ill name for his beawtie. And therefore when *Verres* one day thought to mocke Cicero, saying that he was too womanly: his children (sayd he) are to be reprobued of that secretly at home. In this accusation, *Hortensius* the Orator durst not directly defende *Verres*: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to aunswere for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yuory geuen him by *Verres* for his reward. Thereupon Cicero gaue him a pretie nippe by the way: but *Hortensius* not vnderstanding him, sayd he coulde no skill of darke speeches. Well, sayd Cicero, yet hast thou a sphinx in thy house. In the ende *Verres* being condemned, and a fine sette on his heade to the value of seuentie fine Myriades, Cicero notwithstandinge was suspected to be bribed with money for agreeing to cast him in so small a summe. But yet when he came to be *Ædilis*, the SICILIANS to shew them selues thankfull to him, both brought and sent him many presentes out of SICILE. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owne vse, but onely bestowed their liberalitie in bringing downe the prizes of vitrells at ROME. He had a goodly house within the confines of the citie of ARPOS, a farme also by NAPLES, and an other about the citie of POMPEII: but all these were no great things. Afterwardes also he had the ioynter of his wife *Terentia*, which amounted to the summe of twelue Myriades, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritance, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. Thereupon he liued verie honestly and soberly, without excess, with his familiar frendes that loued him, both GRÆCIANS and ROMANES, and would neuer goe to supper till after sunne set, not so muche for any great businesse he had, as for the weakenesse of his stomake. But otherwise he was verie curious, and carefull of his person, and would be rubbed and nought, and he would vse also to walke a certaine number of turnes by proportion: and so exercising his bodie in that sorte, he was neuer sicke, and besides was alwayes verie strong and lustie of bodie, able to abide great paines and sorowes which he fell into afterwarde. He gaue his fathers chiefe mansion house to his brother, and went to dwell him selfe in the mount Palatine: bicause such a came to waite vpon him to doe him honor, shoulde not take the paines to goe so farre to see him. For, he had as many men daily at his gate euerie morning, as either *Craffus* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his eltimacion among the fouldiers both of them being at that time the chiefeest men of ROME. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* selfe came vnto Cicero, bicause his Orations stode him to great purpose, for thincrase of his honor and authoritie. Nowe when Cicero came to make sute to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinarie iudge) though he had many competitors, and fellowe suters with him, yet was he first chosen affore them all: and he did so honestly behaue him selfe in that office, that they did not so muche as once suspect him of briberie or extortion. And for prooffe hereof, it is reported, that *Licinius Mæcer* (a man that of him selfe was of great power, and yet fauored and supported besides by *Craffus*) was accused before Cicero of theft and extortion in his office: but he trustinge muche to his supposed credit, and to the great suite and labour his frendes made for him, went home to his house before sentence proceeded against

He speaks it
because the
Iewe doe
exceede in
beauty.

Cicero chosen
Ædilis.

Cicero
riches.

Cicero's great
cruelty and
restraint.

Cicero chosen
Prætor.

Against him (the Iudges being yet to geue their opinions) and there speedily trimmed his beard; and put a newe gowne vpon his backe, as though he had bene fure to haue bene quire of his accusation; and then returned againe into the market place. But *Craffus* went to meete him, and tolde him all the Iudges had condemned him. *Licinius Mæcer* tooke such a grieue and conceit vpon it, that he went home to his house againe, layed him downe on his bedde, and neuer rose after. This iudgement wanne Cicero great fame, for they praised him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to see iustice duly executed: An other called also *Vatinus*, (a bedlem fellowe, and one that behaued him selfe verie vnreuerently to the Magistrates in his pleading, and besides had a swollen necke) came verie arrogantly one day vnto Cicero being in his Prætoriall seate, and asked him a thing, which Cicero would not graunt him there, but would thinke of it at better leasure. Thereupon *Vatinus* tolde him, that he would not be scrupulous to graunt that, if he were Prætor. Cicero turning to him, aunswered him againe: no more haue I (sayd he) such a swollen necke as thou hast. Towardes the ende of his office, two or three dayes before his time expired, there was one accused *Manilius* before him: that he also had robbed the common wealth. This *Manilius* was verie well beloued of the common people, who were perswaded that he was put in sute, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to despise *Pompey* with, whose familiar frende he was. So he required certaine dayes to aunswere the matter he was accused of: but Cicero would geue him no further respite, but to aunswere it the next day. The people therewith were maruelously offended, bicause the other Prætors in such like cases were wont to geue tenne dayes respite to others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the Iudges, and also accused him vnto them: he besought Cicero to heare him pacientlie. Cicero made him aunswere, that hauinge alwayes vsed as muche fauour and curesse as he possible might by lawe, vnto those that were accused, he thought he shoulde offer *Manilius* too great wrong, if he shoulde not doe the like to him: wherefore, bicause he had but one day more to continue Prætor in office, he had purposely geuen him that day to make his aunswere before him. For he thought that to leave his accusation to the hearing of an other Prætor, he coulde not haue bene thought a man that had borne him good will, and ment to pleasure him. These wordes did maruelously change the peoples opinion and affection towards him, and euerie man speaking well of him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cause. He willingly granted them: and coming from the benche, standing at the barre like an Orator to pleade for him, he made a notable Oration, and spake both boldly and sharply against the chiefe men of the citie, and those speciallie that did enuie *Pompey*. This notwithstanding, when he came to sue to be Consul, he founde as great fauour amongst the Nobilitie, as he did with the communitie. For they did further his sute, for the common wealths sake, vpon this occasion. The change and alteration of gouernment the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought straunge at the first among the people: but now men by proceesse of time being vsed to it, it was thoroughly established, and no man misliked it. At that time many men practised to subuert the gouernment, not for the benefit of the common wealth, but to serue their owne couetous mindes. For *Pompey* being then in the East partes, made warres with the kings of PONTVS and ARMENIA, and had not left sufficient force at ROME to oppresse these seditious persons, that sought nothing but rebellion. These men had made *Lucius Catiline* their Captaine: a desperate man to attempt any great enterprise, fittle, and malicious of nature. He was accused before (besides many other vile fautes) for deflowering of his owne daughter, and killinge his brother: and being affrayed to be put in sute for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his brother amongst the number of the outlawes (or proscriptes) as if he had bene then alieue. These wicked rebells hauinge chosen them such a Captaine, were sworne and bounde one to an other in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleshe together, and had besides corrupted the most parte of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine suffered euerie man to take his pleasure, as his youth was inclined vnto: as to banket, to followe harlots, and gaue them money largelie to bestowe in these vayne expences. Furthermore all THYSCAN beganne to rise, and the most parte of GAULE also, lying betwene the Alpes and ITALIA.

Licinius Mæcer
condemned.

Cicero with
one word pacified
the offended Tribunes.

Cicero made
Consul.

The conspiracy
of Catiline.

Catiline's
wickedness.

The citie of ROME it selfe was also in great daunger of rising, for the inequalitye of the goods of the inhabitants. For the noble men, and of greatest courage, had spent all their lands in plays and feasts, or in buildings and common works, which they built at their owne charge, to currie fauour with the common people, that they might obtaine the chief offices; so that thereby they became verie poore, and their goodes were in the handes of meane men and wretches. Thus the state of ROME stood in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might easily haue procured, that durst haue taken vpon him any change or alteration of gouernment, there was then suche diuision among them in the state. *Catiline* notwithstanding, to provide him of a strong bulwarke to prosecute his intent, came to sue to be Consul, hoping that he should be chosen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of him selfe was apt neither to doe any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great strength and aide vnto him that would attempt any thing. Diuers noble and wise men foreseeing that, did procure *Cicero* to sue for the Consulshippe. The people accepted him, and reiecte *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* thereupon were created Consuls, although that *Cicero* of all the suiters for the Consulship was but only a Knights sonne, and not the sonne of a Senator of ROME. Nowe, though the common people vnderstoode not the secret practise and meaning of *Catiline*: yet at the beginning of *Cicero*'s Consulshippe, there fell out great trouble and contention in the common wealth. For they of the one side, whom *Sylla* had by his ordinaunces depofed from their dignities and offices in ROME (who were no small men, neither fewe in number) beganne to creepe into the peoples good will, alleaging many true and iust reasons against the tyrannicall power of *Sylla*: howbeit spoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any change or alteration in the common wealth. The Tribunes on the other side preferred lawes and ordinaunces to further this deuise. They preferred the lawe to choofe the Decemuiiri, with soueraine power and authoritie through all *ITALIA* and *SYRIA*, and also through all the contries and prouinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of ROME: to sell, and releafe all the landes belonging to the state of ROME, to accuse any man whome they thought good, to banishe any man, to restore the Colonies with people, to take what money they would out of the treasure, to leaue men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemuiiri, there were many men of great accept that fauored this law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being colleague and fellowe Consul with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commissioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was priuie vnto *Catilines* conspiracie, and that he misliked it not, because he was so much in det. And this was it that the noble men most feared of all other things. Thereupon *Cicero*, to provide first to prevent this daunger, granted him the prouince of the realme of *MACEDON*: and the prouince of *GAUL* being offered vnto him selfe, he refused it. By this good turne, he wanne *Antonius* like a hired player making him to promise him that he would assist & aide him for the benefit of the common wealth, and that he would say no more, then he should will him. When he had brought him to this, and had wonne him to his minde: he then beganne to be the bolder, and more slowly to resist them that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reprove, and inuey against this law of the Decemuiiri, which the Tribunes would haue established. But thereby he did so terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not one man durst speake against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted once againe to haue it to passe, & appointed the Consuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit *Cicero* being nothing abashed at it, he commaunded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only ouerthrow this law of the Decemuiiri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but furthermore they were vtterly discouraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to passe they intended, he strooke them so dead with his eloquence. For *Cicero* onely of all men in ROME made the ROMANES know, how much eloquence doth grace and beawtifeth that which is honest, and how inuincible right and iustice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wise Gouernor of a common weale, should alwayes in his doings rather preferre profit, than to seeke to currie fauor with the common people: yet so to vse his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also vnpleasant. And to proue his sweete

C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero created Consuls.

Great troubles at Rome, in the time of Cicero's Consulshippe.

A law preferred for the creation and authority of the Decemuiiri.

Cicero by his eloquence overthrew the law of the Decemuiiri.

& pleasant tongue, may be alleaged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the Theater to see the pastimes. For before, the knights of ROME did sit mingled one with another amongst the common people, and took their places as they came. The first that made the difference betweene them, was *Marcius Orho*, at that time Prætor who made a law, by the which he appoynted feuerall seats for the knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The people took this grieuouly, as a thing done to discomtente them: inso much that *Orho* comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common people fel a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also in contrariwise made him roome amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people fel a whistling lowder then before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their hands. And so grew to wordes one with another: that all the Theater was straight in vprore with it. *Cicero* vnderstanding it, went thither him selfe, & calling the people to the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, he there so sharply reproveth them, and therewith so perswaded them, that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receiue *Orho* with clapping of their handes, and contended with the knights which of them should doe him greatest honor. But now againe, the rebels of *Catilines* conspiracie (who were pretily cooled at the first for the feare they stood in) began to be lustie againe, and to gather together, boldly incoring one another to broache their practise, before *Pompey* returned, who was sayd to be on the way towards ROME with his armye. But besides them, those souldiers that had serued before in the warres vnder *Sylla*, being disperfed vpe and downe *ITALY*, (but specially the best souldiers among them dwelling in the good townes of *THYSCAN*) did stirre vp *Catiline* to hasten the enterprise, perswading them selues that they should once againe haue goods enough at hand, to spoyle and ranfacke at their pleasure. These souldiers hauing one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field vnder *Sylla*, conspyred with *Catiline*, and came to ROME to assist him in his lute: who purposed once againe to demand the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The goddes also did plainly shewe by earthquakes, lightning & thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracie: besides also, there fell out manifest coniectures & proofes by men that came to reuale them, howbeit they had not power sufficient to encounter to noble a man, and of so great power as *Catiline* was. *Cicero* therefore deferring the day of election, called *Catiline* into the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* supposing there were many in the Senate that had good wills to rebell, and also because he would shewe him self ready vnto them that were of his conspiracie: he gaue *Cicero* a gentle answer, & said thus, What doe I offend, sayd he, if that being two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weak, and thoroughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, strong, & of power, hauing no head, I doe giue it one? meaning vnder this darke answer, to signifie the people & Senate. This answer being made, *Cicero* was more affrayd then before, inso much that he put on a brigantine for the safetie of his body, & was accompanied with the chiefe men of ROME, and a great number of younge men besides, going with him from his house vnto the fieldes of *Mars*, where the elections were made: & had of purpose left open his iackett lose at the choller, that his brigantyne he had on might be seene, thereby to let euery man that saw him, know the daunger he was in. Euery man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assaile him. But it so came to passe, that by voyces of the people, *Catiline* was againe reiecte from the Consulship, and *Syllanus* and *Murena* chosen Consuls. Shortly after this election, the souldiers of *THYSCAN* being ioyned, which should haue come to *Catiline*, and the day appoynted being at hand to broache their enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefe men of ROME to *Cicero*'s house (*Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bad him wake his maister presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him, about a matter of importance. At night after supper, *Crassus* porter brought his maister a packet of letters, delivered him by a straunger vnknown, which were directed vnto diuers persons, amonge the which one of them had no name subscribed, but was onely directed vnto *Crassus* him self. The effect of his letter was, that there should be a great slaughter in ROME made by *Catiline*, and

Cicero's first tongue.

Others doe say Lucius Titinius Orho Tribune of the people. Rufius Læus for deciding of the Roman Knights from the common people.

Syllus had directed conspired with Catiline.

Cicero examined Catiline in the Senate.

Syllanus and Murena chosen Consuls.

Letters brought to Crassus, of Catilines conspiracy.

therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to save him selfe. *Craffus* having read his owne letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith vnto *Cicero*, partly for feare of the daunger, and partly also to cleere him selfe of the suspition they had of him for the friendship that was betwixt him and *Catiline*. *Cicero* counselling with them what was to be done, the next morning assembled the Senate very rarely, and carrying the letters with him, he did deliver them according to their direction, and commanded they should read them out alowde. All these letters, & every one of them particularly, did bewray the conspiracie. Furthermore, *Quintus Arrius*, a man of authoritie, and that had bene Prætor, tolde openly the souldiers and men of warre that were leauied in *Thyscan*. And it was reported also, that *Manlius* was in the fildes with a great number of souldiers about the cities of *Thyscan*, gaping daily to heare newes of some change at Rome. All these things being thoroughly considered, a decree passed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the common wealth vnto the Consuls, to the end that with absolute authoritie they might (as well as they could) provide for the safetie and preservation thereof. Such manner of decree and authoritie, was not often scene concluded of in the Senate, but in time of present feare and daunger. Now *Cicero* hauing this absolute power, he referred all foreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge, and did him self take vpon him the care and gouernment of all ciuill affaires within Rome. On the day time when he went vp and downe the towne, he had such a trowpe of men after him, that when he came through the great market place, he almost filled it with his trayne that followed him. Thereupon *Catiline* would no longer delay time, but resolved to goe him selfe vnto *Manlius* where their armie lay. But before he departed, he had drawn into his confederacie one *Martius*, & another called *Cethegus*, whome he commanded betimes in the morning to goe to *Ciceros* house with short daggers to kill him, pretending to come to salute him, and to giue him a good morrow. But there was a noble woman of Rome, called *Fulbia*, who went our night vnto *Cicero*, and bad him beware of that *Cethegus*, who in deede came the next morning betimes vnto him; but being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him the more to be suspected. In the end *Cicero* coming out of his house, called the Senate to the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, (as much to say, a staye) which standeth at the vpper end of the holy streete as they goe to the Mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he ment to cleere him selfe of the suspition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would sit downe by him, but they did all rise from the benche where *Catiline* had taken his place. And further, when he began to speake, he could haue no audience for the great noyse they made against him. So at length *Cicero* rose, and commanded him to auoid out of Rome saying, that there must needs be a separation of walles betwene them two, considering that the one vsed but words, and the other force of armes. *Catiline* thereupon immediately departing the citie with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the precinct of the walles, but he made his Sergeants carry axes and bundells of rodde before him, as if he had bene a Consul lawfully created, and did display his ensignes of warre, & so went in this order to seeke *Manlius*. When they were ioyned, he had not much lesse then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the townes to rebell. Nowe open warre being thus proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Ciceros* colleague and fellowe Consul, was sent against him to fight with him. In the meane space, *Cornelius Lentulus* surnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put of the Senate) assembled all the rest which were of *Catilines* conspiracie, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bad them be affraid of nothing. He was then Prætor the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to recouer againe the dignitie of a Senator which he had lost. It is reported that this surname of *Sura* was giuen him vpon this occasion. He being Treasurer in *Syllas* Dictatorship, did fondly waste and consume a marvelous summe of money of the common treasure. *Sylla* being offended with him for it, and demanding an accompt of him before the Senate: he carelessly and contemptuously stepped forth, saying he could make him no other accompt, but shewed him the calfe of his legges, as children doe, when they make a fault at tennis. And thereof it came that euer after that they called him *Sura*, because *Sura* in Latin signifieth, the calfe of the legges. Another time also being accused for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed some of the Judges

Fulbia bewar: she Catilines intent to kill Cicero.

Catiline departed Rome.

C. Lentulus why called Sura.

Judges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more which he had in his fauor, he said he had lost his money he had giuen to one of those two Judges, because it was enough for him to be cleered by one voice more. This man being of this disposition, was first of all incensed by *Catiline*, and lastly marred by certaine wifards & false prognosticators that had mocked him with a vaine hope, singing verses vnto him which they had sayned and deuised, and false prophecies also, which they bare him in hande they had taken out of *Sybbles* bookes of prophecie, which sayd: that there should raigne three *Cornelii* at Rome, of the which, two had already fulfilled the prophecie, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, and for the third, fortune layd it vpon him, and therefore bad him goe thorow withall, and not to dreame it out losing opportunitie as *Catiline* had done. Now this *Lentulus* vnderooke no small enterprife, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as they could murder, and to set fire of Rome, sparing none but *Pompeys* sonnes, whome they would referue for pledges, to make their peace afterwards with *Pompey*. For the rumor was very great and certain also, that he returned from very great warres and conquests which he had made in the East contries. So they layd a plat to put their treason in execution, in one of the nights of *Saturnes* feastes. Further, they had brought flaxe and brimstone, and a great number of armors and weapons into *Cethegus* house. Besides all this prouision, they had appoynted a hundred men in an hundred partes of the citie, to the ende that fire being rayfed in many places at one tyme, it should the sooner runne through the whole citie. Other men also were appoynted to stoppe the pyes and water conduits which brought water to Rome, and to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this sturre, by chauce there were two Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, whose contrie at that tyme did much milke of the *Romanes*, and were vnwilling to be subiect vnto them. *Lentulus* thought these men very fit instruments to cause all *Gaule* to rebell. Thereupon practising with them, he wanne them to be of their conspiracie, and gaue them letters directed to the counsell of their contrie, and in them did promise them freedom. He sent other letters also vnto *Catiline*, and perswaded him to proclaim libertie to all bondmen, and to come with all the speede he could to Rome; and sent with them one *Titus* of the citie of *Crotona* to carry these letters. But all their counsells and purposes (like fooles that neuer met together but at feastes, drinking droncke with light women) were easily found out by *Cicero*: who had a carefull eye vpon them, and very wisely and discretely sawe thorow them. For he had appoynted men out of the citie to spie their doings, which followed them to see what they intended. Furthermore he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also tooke to be of the conspiracie) and knewe by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had practised with the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, and drawn them into their conspiracie. At length he watched them one night so narrowly, that he tooke the Ambassadors, and *Titus Crotonian* with the letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day, *Cicero* assembled the Senate in the temple of Concorde, and there openly red the letters, and heard the evidence of the witnesses. Further, there was one *Iunius Syllanus* a Senator that gaue in euidence, that some heard *Cethegus* say they should kill three Consuls, and foure Prætors. *E. Piso* a Senator also, and that had bene Consul, tolde in manner the selfe same tale. And *Caius Sulpitius* a Prætor, that was sent into *Cethegus* house, reported that he had found great store of darts, armor, daggers and swordes new made. Lastly the Senate hauing promised *Titus Crotonian* he should haue no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this conspiracie: *Lentulus* thereby was conuincid, and driuen to giue vppe his office of Prætor before the Senate, and changing his purple gowne, to take another meete for his miserable state. This being done, *Lentulus* and his consorts were committed to warde, to the Prætors houses. Now growing towards euening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was assembled, *Cicero* at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereupon he was conueyed by all the people vnto a friends house of his hard by: for that his owne house was occupied by the Ladies of the citie, who were busy solemnly celebrating a secret sacrifice in the honor of the goddesse, called of the *Romanes* the good goddesse, and of the *Grecians* *Gynæcia*, to wit feminine: vnto her this yearly sacrifice is done at the Consuls house, by the wife or mo-

Oracles of three Cornelii that should raigne at Rome.

Great treason practised in Rome by C. Lentulus, and Cethegus.

The conspirators apprehended.

ther of the Consul then being, the Vestal Nunnes being present at it. Now *Cicero* being come into his neighbours house, beganne to bethinke him what course he were best to take in this matter. For, to punish the offenders with severitie, according to their deserts, he was afraid to doe it: both because he was of a courteous nature, as also for that he would not seeme to be glad to have occasion to shew his absolute power and authority, to punish (as he might) with rigour, Citizens that were of the noblest houses of the citie, & that had besides many friends; And contrariwise also, being remisse in so waichtige a matter as this, he was afraid of the danger that might ensue of their rashnes, mistrusting that if he should punish them with lesse then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate then euer they were: adding moreover the stynge and spight of a newe malice vnto their accustomed wickednes, besides that he him selfe should be thought a coward and tymerous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus with these doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies, doing sacrifice at home in his house. For the fire that was thought to be cleane out vpon the altare where they had sacrificed, there sodainly rose out of the imbers of the rynd or barks which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amased all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Vestal Nunnes willed *Terentia* (*Ciceros* wife) to go straight vnto her husband, & to bid him not to be afraid to execute that boldly which he had considered of, for the benefit of the common wealthe: and that the goddesse had raised this great flame, to shewe him that he should have great honor by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timorous nor faint hearted woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affaires of the state, then otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewifery in the house, as *Cicero* him selfe reporteth: she went to make report thereof vnto him, and prayed him to doe execution of those men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his brother, and also *Publius Nigidius*, his friend and fellow student with him in Philosophie, and whose counsell also *Cicero* followed much in the government of the common wealthe. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbitrement of the Senate, how these malefactors should be punished: *Syllanus* being asked his opinion first, said that they should be put in prison, and from thence to suffer execution. Others likewise that followed him, were all of that minde, but *Caius Cesar*, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet such a one, as by his behavior and the hope he had, tooke such a course, that afterwards he brought the common wealthe of Rome into an absolute Monarchie. For at that time, *Cicero* had vehement suspitions of *Cesar*, but no apparant proofe to convince him. And some say, that it was brought so neare, as he was almost convicted, but yet saued him selfe. Other write to the contrary, that *Cicero* wittingly dissembled, that he either heard or knew any signes which were told him against *Cesar*, being afraid in deede of his friends and estimation. For it was a cleere case, that if they had accused *Cesar* with the rest, he vndoubtedly had sooner saued all their liues, then he should have lost his owne. Nowe when *Cesar* came to deliuer his opinion touching the punishment of these prisoners: he stoode vp and sayde, that he did not thinke it good to put them to death, but to confiscate their goods: and as for their persons, that they should be throw them in prison, some in one place, some in another, in such cities of Italy, as pleased *Cicero* best. Till the warre of *Caesars* were ended. This sentence being very mild, and the author thereof marvellous eloquent to make it good: *Cicero* him selfe added thereto a counterpease, inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of *Cesar*. His friends thinking that *Cesars* opinion was the safest for *Cicero*, because thereby he should deserue lesse blame for that he had not put the prisoners to death: they followed rather the second. Whereupon *Syllanus* also recanted that he had spoken, and expounded his opinion: saying, that when he spake they should be put to death, he ment nothing so, but thought the last punishment a Senator of Rome could haue, was the prison. But the first that contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Lucatius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehemement wordes enforced *Cesars* supsition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and courage: so that euen vpon the instant it was decreed by most voyces, that they should suffer death. But *Cesar* stept vp againe, & spake against the confiscation of their goods, mistaking that they should

reicct

reicct the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should sticke vnto the sentence only: howbeit because the greatest number prevailed against him, he called the Tribunes to ayde him, to the ende they should withstand it: but they would giue no eare vnto him. *Cicero* thereupon yielding of him selfe, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetch the prisoners: who were not all in one house; but every Prator had one of them. So he went first to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy streete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefe men of the citie, who compassed him round about, and garded his person. The people seeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, passed by, and sayd neuer a word: and specially the young men, who thought it had bene some solemne misterie for the health of their contry, that was to accompany with the chiefe Magistrate, and the noble men of the citie, with terror and feare: So when he had passed through the market place, and was come to the prison, he deliuered *Lentulus* into the hands of the hangman, and commaunded him to doe execution. Afterwards also *Cethegus*, and then all the rest one after another, whome he brought to the prison him selfe, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing diuers of their accomplices in a troupe together in the market place, who knewe nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, supposing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet aliue: he turned vnto them, and spake aloud, they liued. This is a phrase of speeche which the Romans vse sometime, when they will finely conuey the hardnes of the speeche, to say he is dead. When night was come, and that *Cicero* was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did wayte vpon him no more with silence as before, but with great cries of his praise, and clapping of handes in euery place he went, and called him Sauour, and second founder of Rome. Besides all this, at euery mans door there were lynckes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streetes, as at noone dayes. The very women also did put lights out of the toppes of their houses to doe him honor, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long traine of the chiefe men of the citie, of the which many of them had ended great warres for the which they had triumphed, and had obteyned many famous conquests to the Empire of Rome, both by sea and land) confessing betwene them selues one to another, that the Romans were greatly bound to many Captaines and generalls of armies in their time, for the wonderful riches, spoiles, and increase of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thank *Cicero* onely for their health and preseruacion, hauing saued them from so great and extreme a danger. Not forthat they thought it so wonderfull an acte to haue stricken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to haue punished the offenders by death: but because the conspiracie of *Caesars* being so great and dangerous an insurrection as euer was any; he had quenched it, and plucked it vp by the rootes, with so small hurt, and without vprore, trouble, or actuall sedition. For, the most part of them that were gathered together about *Caesars*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsooke him: and *Caesars* him selfe also fighting a battell with them he had about him, against *Antonius* the other Consul with *Cicero*, he was slayne in the field, and all his armie defeated. This notwithstanding, there were many that spake ill of *Cicero* for this acte, and ment to make him repent it, hauing for their heades *Cesar*, (who was already chosen Prator for the yeare to come) *Brutus* and *Bestia*, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They so soone as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once suffer *Cicero* to speake to the people, notwithstanding that he was yet in his office of Consul for certaine dayes. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speake vnto the people, they did set their benches vpon the pulpit for orations, which they call at Rome *Rostres*: and would neuer suffer him to set foote in it; but onely to resigne his office, and that done, to come downe againe immediatly. He graunted thereto, and went vp to the pulpit vpon that condition. So silence being made him, he made an othe, not like vnto other Consuls othes when they resigne their office in like manner, but strange; and neuer heard of before: swearing, that he had saued the citie of Rome, and preserued all his contry, and the Empire of Rome from viter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present, confirmed it, and sware the like othe. Wherewithall *Cesar* and the other Tribunes his ene-

Syllanus sentence of the conspirators.

Cesar prime to Caesars conspiracie.

Caesars opinion for the punishment of the conspirators.

The execution of the conspirators.

They liued. A word spoken for the dead. Ciceros praise.

Caesars slain in battell by Antonius.

Cesar chosen Prator. Brutus and Bestia, Tribunes of the people.

Cicero resigns his office.

mies were so offended with him, that they deuided to breede him some new sturre & trouble: & amongst others, they made a decree, that *Pompey* should be sent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato*, (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the common wealth, opposing him selfe against all their practices, with the like authoritie and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not only easily breake all their denises, but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled *Cicero*'s Consulship vnto them, and the things he did in his office: that they gaue him the greatest honors that euer were decreed or graunted vnto any man liuing. For by decree of the people he was called, father of the contry, as *Cato* him selfe had called him in his oration: the which name was neuer giuen to any man, but onely vnto him, & also he bare greater sway in Rome at that time, then any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he made him selfe enuyed and misliked of many men, not for any ill acte he did, or ment to doe: but onely because he did too much boast of him selfe. For he neuer was in any assembly of people, Senate, or iudgement, but euery mans head was full still to heare the sound of *Catulus* and *Lentulus* brought in for sporte, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled besides full of his owne prayes: the which made his sweete and pleasant stile, tedious, and troublesome to those that heard them, as though this misfortune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worne of ambition, and extreme couetous desire of honor in his head, yet did he not mallice or enuy any others glory, but would very frankly praise excellent men, as well those that had bene before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They haue written also certaine notable wordes he spake of some auncient men in olde time, as of *Aristotle*: that he was like a golden flowing riuier: and of *Plato*, that if *Iupiter* him selfe would speake, he would speake like him: and of *Theophrastus*, he was wont to call him his delight: & of *Demosthenes* orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: the longest faide he. There be diuers writers also, who to shewe that they were great followers of *Demosthenes*, doe followe *Cicero*'s saying in a certaine epistle he wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he said that *Demosthenes* slept in some of his orations: but yet they forget to tel how highly he praised him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote against *Antony* (in the which he tooke great paines, and studied more then all the rest) *PHILIPPICANS*: to followe those which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* king of *Macedon*. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his tyme, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honorable speech of him. For he obteyned of *Cesar*, when he had the Empire of Rome in his handes, that *Crautippus* the *PERIPATETICKE* Philosopher was made Citizen of Rome. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the *Arcopagites*, he was intreated to remaine at *ATHENS*, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great honor & ornament vnto their city. There are extant also of *Cicero*'s epistles vnto *Herodes*, & others vnto his sonne, willing him to followe *Crautippus* in his studie and knowledge. He wrote an other letter also vnto *Gorgias* the Rethoritian, and forbad him his sonnes company: because he vnderstood he intised him to dronkenness, & to other great dishonestie. Of all his epistles he wrote in grecke, there is but that onely written in choller, and another which he wrote vnto *Pelops* *BYZANTINE*. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to tawnt him in his letter: because (as it seemed) he was a man of very lewde life and conuersation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding him selfe greued with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the *BYZANTINES* to ordeine some publike honors in his behalfe: that me thinks proceeded of ouermuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and onely because he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* cause before the Iudges, who shortly after accused *Sabinus* a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him, what *Munatius*, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a miste I cast before the Iudges eyes, that made them they could not discern the fault? An other tyme also, hauing openly prayd *Marcius Crassus* in the pulpit, with good audience

Cicero's Consulship praised by Cato.

Cicero the first man called, Father of the contry.

Cicero too much giuen to praise him selfe.

Cicero friendly to praise others.

Cicero saith, Demosthenes slept in his orations.

Cicero's faulte ended place, summeing.

A of the people: shortly after he spake to the contrary, all the euill he could of him, in the same place. Why, how now, sayde *Crassus*: didst thou not thy selfe highly praye me in this place, the last day? I can not deny it, sayd *Cicero*: but in deede I tooke an ill matter in hand to shewe mine eloquence. An other time *Crassus* chaunced to say in an open assembly, that none of all the *Crassi* of his house that euer liued aboute lx. yeares: and afterwards againe repenting him selfe, he called it in againe, and sayde, Sure I knewe not what I did, when I sayd so. *Cicero* answered him againe: thou knewest well enough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore spakest it to please them. Another time *Crassus* liking the opinion of the *Stoicke* Philosophers, that sayd the wife man was euer riche: *Cicero* answered him, and bad him consider whether they ment not thereby, that the wife man had all things. *Crassus* couetousnes was defamed of euery man. Of *Crassus* sonnes, one of them did much resemble *Crassus*, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one daye this sonne of *Crassus* made an oration before the Senate, which diuers of them commended very much. So, *Cicero* being asked how he liked it: me thinks, sayde he, it is * *Achius* of *Crassus*. About this tyme, *Crassus* being ready to take his iorney into *SYRIA*, he desired to haue *Cicero* his friend, rather then his enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he tolde *Cicero* that he would come and suppe with him. *Cicero* sayde he should be welcome. Shortly after some of his friendes told him of *Vasinius*, how he was desirous to be made friendes with him, for he was his enemy. What, quoth *Cicero*, and will he come to supper too? Thus he vled *Crassus*. Now this *Vitinius* hauing a swollen necke, one daye pleading before *Cicero*: he called him the swollen Orator. Another tyme when he heard say that he was dead, and then that he was alieue againe: a vengeance on him, sayde he, that hath lyed so shamefully. Another tyme when *Cesar* had made a lawe for the deuiding of the lands of *CAMPANIA* vnto the fouldiers: diuers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very olde man) said, he would neuer graunt it while he liued. *Cicero* pleasantly answered againe, alas, tary a litle, the good olde man will not trouble you long. Another tyme there was one *Octavius*, supposed to be * an *AFRICAN* borne. He when *Cicero* on a time pleaded a matter, saide that he heard him not: *Cicero* presently answered him againe, and yet hast thou a hole bored through thine eare. Another time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had ouerthrowen moe men by his wittnes, then he had faued by his eloquence. I graunt saide *Cicero*, for in deede I haue more faith, then eloquence in D me. So was there also a younge man that was suspected to haue poysoned his father with a tarte, that boasted he would reuile *Cicero*: I had rather haue that of thee, quoth *Cicero*, then thy tarte. *Publius Sextius* also hauing a matter before the Iudges, enterteyned *Cicero*, with other of his Counsellors: but yet he would speake all him selfe, and giue none of the Orators leaue to say any thing. In the ende, when they sawe plainly that the Iudges would discharge him, being ready to giue sentence: *Cicero* saide vnto him, besturre thee hardly to day for to morrowe *Sextius* thou shalt be a priuate man. Another, one *Publius Scotta*, who would sayne haue bene thought a wife Lawyer, and yet had litle witte and vnderstanding: *Cicero* appealed to him as a wittnes in a matter, and being examined, he answered he knewe nothing of it. *Cicero* replied to him againe: thou thinkest peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. E Again, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine disputation he had with *Cicero*, did many times repeat, who is thy father? *Cicero* answered him againe: thy mother hath made this question harder for thee to answer. This *Nepos* mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as litle witted and vnconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exercise of his office, and went into *SYRIA* to *Pompey*, vpon no occasion: and as fondly againe he returned thence, vpon a foudaine. His Schoolemaister *Philager* also being dead, he buried him very honestly, and set a crowne of stone vpon the toppes of his tonbe. *Cicero* finding it, tolde him thou hast done very wisely: for thy Maister hath taught thee rather to lye, then to speake. Another time *Appius Claudius* pleading a matter, saide in his preamble that his friende had earnestly requested him to employe all his knowledge, diligence, and faith vpon this matter. O goddes, saide *Cicero*, and hast thou shewed thy selfe so harde harted to thy friende, that thou hast performed none of all these he requested thee? Nowe to vse these fine tawnts and girds to his enemies, it was a parte of a good Orator: but lo comonly to irrite euery man to

The Stoicks opinion: A wife man is be neuer riche.

** Achius was a proper name of a Romanes, and also in Grecke signifieth, worthy. So the grace of the commendation can not be expressed in any other language.*

** Because the Africans haue commonly their eares bored through.*

make the people laughe, that wanne him greate ill will of many, as shall appeare by some examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two sonnes in lawe, who were both banished: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adriastus*. *Lucius Costa* by chaunce also was Censor at that tyme, when *Cicero* sued to be Consul: and being there at the daye of the election, he was a thyrst, and was driuen to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friendes stood about him, and after he had dronke, he saide vnto them. It is well done of ye, sayde he, to be affrayed least the Censor should beangry with me, bicause I drinke water: for it was reported the Censor loued wine well. Another tyme *Cicero* meeting one *Voconius*, with three foule Daughters of his with him, he cryed out aloud:

This man hath gotten children in despite of Phebus.

It was thought in Rome that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free parents by father and mother, who reading certaine letters one daye in the Senate very lowde: *Cicero* layde vnto them that were about him, wonder not at it, for he, for this man hath bene a cryer in his dayes. *Fautus*, the sonne of *Sylla* Dictator at Rome, which sette vpp billes outlawing diuers ROMANES, making it lawfull for any man to kill them without daunger where they founde them: this man after he had spent the moste parte of his fathers goods, was so fore in debt, that he was driuen to sell his household stuffe, by billes sette vp on euery poste. *Cicero* when he sawe them, yea mary saide he, these billes please me better, then those which his father sette vpp. These tawntes and common quippes without purpose, made diuers men to malice him. The great ill will that *Clodius* bare him, beganne vppon this occasion. *Clodius* was of a noble house, a younge man, and very wilde and insolent. He being in loue with *Pompeia* *Casars* wife, founde the meanes secretly to gette into *Casars* house, apparelled like a younge singing wenche, bicause on that daye the Ladyes of Rome did solemnly celebrate a secret sacrifice in *Casars* house, which is not lawfull for men to be present at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he shoulde not haue bene knowne, bicause he was but a younge man without any heare on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongst the other women. He beeing gotten into this great house by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of *Casars* mothers maydes of her chamber called *Aurelia*, who seeing him wandering vp and downe the house in this sorte, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to aunswer, he saide he sought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeias* maides. The maide perceiued straight it was a womans voice, and therewithal gaue a great shrille, and called the other women: the which did see the gates fast shut, and then sought euery corner vp and downe, so that at length they found him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blown abroad in the cite, whereuppon *Cesar* put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the sacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, beeing one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had euer accompanied him to garde him, if any man would haue offered him iniurie in the busse time of the conspiracie of *Castiline*. *Clodius* stowly denied the matter he was burdened with, and saide that he was not in Rome at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gaue euidence against him, and depofed, that the selfe same daye he came home to his house vnto him, to speake with him about certaine matters. This in deede was true, though it seemeth *Cicero* gaue not this euidence so muche for the truthe sake, as to please his wife *Terentia*: for she hated *Clodius* to the deathe, bicause of his sister *Clodia* that would haue married *Cicero*, and did secretly practise the mariage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceros* very friende, and bicause he repayed very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt harde by *Cicero*, *Terentia* beganne to suspect him. *Terentia* beeing a cruell woman, and wearing her husbandes breeches: allured *Cicero* to sette vppon *Clodius* in his aduerfitee, and to witnesse agaynst him, as many other honest men of the cite also did: Some that he was perjured, others that he committed a throwfande lewde partes, that he byrbed the people with money, that he had intised and deflowred many women. *Lucullus* also brought forth certayne Maydens which depofed that *Clodius* had deflowred the youngest of his owne sisters, she beeing in house with him, and maryed. And there went a greate rumor also, that he

knewe

A knewe his two other sisters, of the which the one was called * *Terentia*, and married vnto king *Martius*: and the other *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer* had married, and whom they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: bicause one of her Paramours sent her a puse full of quadrans (which are litle peeces of copper money) in stead of filer. *Clodius* was flandered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the people were very much offended with them, that gaue euidence against him, and accused him. The Iudges being affrayed of a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his iudgement, for the safetie of their persons: and in the tables where they wrote their sentences, their letters for the most part were confusedly set downe. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number: and it was reported also that some of them were close fitted. *Catulus* therefore meeting with some of them going home, after they had giuen their sentence, told them: slyly ye had good reason to be well garded for your safetie, for you were affraid your money should haue bene taken from you, which you tooke for bribes. And *Cicero* sayd vnto *Clodius*, who reproved him that his wntes was not true he gaue against him: cleane contrary, *Cicero* for fure and enuery of the Iudges haue beleued me, beeing so many that haue condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleue thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithstanding, in this iudgement *Cesar* neuer gaue euidence against *Clodius*: & said moreover, that he did not think his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, bicause he would that *Casars* wife should not only be cleane from any dishonesty, but also void of all suspition. *Clodius* being quit of this accusation and trouble, & hauing also found meanes to be chosen Tribune: he beganne straight to persecute *Cicero*, chaunging all thinges, and stirring vp all manner of people against him. First he wanne the good will of the common people by deuising of newe lawes which he preferred, for their benefite and commoditie: to both the Consuls he graunted great and large prouinces: vnto *Piso*, *MACEDON*, and to *Gabinus*, *SYRIA*. He made also many poore men free Citizens, and had alwayes about him a great number of slaues armed. At that present tyme there were three notable men in Rome, which caried all the swaye: *Craffus*, that shewed him selfe an open enemy vnto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made muche both of the one and the selfe: the third was *Cesar*, who was prepared for his iorney into *GAULE* with an armie. *Cicero* did leane vnto him, (though he knewe him no fast friende of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in *Castilines* conspiracie) and prayed him that he might goe to the warres with him, as one of his Lieutenantes. *Cesar* graunted him. Thereuppon *Clodius* perceiuing that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneship for that yeare, he made fayer weather with him (as though he ment to reconcile him selfe vnto him) and tolde him that he had cause rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done against him, then of him selfe, and alwayes spake very courteously of him as occasion fell out, and sayde he did thinke nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a litle grieue him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindnes by his friend. These sweete wordes made *Cicero* no more affraid, so that he gaue vp his Lieutenancie vnto *Cesar*, and beganne againe to pleade as he did before. *Cesar* tooke this in such disdaine, that he hardened *Clodius* the more against him, and besides, made *Pompey* his enemy. And *Cesar* him selfe also sayd before all the people, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest, vniuently to death, and contrary to lawe, without lawfull tryall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accused. Thereuppon *Cicero* seeing him selfe accused for this fafte, he chaunged his vsuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and so suffering his beard and heare of his head to growe without any cooing, he went in this humble manner, and sued to the people. But *Clodius* was euer about him in euery place and streete he went, hauing a sight of raskalls and knaues with him that shamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that fort, and oftentimes they cast durt and stones at him, breaking his talke and requests he made vnto the people. This notwithstanding, all the knights of Rome did in manner change their gownes with him for companie, and of them there were commonly twenty thousand younge gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their heare about their eares, & were suters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate assembled to decree

IIII ij

The malice
betwix Cicero
& Clodius.

Cicero gaue
euidence a-
gainst Clodius

The wicked
partes of Clodius.

* Some seld
bookes doe
read T. dith.

Casars words
of the putting
away his wife

Pompeia,
Clodius cha-
nged Tribune
of the people.
Piso and Ga-
binus Con-
suls.

Craffus, Pompey,
and Cesar, three
of the greatest
men in Rome,
tooke part
with Clodius
against Cicero

Cicero accus-
ed of Clodius

The knights
of Rome and
Senate cha-
nged gownes
for Cicero
safte.

that the people should mourne in blacks, as in a common calamitie: But the Consuls were against it. And *Clodius* on thother side was with a band of armed men about the Senate, so that many of the Senators ranne out of the Senat, crying, & tearing their clothes for sorow. Howbeit these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moued with pity and shame: but either *Cicero* must needs absente him selfe, or els determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero* to intreat *Pompey* to ayde him: But he absented him selfe of purpose out of the citie, because he would not be intreated, and laye at one of his houses in the contry, neare vnto the citie of *Alba*. So he first of all sent *Piso* his sonne in lawe vnto him to intreate him, and afterwards went him selfe in person to him. But *Pompey* being tolde that he was come, had not the harte to suffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had bene past all shame to haue refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him such pleasure, and also done and sayde so many things in his fauor. Howbeit *Pompey* being the sonne in lawe of *Cesar*, did vnfortunately (at his request) forsake him at his neede, vnto whome he was bounde for so many infinite pleasures; as he had receyued of him afore: and therefore when he hearde saye he came to him, he went out at his backe gate and would not speake with him. So *Cicero* seeing himselfe betrayed of him, and now hauing no other refuge to whome he might repaire vnto: he put him selfe into the handes of the two Consuls. Of them two, *Gabinus* was euer cruell, and churleshe vnto him. But *Piso* on thother side spake alwayes very curteously vnto him, and prayed him to absente him selfe for a tyme, and to giue place a litle to *Clodius* furie, and patiently to beare the chaunge of the tyme: For in so doing, he might come agayne another tyme to be the preferuer of his contry, which was nowe for his sake in tumult and sedition. *Cicero* vpon this answer of the Consul, consulted with his friends: amonge the which *Lucullus* gaue him aduise to tary, and sayd that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrary opinion, and would haue him to get him away with speede: for the people would shortly wilhe for him agayne, when they had once bene beaten with *Clodius* tyrice and folly. *Cicero* liked best to followe this counsell. Whereuppon hauing had a statue of *Minerua* a long tyme in his house, the which he greatly reuerenced: he caried her him selfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll with this inscription: *Vnto Minerua, Protectrice of Rome*. So, his friends hauing giuen him safe conduct, he went out of *Rome* about midnight, and tooke his way through the contry of *Lvs* by lande, meaning to goe into *Sicile*. When it was known in *Rome* that he was fledde, *Clodius* did presently banishe him by decree of the people, and caused billes of inhibition to be sette vpp, that no man should secretly receiue him within five hundred myles compasse of *Italy*. Howbeit diuers men reuerencing *Cicero*, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had vsed him with all manner of curtesie possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, sauing one citie onely in *Lvs*, called at that tyme *Hippionium*, and now *Vibone*: where a *Sicilian* called *Vibius*, (vnto whome *Cicero* before had done many pleasures, and specially amonge others, had made him Maister of the workes in the year that he was Consul) would not once receiue him into his house, but promised him he would appoynt him a place in the contry that he might goe vnto. And *Caius Virgilius* also, at that tyme Prætor and gouernor of *Sicile*, who before had shewed him selfe his very greate friende: wrote E then vnto him, that he should neuer come neare vnto *Sicile*. This grieved him to the harte. Thereuppon he went directly vnto the citie of *Brundisium*, and there imbarke to passe ouer the sea vnto *Dyrachium*, and at the first had winde at will: but when he was in the mayne sea, the winde turned, and brought him backe agayne to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoysed layle agayne, and the reporte went, that at his arryuall at *Dyrachium* when he tooke lande, the earth shooke vnder him, and the sea gaue backe together: Whereby the Soothesayers interpreted, that his exile should not be longe, because both the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet *Cicero*, notwithstanding that many men came to see him for the goodwill they bare him, and that the cities of *Greece* contended who should most honor him, he was alwayes sadde, and could not be merie, but cast his eyes still towards *Italy*, as passioned louers doe towards the women they loue: shewing him selfe saynt harted, and tooke this aduersitie more basely,

*Pompey would
not see Cicero
being accused.*

Cicero's exile

*Hippionium,
alias Vibone:
a city in Lake*

*A wonder
showed vnto
Cicero in his
exile.
Cicero's fauor
hath in his ex-
ile.*

then

A then was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes praised his friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philosopher: saying, that Philosophie was his chiefest profession, & that for his eloquence he did not vse it, but as a necessary instrument to one that pleadeh in the common wealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take mans reason from him, even like a culler, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of state, and to make them feele the selfe same passions that common people doe, by daily frequenting their companie: vnles they take great heede of them, and that they come to practise in the common wealth with this resolute minde, to haue to doe with the like matters that the common people haue, but not to entangle them selues with the like passions and moods, by the which their matters doe rise. Nowe *Clodius* was not contented that he had banished *Cicero* out of *Italy*, but further he burnt all his houses in the contry, and his house also in *Rome* standing in the market place, of the which he built a temple of libertie, and caused his goods to be sold by the cryer: so that the cryer was occupied all daylong crying the goods to be sold, and no man offered to buye any of them. The chiefest men of the citie beginning to be afraid of these violent parts, and hauing the common people at his commaundement, whom he had made very bold and insolent: he beganne to inuey against *Pompey*, and spake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which euery man els but him self did commend. *Pompey* then was very angry with him selfe that he had forsaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the meanes he could to call him home agayne from his banishment. *Clodius* was against it all he could. The Senate notwithstanding with one full consent ordeyned, that nothing should be established for the common wealth, before *Cicero's* banishment were first repealed. *Lentulus* was at that tyme Consul, and there grew such an vprore and sturre upon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and *Quintus Cicero* (the brother of *Cicero*) was slayne and hidden vnder the deade bodies. Then the people beganne to chaunge their mindes. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venter vpon *Clodius*, and bringe him by force to be tryed before the Iudges. *Pompey* him selfe also hauing gotten a great number of men about him, awell of the citie of *Rome* as of other townes adioyning to it, beeing strongly garded with them: he came out of his house, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to giue their voyces, for the calling home agayne of *Cicero*. It is reported D that the people neuer passed thinge with so great good will, nor so wholly together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their partes also, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordeyned that the cities which had honored and receiued *Cicero* in his exile, should be greatly commended: and that his houses which *Clodius* had ouerthrowen and rased, should be reedified at the charge of the common wealth. So *Cicero* returned the sixteenth moneth after his banishment, and the townes and cities he came by, shewed them selues so ioyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honor him, with so great loue and affection, that *Cicero's* reporte thereof afterwards came in deede short of the very truth as it was. For he sayde, that *Italy* brought him into *Rome* vpon their shoulders. Insomuch as *Cras-*sus him selfe, who before his banishment was his enemy, went then with very good will vnto him, and became his friende, saying: that he did it for the loue of his sonne, who loued *Cicero* with all his hart. Nowe *Cicero* being returned, he found a tyme when *Clodius* was out of the citie, and went with a good companie of his friendes vnto the Capitoll, and there tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his actes that he had passed and done in the tyme of his Tribuneship. *Clodius* would afterwarde haue accused *Cicero* for it: But *Cicero* answered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, because he was of the *Patricians*, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneship was voyde, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked any of *Clodius* doings: (but to the contrary, vtterly misliked all that he did) but because he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate shoulde cancell all those thinges which he had done and passed in his Tribuneship, and specially, because amongst the rest that was there which he him selfe had done in the Ile of *Cyperus*, and in the citie of *Byzantium*. Hereuppon there grew some straugenes betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which

*The wonder-
full power of
glory.*

*Pompey shall
away his mind,
deth fauor Ci-
cero.*

*Lentulus,
Consul.*

*Cicero called
home from ban-
ishment.*

*Cicero taketh
away the ta-
bles of Clodi-
us actes out of
the Capitoll.*

notwithstanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abstinence of their wonted familiaritie, and access to one to another. Shortly after, *Milo* the *Clodius*. *Milo* being accused of murder, prayed *Cicero* to plead his cause. The Senate fearing that this accusation of *Milo*, (who was a hardie man, and of quality besides) would moue some fedition and vprore in the citie: they gaue commission to *Pompey* to see iustice executed aswell in this cause, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and iudgement also executed with safetie. Thereupon *Pompey* the night before tooke the highest places of the market place, by his souldiers that were armed, whome he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero* would bee affraied to see such a number of earnest men about him, being no vsuall matter, and that it might peradventure hinder him to plead his cause well: he prayed him he would come betymes in the morning in his litter into the market place, and there to stave the coming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For *Cicero* was not onely fearefull in warres, but timorous also in pleading. For in deede he neuer beganne to speake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was come to the best prooffe and perfection, he neuer left his trembling and timoroulnes. In such that pleading a case for *Mutius Surenus* (accused by *Cato*, struing to excell *Hortensius*, whose pleading was very well thought of: he tooke no rest all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his minde he was not very well, so that he was not so well liked for his pleading, as *Hortensius*. So, going to defend *Milo*'s cause, when he came out of his litter, and sawe *Pompey* set aloft as if he had bene in a campe, and the market place compassed about with armed men, glistering in euery corner: it so amated him, that he could scant facion him selfe to speake, all the partes of him did so quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other side stood boldly by him him selfe, without any feare at all of the iudgement of his cause, neither did he let his heere growe, as other men accused did: neither did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefe causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timoroulnes of *Cicero* came rather of the goodwill he bare vnto his friends, then of any cowardly minde of him selfe. He was also chosen one of the Priestes of the Soothesayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of *P. Crassus* the younger, who was slayne in the Realme of *PARTHIA*. Afterwardes, the prouince of *CILICIA* being appoynted to him, with an armie of twelue thousand footemen, and two thousand sixe hundred horsemen, he tooke the sea to goe thither. So when he was arriued there, he brought *CAPPADOCIA* agayne into the subiection and obedience of king *Ariobarzanes* according to his commission and commaundement giuen by the Senate: moreover, both there and elsewhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuised, in reducing of thinges to quietnes, without warres. Furthermore, finding that the *CILICIAN*s were grown somewhat stowt and vnruely, by the ouerthrowe the *ROMAN*s had of the *PARTHIAN*s, and by reason of their rising and rebellion in *SYRIA*: he brought them vnto reason by gentle perswasions, and neuer receiued giftes that were sent him, no nor from Kings and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the prouinces of the feastes and bankets they were wont to make other gouernors before him. On the other side also, he would euer haue the company of good and learned men at his table, and would vse them well, without curiositie and excefte. He had neuer porter to his gate, nor was seene by any man in his bed: For he would alwayes rise at the breake of daye, and would walke or stande before his dore. He would courteously receiue all them that came to salute and visite him. Further they report of him, that he neuer caused man to be beaten with roddes, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he neuer reuiled any man, neither did dispitefully set fire vpon any mans heade. Finding many thinges also belonging to the common wealth, which priuate men had stollen and imbecelled to their owne vse: he restored them agayne vnto the cities, whereby they grewe very riche and wealthie: and yet did he saue their honor and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurte, but onely constrayned them to restore that which was the common wealthes. He made a litle warre also, and draue away the theues that kept about the Mountayne *F Amanus*, for the which exployte his souldiers called him Imperator, to saie, chiefe Capraine. About that tyme there was an Orator called *Catulus*, who wrote vnto him from

Clodius the Tribune slain by *Milo*.

Cicero fearefull in warres, and timorous in pleading.

Cicero pleads Milo's case.

Cicero chosen Augure.

Cicero prouinciall of *Cilicia*.

Cicero interested for the government of his prouinces.

Mrs. Amanus *Cicero* called Imperator.

from *ROME*, to praye him to sende him some Leopers, or Panthers out of *CILICIA*, bicause he would shewe the people some pastyme with them. *Cicero* boasting of his doings, wrote to him agayne, that there were no more Leopers in *CILICIA*, but that they were all fledde into *CARIA* for anger, that seeing all thinges quiet in *CILICIA*, they had leasure now to hunt them. So when he returned towards *ROME*, from the charge of his government, he came by *RHODES*: and stayed a few dayes at *ATHENS*, with great delight, to remember how pleasantly he liued there before, at what time he studied there. Thither came to him the chiefe learned men of the citie, and his frendes also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, hauing receiued all the honorable entertainment in *GABRIA* that could be: he returned vnto *ROME*, where at his arriual he found great factions kindled, by the which men saw plainly would growe in the ende to ciuill warre. Thereupon the Senate hauing decreed that he should enter in triumphe into the citie: he answered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Casars* coche in triumphe. So he trauelled verie earnestly betwene *Pompey* and *Cesar*, els soones wrying vnto *Cesar*, and also speaking vnto *Pompey* that was present, seeking all the meanes he coule, to take vp the quarrell and misliking betwixt them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speeche of agreement would take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cesar* was not farre from *ROME*, he durst no longer abide in *ROME*, but fled with diuers of the greatest men in *ROME*. *Cicero* would not followe him when he fled, and therefore men thought he would take parte with *Cesar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and could not easily determine what way to take. Whereupon he wrote in his Epistells: what way should I take? *Pompey* hath the iuster and honeste cause of warre, but *Cesar* can better execute, and prouide for him selfe and his frendes with better safetie: so that I haue meanes enow to flie, but none to whome I might repaire. In all this sturre, there was one of *Casars* frendes called *Trebatius*, which wrote a letter vnto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cesar* wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope & fortune he vnderooke: but if he excused him selfe by his age, that then he should get him into *GABRIA*, and there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* marveling that *Cesar* wrote not to him him selfe, answered in anger, that he would doe nothing vnworthie of his actes all the dayes of his life thitherto: & to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now *Cesar* being gone into *SPAYNE*, *Cicero* imbarcked immediatly to go to *Pompey*. So when he came vnto him, euery man was very glad of his coming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* secretly reproued him for comming vnto *Pompey*, saying: that for him selfe he had bene without all honestie at that time to haue forsaken that parte, the which he had alwayes taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the common wealth: but for him on thother side, that it had bene better for the safetie of his contrie, and chiefly for all his frendes, that he had bene a newter to both, and so to haue taken thinges as they had fallen out: and that he had no manner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become *Casars* enemy, and by comming thither to put him selfe into so great perill. These perswasions of *Cato* ouerthrew all *Cicero*'s purpose and determination, besides that *Pompey* him selfe did not employe him in any matter of seruice or importance. But hereof him selfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, bicause he confessed openly that he did E repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained all *Pompey*'s preparations and counsells, the which in deede made him to be had in gealouse and suspition. Also he would euer be fleeing and gybing at those that tooke *Pompey*'s parte, though he had no liff him selfe to be merie. He would also goe vp and downe the campe very sad and heauy, but yet he would euer haue one geast or other to make men laugh, although they had as litle lust to be merie as he: and surely, it shall doe no hurte to call some of them to minde in this place. *Domitius* being verie desirous to preferre a gentleman to haue charge of men, to recommende him, he sayd he was an honest, wise, and sober man. Whereunto *Cicero* presently answered. Why doest thou not kepe him then to bring vp thy children? An other time when they commended *Theophanes* *LESBIAN*, (that was master of all the artificers of the campe) F bicause he had notable comforted the *RHODIAN*s when they had receiued a greates losse of their nauy: see, sayd *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to haue a *GRÆCIAN*, master of artificers in the campe? When both battells came to ioine together, and that *Cesar* had in manner all

Cicero seeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwixt *Pompey* and *Cesar*.

Cicero's words of *Pompey* and *Cesar*.

Cicero gentle vnto *Pompey*.

the aduantage, & kept them as good as besieged: *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard *A* say all *Cæsars* frendes were madde, and melancholy men. Why, *q Cicero* to him againe: doest thou say that they doe enuie *Cæsar*? An other called *Martius*, comming lately out of *ITALIE*, sayd, that there ranne a rumor in *ROME*, that *Pompey* was besieged. What, *q Cicero* to him againe: and diddest thou take shippe to come and see him thy selfe, because thou mightest beleue it, when thou haddest seene it? *Pompey* being ouerthrowen, one *Nonius* sayed there was yet good hope left, because they had taken seuen Eagles within *Pompeys* campe. Thy perswasion were not ill, *q Cicero*, so we were to fight but with pyes or daves. *Labeius* repoled all his trust in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of necessitie must haue the vpper hand. Yea sayd *Cicero*, but for all this goodly stratageme of warre, we haue not longe since lost our whole campe. After the battell of *Pharsalia*, where *Cicero* was not by reason of his sickenesse: *Pompey* being fled, and *Cato* at that time at *DYRRACHIUM*, where he had gathered a great number of men of warre, & had also prepared a great nauie: he prayed *Cicero* to take charge of all this army, as it perteyned vnto him, hauing bene Consul. *Cicero* did not only refuse it, but also tolde them he would meddle no more with this warre. But this was enough to haue made him bene slaine: for the younger *Pompey* and his frendes called him traitor, and drew their swordes vpon him to kill him, which they had done, had not *Cato* stepped betwene them and him, and yet had he muche a doe to saue him, and to conuey him safely out of the campe. When *Cicero* came to *BRINDISIUM*, he stayed there a certaine time for *Cæsars* comming, who came but slowly, by reason of his troubles he had in *ASIA*, as also in *ÆGYPT*. Howbeit newes being brought at length that *Cæsar* was arrived at *TARENTUM*, and that he came by lande vnto *BRINDISIUM*: *Cicero* departed thence to goe meete him, not mistrusting that *Cæsar* would not pardon him, but rather being ashamed to come to his enemie being a conqueror, before such a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to doe or speake any thing vnseemely to his calling. For *Cæsar* seeing him comming towards him farre before the rest that came with him: he lighted from his horse and embraced him, and walked a great way a foote with him, still talking with him only, and euer after he did him great honor and made much of him. Insomuche as *Cicero* hauing written a booke in praise of *Cato*: *Cæsar* on the other side wrote an other, and praised the eloquence and life of *Cicero*, matching it with the life of *Pericles*, and *Theramenes*. *Ciceroes* booke was intituled *Cato*, & *Cæsars* booke called *Anticato*, as much to say, as against *Cato*. They say further, that *Quintus Ligarius* being accused to haue bene in the field against *Cæsar*, *Cicero* tooke vpon him to defend his cause: and that *Cæsar* sayd vnto his frendes about him, what hurte is it for vs to heare *Cicero* speake, whome we haue not heard of long time? For otherwise *Ligarius* (in my opinion) standeth already a condemned man, for I know him to be a vile man, and mine enemie. But when *Cicero* had begonne his Oration, he moued *Cæsar* maruelously, he had so sweete a grace, and suche force in his words: that it is reported *Cæsar* chaunged diuers colours, and shewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a maruelous alteration in all the partes of him. For, in thend when the Orator came to touche the battell of *Pharsalia*, then was *Cæsar* so troubled, that his bodie shooke withall, and besides, certaine bookes he had, fell out of his handes, and he was driuen against his will to let *Ligarius* at libertie. Afterwardes, when the common wealth of *ROME* came to be a kingdom, *Cicero* leauing to practise any more in the state, he gaue him selfe to reade Philosophie to the young men that came to heare him: by whose access vnto him (because they were the chieft of the nobilitie in *ROME*) he came againe to beare as great sway and authoritie in *ROME*, as euer he had done before. His studie and endeuour was, to wryte matters of Philosophie dialogue wise, and to translate out of Græke into Latin, taking paynes to bring all the Græke wordes, which are proper vnto logicke and naturall causes, vnto Latin. For he was the first man by report that gaue Latin names vnto these Græke wordes, which are proper vnto Philosophers, as *συνεπείρα*, he termed, *Visio*, κατὰ δυνάμιν *Assensus*, *εὐχρηστος*, *Assensus cohibito*, κατὰ λόγον *Comprehensio*, τὸ ἀτόνους *Corpus indiuiduum*, τὸ διμερές *Corpus simplex*, τὸ αὐτοὺν *Vacuum*, and many other suchelike wordes. But though he were not the first, yet was it he that most did deuise and vse them, and turned some of them by translation, others into proper termes: so that at length they came to be well taken, knowne, and vnderstanded of euerie man. And for his readinesse in

Cato gave place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the army at Dyrrachium.

The force of Cicero's eloquence, how it altered Cæsar.

Cicero's life under Cæsar.

in wryting of verses, he would vse them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whensoever he tooke in hand to make any, he would dispatch five hundred of them in a night. Nowe, all that time of his recreation and pleasure, he would commonly be at some of his houses in the contrie, which he had nere vnto *THYREVS*, from whence he would wryte vnto his frends, that he led *Zaertes* life: either spoken merily as his manner was, or else pricked forward with ambition, desiring to returne againe to be a practiser in the common wealth, being wearie with the present time and state thereof. Howsoeuer it was, he came oftentimes to *ROME*, onely to see *Cæsar* to keepe him his frend, and would euer be the first man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, and was alwayes studious to vter some newe matter to praise him and his doings. As that was he sayd touching the statues of *Pompey*, the which being ouerthrowen, *Cæsar* commaunded them to be set vp againe, and so they were. For *Cicero* sayd, that by that curtesie in setting vp of *Pompeys* statues againe, he did establish his owne. So, *Cicero* being determined to wryte all the *ROMANE* historie, and to mingle with them many of the *GRÆCIANS* doings, adding thereunto all the fables and deuises which they doe wryte and reporte: he was hindered of his purpose against his will, by many open and priuate troubles that came vpon him at once: whereof notwithstanding he him selfe was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his wife *Terentia*, because she had made but small account of him in all the warres: so that he departed from *ROME* hauing no necessarie thing with him to entertaine him out of his contrie, and yet when he came backe againe into *ITALIE*, the neuer shewed any sparke of loue or good will towards him. For the neuer came to *BRINDISIUM* to him, where he remeyned a long time: and worse then that, his daughter hauing the hart to take so long a iorney in hand to goe to him, the neither gaue her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture conuenient for her, but so handled the matter, that *Cicero* at his returne to *ROME* founde bare walles in his house and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in det besides. And these were the honestest causes alleaged for their diuorfe. But besides that *Terentia* denyed all these, *Cicero* him selfe gaue her a good occasion to cleere her selfe, because he shortly after married a young maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as *Terentia* sayd) for her beawtie: or, as *Tyro* his seruant wrote, for her riches, to thende that with her goods he might pay his det. For she was very rich, & *Cicero* also was appointed her gardian, the being left sole heire. Now, because he oughra maruelous summe of money, his parents and frends did counsell him to marry this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too olde for her, because that with her goodes he might satisfie his creditors. But *Antonius* speaking of this marriage of *Cicero*, in his aunswers & Orations he made against the *PHILIPPIAN*s: he doth reprove him for that he put away his wife, with whome he was growen olde, being merie with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and neuer went from the smoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroad in the warres in any seruice of his contrie or common wealth. Shortly after that he had married his second wife, his daughter dyed in labor of child, in *Lentulus* house, whose seconde wife she was, being before married vnto *Piso*, who was her first husband. So the Philosophers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he tooke her death so sorrowfully, that he put away his second wife, because he thought she did reioyce at the death of his daughter. And thus muche touching the state and troubles of his house. Nowe touching the conspiracie against *Cæsar*, he was not made priue to it, although he was one of *Brutus* greatest frendes, and that it grieved him to see thinges in that state they were brought vnto, and albeit also he wished for the time past, as much as any other man did. But in deede the conspirators were affrayed of his nature, that lacked hardinesse: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the stowtest and most hardiest natures, faint harted & cowardly. Notwithstanding, the conspiracie being executed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Cæsars* frendes being gathered together, euerie man was affrayed that the citie would againe fall into ciuill warres. And *Antonius* also, who was Consul at that time, did assemble the Senate, and made some speache and mocion then to draw thinges againe vnto quiemes. But *Cicero* hauing vied diuers perswasions fit for the time, in the end he moued the Senate to decree (following the example of the *ATHENIAN*s) a generall obliuion of thinges done against *Cæsar*, and to assigne vnto *Brutus* and *Cassius* some gouernmentes of prouinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded:

Cicero did put away his wife Terentia.

Cicero married a young maiden.

Cicero not made priue to the conspiracie against Cæsar.

for the people of them felues were forie, when they sawe *Cesar*'s bodie brought through the A market place. And when *Antonius* also did shew them his gowne all bebloodied, cut, & throwe through with swordes: then they were like madde men for anger, and sought vp and downe the market place if they coulde meete with any of them that had slaine him: and taking fire brandes in their handes, they ranne to their houses to set them a fire. But the conspirators hauing preuented this daunger, saued them selues: and fearing that if they taried at *Rome*, they should haue many such alarms, they forsooke the cite. Then *Antonius* began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he ment to make him selfe king: but yet most of all vnto *Cicero*, aboue all others. For *Antonius* perceiuing that *Cicero* began againe to increafe in credit and authoritie, and knowing that he was *Brutus* very frend; he did milke to see him come neere him, and besides, there was at that time some gealousie betwixt them, for the B diuersitie and difference of their manners and dispositions. *Cicero* being affrayed of this, was fust of all in minde to go with *Dolabella*, to his prouince of *Syria*, as one of his Lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Consuls the next year following after *Antonius*, two noble citizens, & *Cicero*'s great frends, *Hircius*, & *Pansa*: they intreated him not to forsake them, vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouergreat power of *Antonius*, so he would remaine with them. But *Cicero*, neither beleuing nor altogether mistrusting them, forsooke *Dolabella*, and promised *Hircius* and *Pansa*, that he would spend the sommer at *Athenes*, and that he would returne againe to *Rome* so soone as they were entred into their Consulship. With this determination *Cicero* tooke sea alone, to goe into *Greece*. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not faile, and newes came to him daily from *Rome*, as the manner is, that *Antonius* was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authoritie & consent of the Senate, & that there lacked no thing but his person, to make all things well. Then *Cicero* condemning his dastardly feare, returned forthwith to *Rome*, not being deceiued in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meete him, that he could do nothing all day long, but take them by the handes, and embrace them: who to honor him, came to meete him at the gate of the cite, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning *Antonius* assembled the Senate, and called for *Cicero* by name. *Cicero* refused to goe, and kept his bedde, saying that he was werie with his iorney and paines he had taken the day before: but in deede, the cause why he went not, was, for feare and suspicion of an ambushe that was layed for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his verie good frends. *Antonius* was maruelously offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying of any ambush for him: and therefore sent souldiers to his house, and commanded them to bring him by force, or else to sette his house a fire. After that time, *Cicero* and he were alwayes at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heede of another: vntill that the young *Cesar* returning from the cite of *Apollonia*, came as lawfull heire vnto *Julius Cesar* Dictator, and had contention with *Antonius* for the summe of two thousande fine hundred Myriades, the which *Antonius* kept in his handes of his fathers goodes. Thereupon, *Philip* who had married the mother of this young *Cesar*, and *Marcellus*, who had also married his sister, went with young *Cesar* vnto *Cicero*, and there agreed together, that *Cicero* should helpe young *Cesar* with the fauour of his authoritie, E and eloquence, as well towards the Senate, as also to the people: and that *Cesar* in recompence of his good will should stande by *Cicero*, with his money and souldiers. For this young *Cesar*, had many of his fathers old souldiers about him, that had serued vnder him. Now there was an other cause that made *Cicero* glad to embrace the frendshippe of this young *Cesar*, and that was this. Whilist *Pompey* and *Julius Cesar* were aliue, and in good case: *Cicero* dreamed one night that the Senators sonnes were called into the Capitoll, because *Iupiter* had appointed to shew them him, that one day should come to be Lord and king of *Rome*, and that the *Romanes* being desirous to see who it should be, ranne all vnto the temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntill that suddenly the dores of the temple were open, & then that all the children rose one after another, F & went and passed by the image of *Iupiter*, who looked vpon them all, and sent them discontented, sauing this young *Cesar*, vnto whom he put forth his hand as he passed by, and sayd:

My

A My Lordes of *Rome*, this childe is he that shall end all your ciuill warres, when he commeth to be Lord of *Rome*. Some say, that *Cicero* had this vision in his dreame, and that he caried in good memory the looke of this childe, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpose into the fieldes of *Mars*, where these young boyes did exercise them selues, who, when he came thither, had broken vp from playing, and were going home, and that amongst them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him verie well, and musing at him the more, asked him whose sonne he was. The boy answered, that he was the sonne of one *Octavius*, (a man otherwise of no great calling) & of *Accia*, the sister of *Julius Cesar*: who hauing no childe, made him his heire by his last will and testament, and left him all his landes and goodes. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was verie glad to speake to B him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked *Cicero*'s frendshippe, and making of him: for by good happe the boy was borne the same yeare that *Cicero* was Consul. And these be the reasons alleaged, why *Cicero* did fauor this young *Cesar*. But in truth, first of all the great malice he bare vnto *Antonius*, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honor, were (in my opinion) the chiefest causes why he became young *Cesar*'s friend: knowing that the force and power of his souldiers, would greatly strengthen his authority and countenance in managing the affaires of the state, besides that the young man coulde flatter him so well, that he called him father. But *Brutus* being offended with him for it, in his Epistells he wrote vnto *Atticus*, he sharply reproveth *Cicero*, saying, that for feare of *Antonius* he flattered this young *Cesar*: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seeke for the libertie of *Rome*, as he did procure him selfe a louing and gentle maister. This notwithstanding, *Brutus* brought with him *Cicero*'s sonne that studied Philosophie at *Athenes*, and gaue him charge of men vnder him, and employed him in great affaires, wherein he shewed him selfe verie forward, and valliant. Now *Cicero*'s authoritie and power grew againe to be so great in *Rome*, as euer it was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed *Antonius*, that he draue him out of the cite, and sent the two Consuls *Hircius* and *Pansa* against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that young *Cesar* should haue sergeants to carie rodde and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prator, as a man that fighteth for his contry. After that *Antonius* had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were slaine, both the armies came vnto *Cesar*. The Senate then being affrayed of this young man, that had so great good fortune, they D practised by honors and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and so to minish the greatnes of his power: saying, that their contrie now stood in no neede of force, nor feare of defence, sith her enemy *Antonius* was fled and gone. *Cesar* fearing this, sent men secretly vnto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls, and that when they should be in office, he should doe and appoint what he thought good, hauing the young man at his commaundement, who desired no more but the honor only of the name. *Cesar* him selfe confessed afterwarde, that being affrayed he should haue bene vterly cast away, to haue bene left alone: he finely serued his turne by *Cicero*'s ambition, hauing perswaded him to require the Consulship, through the helpe and assistance that he would geue him. But there was *Cicero* finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to sue for the Consulship in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his frends presently reproveth him for it, and shortly after he perceiued he had vndone him selfe, and together also lost the libertie of his contrie. For this young man *Octavius Cesar* being grown to be verie great by his meanes and procurement: when he saw that he had the Consulship vpon him, he forsooke *Cicero*, and agreed with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*. Then ioyning his armie with theirs, he deuided the Empire of *Rome* with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betwene them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and vpwards, whom they had appointed to be slaine. But the greatest difficultie and difference that fell out betwene them, was about the outlawing of *Cicero*. For *Antonius* woulde hearken to no peace betwene them, vnlesse *Cicero* were slaine first of all: *Lepidus* was also in the same mind with *Antonius*: but *Cesar* was against them both. Their meeting was by the cite of *Bolonia*, where they continued three dayes together, they three only secretly consulting in a place enuironned about with a litle riuer. Some say that *Cesar* stuck hard with *Cicero* F

Octavius, and *Accia* the parents of *Octavius Cesar*.

Octavius Cesar was borne in the yere of *Cicero*'s Consulship.

Cicero's great power at *Rome*.

Octavius Cesar sought to be Consul.

Octavius Cesar forsooke *Cicero*. Note the fickleness of youth. The meeting of the Triumvirs: *Antonius*, *Lepidus*, *Octavius Cesar*.

Prime grudge betwixt *Antonius* and *Cicero*.

Cicero saileth into *Greece*.

It will be seene *Cicero* & *Antonius*.

Cicero and *Octavius Cesar* were ioynd in frendship.

Cicero's dreame of *Octavius*, the adopted sonne of *Julius Cesar*.

Cicero appointed to be slain.

the two first dayes, but at the third, that he yeelded and forooke him. The exchange they agreed vpon betwene them, was this. *Cæsar* forooke *Cicero*: *Lepidus*, his owne brother *Paulus* and *Antonius*, *Lucius Cæsar*, his vncl by the mothers side. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kintred nor blood, and to speake more properly, they shewed that no brute or sauage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licentiousnes he haue liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a house of his in the contrie, by the city of *THVSCLVM*, hauing at home with him also his brother *Quintus Cicero*. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine: they determined to goe to *ASTYRA*, a place by the sea side where *Cicero* had an other house, there to take sea, and from thence to goe into *MACEDON* vnto *Brutus*. For there ran a rumor that *Brutus* was verie strong, and had a great power. So, they caused them selues to be conueyed thither in two litters, both of them being so weake with sorow and griefe, that they could not otherwise haue gone their wayes. As they were on their waye, both their litters going as neere to ech other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who tooke it most grieuouly. For, remembering that he tooke no money with him when he came from his house, and that *Cicero* his brother also had verie litle for him selfe: he thought it best that *Cicero* shoulde holde on his iorney, whilst he him selfe made an arrant home to fetch the fuche thinges as he lacked, and so to make haft againe to ouertake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly embracing one another, the teares falling from their eyes, they tooke leaue of ech other. Within few dayes after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his owne seruauents, vnto them that made search for him: he was cruelly slaine, and his sonne with him. C But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being caried vnto *ASTYRA*, and there finding a shippe readie, embarked immediatly, and sayled alongest the coast vnto mount *Corce*, hauing a good gale of winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make sayle againe, he came a shore, either for feare of the sea, or for that he had some hope that *Cæsar* had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithall returning towards *Rome* by lande, he had gone about a hundred furlong thence. But then being at a straight howe to resolute, and sodainly changing his minde: he woulde needes be caried backe againe to the sea, where he continued all night maruelous sorowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe secretly vnto *Octavius Cæsar*'s house, & to kill him selfe by the heareth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to reuenge his blood: but being affraied to be intercepted by the way, & cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other vnadvised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put him selfe againe into his seruauents hands, to be conueyed by sea to another place called * *CAPITES*. There he had a very proper pleasaunt sommer house, where the North winds, called *Etesia*, doe geue a trimme fresh ayer in the sommer season. In that place also there is a litle temple dedicated vnto *Apollo*, not farre from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of crows, making a maruelous noyse, that came flying towards *Cicero*'s shippe, which rowed vpon the shore side. This shole of crows came and lighted vpon the yarde of their saile, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that euery man iudged fraight, that this was a signe of ill lucke at hand. *Cicero* notwithstanding this, came a shore, and went into his house, and layed him downe to see if he coulde sleepe. But the most parte of these crows came and lighted vpon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a wonderfull great noyse: and some of them got vnto *Cicero*'s bedde where he lay, the clothes being cast ouer his head, and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bills plucked of the clothes that couered his face. His men seeing that, & saying to them selues that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarie to see their maister slaine before their eyes, considering that brute beasts had care to saue his life, seeing him so vnworthily intreated, and that they should not doe the best they coulde to saue his life: partly by intreatie, and partly by force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the sea. But in the meane time came the murderers appointed to kill him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Lena*, Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousande men, whose cause *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Iudges, when he was accused for the murder of his owne father) hauing souldiers attending vpon them. So *Cicero*'s gate being furth, they entred the house by force, and missing him,

Quintus Cicero slaine.

* Some doe read Capites.

A wonderfull matter fore-shewed by crows vnto Cicero.

Herennius, & Popilius, sent to kill M. T. Cicero.

A they asked them of the house what was become of him. They answered they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the house called *Philologus*, a slave instructed by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought vp in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberal sciences: he told this *Herennius*, that his seruauents caried him in a litter towards the sea, through darke narrowe lanes, shadowed with widdes on either side. *Popilius* the Colonell taking some souldiers with him, ranne about on the outside of the house to see him at his coming out of them: and *Herennius* on the other side entered the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him coming, commaunded his men to set downe his litter, and taking his beard in his left hande, as his manner was, he slowly looked the murderers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face leane & wrinkled, for the extreame sorowes he had taken. Iudges of them that were by, helde their hands before their eyes, whilst *Herennius* did cruelly murder him. So *Cicero* being three score and foure yeares of age, thrust his necke out of the litter, and had his head cut off by *Antonius* commaundement, and his hands also, which wrote the Orations (called the *Philippians*) against him. For so did *Cicero* call the Orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: & do yet continue the same name vntill this present time. When these poore dismembred members were brought to *Rome*, *Antonius* by chance was busily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers: who when he heard of them & saw them, he cried out alowde that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: and thereupon commaunded his head and his hands should straight be set vp ouer the pulpit for Orations, in the place called *Rostra*. This was a fearefull and horrible sight vnto the *Romans*, who thought they saw not *Cicero*'s face, but an image of *Antonius*' life and disposition: who among to many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act only that had some shew of goodnes, which was this. He deliuered *Philologus* into the hands of *Pomponius*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when she had him, besides other cruell tormentes she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his owne flesh off by litle morsells, and so boyle them, and then to eate them. Some historiographers doe thus reporte it. But *Tyro* who was a slave, enfranchised by *Cicero*, made no mention of the treason of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I vnderstande that *Cæsar Augustus*, long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hande of *Cicero*'s: and he fearing least his Vncl would be angrie to finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. *Cæsar* saw it, and tooke it from him, and red the most parte of it standing, and then deliuered it to the young boy, and sayd vnto him: he was a wise man in deede, my childe, and loued his contrie well. After he had slaine *Antonius*, being Consul: he made *Cicero*'s sonne his colleague and fellow Consul with him, in whose time the Senate ordeyned, that the images of *Antonius* should be thrown downe, and deprived his memory of all other honors: adding further vnto his decree, that from thence forth none of the house & familie of the *Antony* should euer after beare the christen name of *Marcus*. So, Gods iustice made the extreame reuenge and punishment of *Antonius* to fall into the house of *Cicero*.

M. T. Cicero slaine by H. Herennius.

Cicero's head and hands set up ouer the pulpit for Orations. A fearefull and cruell punishment taken by *Philologus* (*Quintus Cicero*'s wife) of *Philologus* for betraying of his maister.

Antonius & *Cæsar* being Consul. The decree of the Senate against *Antonius* being dead.

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THE COMPARISON OF Cicero with Demosthenes.



Demosthenes
eloquence.

Cicero's
eloquence
and
dignity
of
demeanour.

His as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable acts and deeds worthy of memorie, written of Cicero and Demosthenes. Furthermore, leaving the comparison of a side of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations: me thinks I may say thus much of them. That Demosthenes did wholly employ all his wit and learning (natural or artificial) vnto the arte of Rhetoricke, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excell all the Orators in his time: and for grauitie and magnificent style, all those also that onely wryte for shewe or ostentation: and for sharpnesse and arte, all the Sophisters and Maisters of Rhetoricke. And that Cicero was a man generally learned in all sciences, and that had studied diuers bookes, as appeareth plainly by the sundrie bookes of Philosophie of his owne making, written after the manner of the Academicke Philosophers. Furthermore, they may see in his Orations he wrote in certaine causes to serue him when he pleaded: that he sought occasions in his byrtales to shewe men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phrases a man may discern some sparke of their manners and condicions. For Demosthenes phrase hath no maner of finenesse, geastes, nor grace in it, but is altogether graue and harsh, and smelleth not of the lampe, as Pytheas sayd when he mocked him: but sheweth a great drinker of water, extreme paines, and therewith also a sharpe and sower nature. But Cicero oftentimes fell from pleasaunt tawntes, vnto plaine scurrillie: and turning all his pleadings of matters of importance, to sporte and laughter, hauing a grace in it, many times he did forget the comlynesse that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for Calpurnius, where he sayeth, it is no maruell if in so greate abundance of wealth and finenesse he giue him selfe litle to take his pleasure: and that it was a folly not to vse pleasures lawefull, and tollerable, sith the famous Philosophers that euer were, did place the chiefe felicitie of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also, that Marcus Cato hauing accused Marcellus, Cicero being Consul, defended his cause, and in his Oration pleasauntly girded all the sect of the Stoicke Philosophers for Catoes sake, for the straunge opinions they holde, which they call Paradoxes: infomuch as he made all the people and Iudges also fall a laughing a good. And Cato him selfe also smiling a litle, sayd vnto them that sate by him: what a laughing and mocking Consul haue we, my Lordes? but letting that passe, it seemeth that Cicero was of a pleasaunt and merie nature: for his face shewed euer greate life and mirth in it. Whereas in Demosthenes countenance on thother side, they might discern a maruelous diligence & care, and a pensifue man, neuer weary with paine: infomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth him selfe) called him a peruerse & froward man. Furthermore, in their writings

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DEMOSTHENES and CICERO.

As is discerned, that the one speaketh modestly in his owne praise, so as no man can iustly be offended with him: and yet not alwayes, but when necessitie enforceth him for some matter of great importance, but otherwise verie discrete and modest to speake of him selfe. Cicero in contrarie maner, vsing too often repetition of one selfe thing in all his Orations, shewed an extreame ambition of glorie, when incessantly he cried out:

*Let speare and shield geue place to gouerne,
And geue the tung the laurell Crowne.*

Yea furthermore, he did not onely praise his owne actes and deedes, but the Orations also which he had wrytten or pleaded: as if he shoulde haue contended against Iocrates, or Anaximenes, a maister that taught Rhetoricke, and not to goe about to reforme the people of

B ROME:

*VVhich vvere both fierce and stout in armes,
And fit to worke their enemies harmes.*

For, as it is requisite for a Gouernour of a common wealth to seeke authoritie by his eloquence: so, to couet the praise of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to begge it, that sheweth a base minde. And therefore in this point we must confesse that Demosthenes is farre grauer, and of a nobler minde: who declared him selfe, that all his eloquence came onely but by practise, the which also required the fauor of his auditors: and further, he thought them fooles and madde men (as in deede they be no lesse) that therefore would make any boast of them selues. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authoritie in their Orations to the people, and for obtaeyning that they would propound: Infomuch as Captaines, and they that had armies in their handes, stood in neede of their eloquence. As Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes, they all were holpen of Demosthenes: and Pompey, and Octavianus Caesar the young man, of Cicero: as Caesar him selfe confesseth in his Commentaries he wrote vnto Agrippa, and Marcenas. But nothing sheweth a mans nature and condicion more, (as it is reported, and so is it true) then when one is in authoritie: for that bewrayeth his humor, and the affections of his minde, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him. Demosthenes coulde neuer deliuer any such proofe of him selfe, because he neuer bare any office, nor was called forward. For he was not Generall of the armie, which he him selfe had prepared against king Philippe, Cicero on thother side being sent Treasurer into Sicilie, and Proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia, in such a time as couetousnes reigned most: (infomuch that the Captaines & Gouernours whom they sent to gouerne their prouinces, thinking it villanic and dastardinesse to robbe, did violently take thinges by force, at what time also to take bribes was reckoned no shame, but to handle it discretely, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it) he shewed plainly that he regarded not money, and gaue forth many proofes of his curtesie and goodnes. Furthermore, Cicero being created Consul by name, but Dictator in deede, hauing absolute power and authoritie ouer all thinges to suppress the rebellion and conspirators of Catiline: he proued Platoes propheticke true, which was: That the cities are safe from daunger, when the chiefe Magistrates and Gouernours (by some good diuine fortune) doe gouerne with wisdom and iustice. Demosthenes was reproued for his corruption, and selling of his eloquence: because secretly he wrote one Oration for Phormio, and another in the selfe same matter for Apollodorus, they being both aduersaries. Further, he was defamed also for receiuing money of the king of Persia, and therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of Harpalus. And though some peraduenture would obiect, that the reporters thereof (which are many) doe lye: yet they can not possibly deny this, that Demosthenes had no power to refrain from looking of the presentes which diuers kings did offer him, praying him to accept them in good parte for their sakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take vsurie by trafficke on the sea, the extreamest yet of all other. In contrarie maner (as we haue sayd before) it is certaine that Cicero being Treasurer, refused the gifts which the Sicilianians offered him, there: and the presentes also which the king of the Cappadocians offered him whilst he was Proconsul in Cilicia, and those especially which his frendes pressed vpon him to take of them, being a great summe of money, when he went as a banished man out of Rome. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him,

Demosthenes
modest in
praising of
him selfe
Cicero too full
of ostentation

Demosthenes
and Cicero
cunning in
their Orations
in the
common wealth.

Antisthenes
sheweth men
virtues and
vices.

Cicero's
abundance from
money.

Demosthenes
a money
taker.

KKKK ij

Divers causes
of the banish-
ment of De-
mosthenes and
Cicero.

because by iudgement he was banished as a theefe. The banishment of the other was for as A
honorable an acte as euer he did, being banished for ridding his contrie of wicked men. And
therefore of *Demosthenes*, there was no speeche after he was gone: but for *Cicero*, all the Se-
nate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would passe no decree by
their authoritie, before *Ciceroes* banishment was reuoked by the people. In deede *Cicero* idly
passed his time of banishment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACEDON: and one
of the chiefeſt acts that *Demosthenes* did, in all the time that he delt in the affaires of the com-
mon wealth, was in his banishment. For he went vnto euery city, and did assist the Ambassa-
dors of the GRÆCIANS, and refused the Ambassadors of the MACEDONIANS. In the which
he shewed him selfe a better citizen, then either *Themistocles*, or *Alcibiades*, in their like fortune
and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell againe to his old trade which he B
practised before, and was euer against *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS. Where *Laelius* in
open Senate sharply tooke vp *Cicero*, for that he ſate still and sayd nothing, when that *Octavius
Cæſar* the young man made petition against the law, that he might sue for the Consulshippe,
and being so young, that he had neuer a heare on his face. And *Brutus* selfe also doth greatly
reproue *Cicero* in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished, a more grieuous and
greater tyrannie, then that which they had put downe. And last of all, me thinketh the death
of *Cicero* most pitiefull, to see an olde man caried vp and downe, (with tender loue of his fer-
uantes) seeking all the waies that might be to ſie death, which did not long preuent his na-
turall course: and in the ende, olde as he was, to see his head so pitiefully cut of. Whereas *De-
mosthenes*, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had C
prepared the poyſon long before, that he had kept it long, and also vſed it as he did,
he can not but be maruelously commended for it. For ſith the god *Nep-
tune* denyed him the benefit of his ſanctuarie, he betooke him
to a greater, and that was death: whereby he ſaued
him selfe out of the ſouldiers hands of the
tyran, and also ſcorned the bloody
crueltie of *Antipater*.

The difference
betweene De-
mosthenes and
Ciceroes
death.

THE LIFE OF Demetrius.



A **W**Ho first likened arts to our senses, seemeth to haue respected especially
that one property of them both, in receiuing obiects of contrary qua-
lity: for, in the vie & end of their operation, there is great difference. The
senses receiue indifferently, without discretion and iudgement, white and blacke,
sweete and lower, soft and hard: for their office is only to admit their feuerall
obiects, and to carie and referre the iudgement thereof to the common sense.
But artes being the perfection of reason, receiue and allow those things onely
which make for their operation, regarding & elchuing the contraries. Thone chiefly,
and for vie: thother by the way, and with intent to auoyde them. So Philosophie
dealet with diseases, B Musicke with discordes, to theend to remoue them, and worke
their contraries, and the great Ladies of all other artes. Temperaunce, iustice,
and wisdom, doe not only consider honestie, vprightnes, and profit: but
examine withall, the nature and effectes of lewdnes, corruption, and damage.
And innocencie, which vaunteth her want of experience in vndue practises:
men call simplicitie, and ignorance of thinges, that be necessarie and good
to be knowne. And therefore the auncient LACEDÆMONIANS in their solemne
feastes forced their yong men, to ouercharge them selues with wine: and
ſuche they shewed them vnto their youth, by the apparant beallines of
dronken men, to worke in them an abhorring of so lothesome vice. Wherin,
although I can not much praise them for humanity or wisdom, that corrupt
and spoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime an other:
yet (as I hope) C it shall not be reprehended in me, if amongst the rest I put in
one or two paiers of ſuche, as liuing in great place & accompt, haue
increased their fame with infamy. Which in truth, I doe not, to please
& draw on the reader with variety of report: but as *Ismerius* the
THEBAN Musitian shewed his schollers, both those that strake a cleane
stroke, with, do so, & such as bungled it, with, do not so: & *Antigenidas*
thought men should like better, & with greater desire to tend for skill,
if they heard and discerned vtunable notes: so thinke I, we shall be the
forwarder in reading & following the good, if we know the liues, and see
the deformity of the wicked. This treaty containeth the liues of *Demetrius*,
surnamed the Fortgainer, & *M. Antony* the Triumuir, & great examples
to confirme the saying of *Plato*: That from great minds, both great
vertues & great vices do procede. They were both giuen ouer to women
& wine, both valliant & liberal, both sumptuous & high minded,
fortune serued them both alike, not only in the course of their

How senses
and artes doe
agree & differ
fr.

The manner
of the Spartans
to make their
yong men
drunke, that
they might
see the
deformity
of drunken
men.

The cause
of the wicked
liues of
the wicked,
Plato: of
vertue and
vice.

lives, in attempting great matters, sometimes with good, sometimes with ill success, in getting & A losing things of great consequence, overthrowing both when they feared not, restoring both when they hoped not. But also in their end there was no great difference, thone brought to his death by his mortal enemies, & the others fortune not much unlike. But now to our historie. *Antigonus* had two sonnes by his wife *Symone*, the daughter of *Corraeus*, the one of them he named *Demetrius*, and the other *Philip* after his fathers name. Thus farre the most wyters doe agree: howbeit some holde opinion, that *Demetrius* was not the sonne of *Antigonus*, but his Nephewe. But because his father dyed leaving him a childe, and that his mother was straight married againe vnto *Antigonus*: thereupon came the report that he was *Antigonus* sonne. Howsoever it was, *Philip*, that was not much younger then *Demetrius*, dyed. Now for *Demetrius*, though he was a verie bigge man, he was nothing so high as his father, but yet so passing and wonderfull fayer, that no painter could possibly draw his picture and counterfeite to his likenes. For they saw a sweete countenance, mixed with a kinde of grauetie in his face, a feare with curtesie, and an incomparable Princely maiestie accompanied with a liuely spirit and youth, and his wit and manners were such, that they were both fearefull, and pleasant vnto men that frequented him. For as he was most pleasure in company hauing leasure, and most gauen to banking, pleasure life, and more wantonly geuen to follow any lust and pleasure, than any king that euer was: yet was he alwayes very carefull & diligent in dispatching matters of importance. And therefore he maruelously commended, and also endeouored to follow *Dionysius*, (as much to say, as *Bacchus*) aboute all the other goddesses, as he that had bene a wife and valliant Captaine in warre, and that in peace inuented and vsed all the pleasure that C might be. He maruelously loued and reuerenced his father, and it seemeth that the dutifullnes he shewed vnto his mother, was more to discharge the due obedience & dutie of a sonne, than otherwise to enterteine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for prooffe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his father *Antigonus*, geuing audience to certaine Ambassadors, and after he had done his dutie to him, and kissed him: he satte downe by him euen as he came from hunting, hauing his darters in his hande, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambassadors alowde as they went their way, hauing receiued their answer: my Lords, sayd he, you shall carie home this reporte of my sonne and me, be witnesses I pray you, how we liue one with an other. As meaning to shewe thereby, that the agreement betwix the father and the D sonne together, is a great safetie to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest prooffe of his greatness: so gealous is a king to haue a companion, besides the hate and mistrust it should breede. So that the greatest Prince and most auncientest of all the successors of *Alexander*, boasted that he stood not in feare of his sonne, but did suffer him to sitte by him, hauing a dart in his hand. So was this house onely of all other the *Macedonian* kinges, least defiled with such villanie, many successions after: and to confesse a troth, in all *Antigonus* rase there was not one, but *Philip* onely, that slue his owne sonne. But we haue many examples of diuers other houses of kinges, that haue put their sonnes, wiues, and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinarie thing with them to kill them, and neuer stick to it. For like as Geometricians would haue men graunt them certaine propofitions which they suppose without E prooffe: euen so was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the safetie of their estate. But further, to shewe you more plainly that *Demetrius* was of a noble and courteous nature, and that he dearly loued his frendes: we may alleage this example. *Mithridates*, the sonne of *Ariobarzanes*, was his familiar frend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* court, and neuer practised any villanie or treason to him, neither was he thought such a man: yet *Antigonus* did somewhat suspect him, because of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great felde, he sowed of these scrapings of gold, and that of that feede, first of all came vp goodly wheate which had eares of gold: howbeit that shortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the straw, and the eares of the wheate cut of, and that he being angrie and verie foor for it, some tolde F him that *Mithridates* had cut of these golden eares of wheate, and had caried them with him into the realme of *PONT*. *Antigonus* being maruelously troubled with this dreame, after he had made

Demetrius
parentage.

The death of
Philip the
younger brother of
Demetrius.

Demetrius
beautie.

Demetrius
manner.

Demetrius
loue to his father.

A king can
abide no equal.

The story of
the East kinges,
was to kill
their owne
children, wiues,
and mothers.

Antigonus
dreame.

A made his sonne sweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue priuy to that he would tell him: he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was maruelous sory for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to passe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durst not by word of mouth vnto that he knew, because of his other howbeit, taking him aside from his other familiars, when they were both together by them selves, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* looking on him: sic *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* found straight what he ment, and fled the very same night into *CAPPADOCIA* and shortly after it was his desining to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered many goodly contries, and it was he onely that established the house of the kingdom of *PONT*, the which B the *ROMANES* afterwarde overthrowe, about the eight succession. By these examples we may easily coniecture the good nature and curtesie of *Demetrius*. For like as the elements (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are euer at * strife together, but specially those that are nearest eache to other: euen so, though all the successors of *Alexander* were at continuall warres together, yet was it soonest kindled, and most cruell betwene them which bordered nearest vnto the other, and that by being neare neighbours: had alwaies occasion of brawle together, as fell out at that time betwene *Antigonus* and *Pholomy*. This *Antigonus* lay most commonly in the contry of *PHRYGIA*: who hauing intelligence that *Pholomy* was gone into *CYPRVS*, and that he ouerranne all *SYRIA*, winning by force, or fairer meanes, all the townes and cities subiect vnto them: he sent his sonne *Demetrius* thither, beeing at that time but two and twenty C yeares of age; and it was the first time that euer he tooke charge as generall to his father in matters of great importance. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battell with an olde souldier (trained vp in the discipline of warres vnder *Alexander* the great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battells) was soone overthrowen, and his armie put to flight, by the citie of *GAZZA*. At which overthrow were slayne five thousand men, and almost eight thousand taken: and besides, *Demetrius* lost his tents & paulions, his gold and siluer, and to be short, all his whole cariage. But *Pholomy* sent him all his things againe, and his friends also that were taken after the battell, with great courteous wordes: that he would not fight with them for all things together, but onely for honor, and Empire. *Demetrius* receiuing them at his handes, besought the gods that he might not long D liue a debter vnto *Pholomy* for this great curtesie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like againe. Now *Demetrius* tooke not this overthrow like a young man, though it was his first souldierfear: but like an olde and wise Captaine, that had abidden many overthrowes, he vfed great diligence to gather men againe, to make new armors, and to keepe the cities & contries in his hands vnder obedience, and did traine and exercise his souldiers in armes, whome he had gathered together. *Antigonus* hauing newes of the overthrow of his sonne *Demetrius*, said no more, but that *Pholomy* had ouercome bearded men: and that afterwarde he should fight with bearded men. But now, because he would not discourage his sonne altogether, who craued liues once againe to fight a battell with *Pholomy*: he graunted him. So, shortly after came *Cilic*, *Pholomyes* generall, with a great puyfant armie, to driue him altogether out of *SYRIA*. For they made no great accompt of *Demetrius*, because he had bene once overthrowen before. Howbeit *Demetrius* staid upon him, gaue him charge on the sodaine, and made him so afraid, that he tooke both the campe, & the generall, with seven thousand prisoners besides, and wanne a maruelous treasure of money: which made him a glad man, not so much for the gain he should haue by it, as for the oportunitie he had thereby to come out of *Pholomyes* det, nothing regarding the treasure nor the honor he had gotten by this victorie, but onely the benefit of his requittall of *Pholomyes* curtesie towards him. But yet he did nothing of his owne head, before he had written to his father: and then receiuing full graunt and commissi- F on from him to dispose of all things as he thought good, he sent backe *Cilic* vnto *Pholomy*, and all his other friends besides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifullly bestowed on them. This misfortune and overthrow did vtterly put *Pholomy* out of all *SYRIA*, and brought *Antigonus* also from the citie of *CILICIES*, for the exceeding ioy he had of this victorie, as also for the great desire he had to see his sonne. After that, he sent *Demetrius* into *ALEXIA*, against a

Demetrius
saith *Mithridates* left
Mithridates
king of *Pont*.

* Because he
said that love
and discord
were euer the
efficiens causes
of generation
and corruption
of all things.

Emilie be-
trayd *Antigonus*
and *Pholomy*.

Demetrius,
generall to
Antigonus, against *Pholomy*.

Demetrius over-
throwen in
battelle, by
Pholomy.

The bounti-
fulness of *Pholomy*
the Con-
queror, vnto
Demetrius
conquerd.

Demetrius
victorie of
Pholomy.

Demetrius
thankfulnes
vnto *Pholomy*.

*Demetrius
invaded Asia
his.*

*Demetrius
invaded Asia
his.*

*Antigonus &
Demetrius do
not abate to
see Grace as
liberty.*

*Demetrius
Phalerian,
governor of
Athens for
Cassander.*

*Demetrius
restores the
Athenians to
their liberties.*

people called the NABATHIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great daunger and distresse in the deserts for lacke of water, howbeit he neuer shewed any signe that he was afraid. Thereby he so astonied the barbarous people, that he had leysure enough to retire with safetie, and with a great booy of a thousand camells, which he brought away with him. About that time *Seleucus*, (whome *Antigonus* had driuen from BABYLON) returning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other ayde then of him selfe: and went with a great armie against the people and nations confining vnto the INDIANS, and the prouinces adioyning vnto mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereupon *Demetrius* hoping to find MESSOPOTAMIA without any gard or defence, sodainly passed ouer the riuer of Euphrates, & came vnto BABELON, and there distressed the garrison of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the castles or citadells of the cite, being two of them: and then putting in sixteen thousand soldiers to keepe them, he commaunded the rest of his men to get what they could, & to bringe it away with them. After that, he marched towards the sea to returne home, leauing thereby the Realme and kingdom of *Seleucus* in better state and safetie, then it was when he invaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the contry from *Seleucus*, leauing him nothing in it, by spoiling and forraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes were brought him that *Polomy* lay at the leage of the cite of HALYCARNASSVS: whereupon he drew thither with speede to make him raise the seage, and thereby saued the city from him. Now, because by this exploit he wanne great fame, both of them, (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a maruelous desire to set all GREECE at libertie, the which *Polomy* and *Cassander* kept in seruitude and bondage. Neuer king tooke in hand a more honorable nor iuster warre and enterprise, then that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people: he bestowed it all in restoring the GREECIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in consultation what way to take, to bring their purpose and desire to passe, and hauing taken order to begin first at ATHENS: one of *Antigonus* chiefest friends about him, told him that he should take the cite, and place a good garrison there for them selves, if they could once winne it: for, said he, it will be a good bridge to passe further into all GREECE. *Antigonus* would not harken to that, but said, that the loue and good will of men was a surer bridge, & that the cite of ATHENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings shine through the world, as a cresset light, vpon the toppe of a kepe or watche tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoysed sayle, hauing fise thousand silver talents, and a flecte of two hundred and fiftie sayle, and sailed towards the cite of ATHENS: in the which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was gouernor in the behalfe of *Cassander*, & kept a great strong garrison there within the hauen and castell of MVNICHIA. He had an excellent good winde to further his iorney, so that with his good foresight and speede he made, he arrived in the hauen of PIRÆA, the fise and twenty day of the moneth Thargelion, (now called Maye) before any man knew of his comming. Now when this flecte was within a kenning of the cite, and lesse, that they might easily fee them from thence: euery man prepared him selfe to receive them, taking them to be *Prologies* shippes. But in fine, the Captaines and gouernors vnderstanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe them selves: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, and to repulse them, comming so sodainly vpon them. *Demetrius* hauing found the barre of the hauen open, launched in presently. Then being comen to the view of them all, & standing vpon the hatches of his galley, he made signes with his hand that he prayed silence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimed aloud by one of his Heralds, that his father had sent him in happy hower to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garrisons, and to restore them againe to their ancient libertie and freedom, to enioye their lawes and auncient gouernment of their forefathers. After the proclamacion made, all the common people straight threw downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clappe their handes with great shewes of ioy: praying him to land, and calling him alowde their Sauior, and benefactor. Now for them that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although he performed not that he promised, and also sent Ambassadors vnto him to treat of peace. *Demetrius* receiued them very curiously, and sent with them for pledge, one of the dearest friends

A friends his father had, *Aristodemus* MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not careless of the health and safety of *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, who, by reason of the change and alteration of the gouernment of the common wealth at ATHENS, stood more in feare of the people of ATHENS, than of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conueyed (according to his desire) vnto THEBES, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for *Demetrius* him selfe, although he was very desirous to see the cite, he saide he would not come into it, before he had first restored it vnto her auncient libertie and freedom, and also driuen away the garrison thence: and thereupon he cast trenches round about the castell of MVNICHIA. In the meane season because he would not be idle, he hoysed sayle, and coasted towards the cite of MEGARA, within the which *Cassander* also kept a strong garrison. *Demetrius* busily following these matters, was aduertised that *Cratesipolis*, surnamed *Polyperchon*, (who had bene *Alexanders* wife) a Lady of passing fame and beaurty, and lay at that time in the cite of PATRAS, would be glad to see him: he leauing his armie within the territorie of the MEGARIANS, tooke his iorney presently vnto her, with a few of his lightest armed men, and yet he stole from them, and made his tent to be set vp a good way from them, because this Ladie might not be seene when he came vnto him. Some of his enemies hauing present intelligence thereof, came and set vpon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was so scared, that he had no further leysure, but to cast an ill fauored cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising him selfe to flee for life, and escaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they missed him, they tooke his tent, and all his money in it. After that, the cite of MEGARA was taken and won from *Cassanders* men, where *Demetrius* souldiers would haue sacked all: howbeit the ATHENIANS made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoyled. *Demetrius* thereupon, after he had driuen out *Cassanders* garrison, he restored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that, he called to mind the Philosopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in MEGARA, though he liued a quiet and contemplative life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* answered him, they had not. For, said he, I sawe no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaues of the cite were in manner caried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way saide vnto him: well, *Stilpo*, I leaue you your cite free. It is true, O king, said he, for thou hast left vs neuer a slaue. Shortly after, he returned againe vnto ATHENS, and layde seage to the castell of MVNICHIA, the which he tooke, and draue out the garrison, & afterwards raised it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earnest desire of the ATHENIANS, who prayed him to come and refresh him selfe in their cite: he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to assemble, and then restored vnto them their auncient lawes and libertie of their contry, promising them besides, that he would procure his father to sende them a hundred and fiftie thousand bushells of wheate, and as much woode and tymber as should serue to make them a hundred and fiftie gallies. Thus, the ATHENIANS through *Demetrius* meanes, recovered the Democracia again, (to wit, their popular gouernment) fiteene yeares after they had lost it, and liued all the time betweene their losse and restitution from the warre called Lamiaeus warre, and the battell that was fought by the cite of CRANON, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, vnder the gouernment of a fewe gouernors in sight, but in truth a Monarchie or kingdome, because they were vnder the gouernment of one man *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, that had absolute authoritie ouer them. But by this meanes they made their fauor and preferer of their contry. *Demetrius* (who seemed to haue obtained such honor and glory through his goodnes and liberalitie) hateful and odious to all men, for the ouergreat and vnmeasurable honors which they gaue him. For first of all, they called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings, who before that time had alwayes refused the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors and prerogatives graunted) they that had deuided betwene them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durst neuer once presume to challenge, nor to take vpon them. So vnto them only they gaue the style and names of the goddes sauors, and tooke away their yearely Maior, whome they called *Eponymos*, because they did shew the yeares of olde time, by the names of them that had bene Maiors. Furthermore, in stead thereof they ordeyned in the counsell of the cite, that there should yearely

*Demetrius
Antigonus,
honoreth De-
metrius Phae-
larian.*

*Demetrius
dangers his
liberty.*

*Demetrius
winne the
city of Mega-
ra, and resto-
reth it to her
liberty.
Stilpo, a fa-
mous Philo-
sopher in Me-
gara,
Stilpo say-
ing vnto De-
metrius.*

*Demetrius to
restore the A-
thenians to
their lawes &
liberty.
Demetrius
popular go-
uernment.*

*Oligarchie
the gouernment
of a fewe.*

*Too much ho-
nors decreed
to Demetrius
by the Athe-
nians.*

be chosen one by voyces of the people, whom they should name the Priest of their *Saints*, whose name they should write and subscribe in all publike graunts and couenants, to shewe the yeare: and besides all this, that they should cause their pictures to be drawn in the veyle or holy banner, in the which were set out the images of their goddes, the patrones and protectors of their citie. And furthermore they did consecrate the place, where *Demetrius* first came out of his coche, and there did set vp an altar, and called it *Demetrius* altar coming out of his coche: and vnto their tribes they added two other, the *ANTIGONIDES* and the *DEMETRIADES*. Their great counsell at large which they created yearely of five hundred men, was then first of all brought into sixe hundred, because euery tribe must needs furnishe of them selues, fifty counsellors. But yet the straungest acte, and most new found inuention of flattery, was that of *Stratocles*, (being the common flatterer and people pleaser) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordeined: that those whome the common wealth should send vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, should in stead of Ambassadors be called *Theori*, as much to say, as ministers of the sacrifices. For so were they called, whome they sent to *Delfes* to *Apollo Pythias*, or vnto *Elide*, to *Iupiter Olympias*, at the common and solemne feasts of all *Grecians*, to doe the ordinary sacrifices and oblations for the health and preseruacion of the cities. This *Stratocles* in all things els was a desperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked and dissolute life: & for his shameles boldnes, he seemed wholly to follow the steppes of *Cleons* soole hardines, and olde infolencie, which (when he liued) he shewed vnto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his house called *Phylacion*. One day she hauing bought for his supper, beastes heades and neckes commonly eaten, he sayd vnto her: why, how now? thou hast bought me acates which we tosse like balls, that haue to doe in the common wealth. Another time when the armie of the *ATHENIANS* was ouerthrowen by sea, by the Ile of *Amorgos*: he would needes preuent the newes of this ouerthrowe, and came through the freete of *Ceranicus*, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the *ATHENIANS* had wonne the battell: and was also the author of a decree, whereby they did sacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thanks for the victorie: and meate was giuen amongst euery tribe, in token of common ioy. But shortly after the Messengers arriued, which brought report of the shipwracke and ouerthrowe. The people were in an vprore withal, and fust for *Stratocles* in a maruelous rage. But he with a face of brasse came vnto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt haue I done you, if I haue made you mery theser two dayes? Such was *D* *Stratocles* impudencie and rashnes. But, as the Poet *Aristophanes* sayth:

*But whether matters were that time in hand,
Than fire that wasteth both by sea and land.*

For there was another that passed *Stratocles* in knauerie. Who procured a decree, that as often as *Demetrius* came into the citie of *ATHENS*, he should be receiued with all ceremonies and like solemnitie, as they vse in the feasts of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further that they should giue vnto him that did excell all the rest in sumptuousnes and riches, at such time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the citie, so much money out of the common treasure, as should serue to make an image or other offering, which should be consecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And last of all, they chaunged the name of the moneth *Munichion* (to witte the moneth of Ianuary) and called it *Demetrian*: and the last day of the moneth which they called before the new and olde moone, they then called it the *Demetriade*: and the feastes of *Bacchus* also called then *Dionysia*, they presently named *Demetria*. But the goddes by diuers signes and tokens shewed plainly, that they were offended with these chaunges and alterations. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order set downe) they had paynted the images of *Antigonus*, and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Iupiter* and *Minerua*: as they carried it a proceffion through the freete *Ceranicus*, it was torne a sonder in the middle by a tempest of winde. And furthermore, about the altars which were set vp in the honor of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of hemlocke, the which otherwise was vnpossible to growe there. On the feast day also of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leaue the pompe or proceffion for that daye, it was such an extreame hard frost out of all season: and besides, there fell such a myll dewe and great frost vpon it, that not only their vines and oliues were killed

The boldnes
of *Stratocles*
Athenian.

Stratocles
cruell saying.

The moneth
of *Munichion*
altered, &
called *Demetrian*, for the
honor of *Demetrius* name
Vnder.
Hemlocke
usually vn-
knowne, which
whereof they
possessed of-
fenders at *A-*
thens.

killed with it, but also the most part of the wheate blades which were newly sprung vp. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* (an enemye of the foresayd *Stratocles*) in one of his comedies writeth certaine verses against him to this effect.

*The vaine for whose wickednes the veyle was rent in tempest,
VVhich vnto the honor due to God did worship men most vaine,
Is he for whom our budding vines were blasted with the frost,
Those things and not our comedies haue vs so deeply lost.*

This *Philippides* was very well beloued of king *Lysimachus*, in so much that for his sake the king had done many pleasures to the common wealth of *ATHENS*. For he loued him so dearly, that as often as he saw him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For in deed he did not so much esteeme him for the excellencie of his arte, but he was much more to be beloued & esteemed, for his virtuous and honest conditions. He was no troublesome man, neither was he infected with the finenesse of court, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him, and giuing him good countenance said vnto him: what wilt thou haue me giue thee of my things *Philippides*? euen what it shall please thee, O king, for it be none of thy lectures. Thus much we thought good to speake of him in bytlike, because an honest player of comedies, should matche with a shameles and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was another *Demetrias*, of the village of *SPHETTUS*, that dreamed out a more straunger kind of honesty, touching the consecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of *Apollo*. *Demetrias*, that is to say, that they should goe & aske the oracle of *Demetrius*. But I will shewe you the very effect and forme of the law as it was set downe. In good howbeit the people ordeined that he should be chosen one of the Citizens of *ATHENS*, which shall goe vnto our father, and after that he hath done due sacrifice vnto him, he shall aske *Demetrius* our fauor, after what sort the people shall with greatest holines and deuotion, without delay, make consecration of their holiest gifts and offerings: and according to the oracle it shall please him to giue them, the people shall duely execute it. Thus, laying vpon *Demetrius* all these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wise man, they made him a very foole. *Demetrius* being at that time at leisure in *ATHENS*, he married a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and ancient house of *Miltiades*, and had bene married before vnto one *Ophelias* Prince of the *CYRENIANS*, and tharafter his death returned againe to *ATHENS*. The *ATHENIANS* were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honor that came to their citie, supposing he had done it for their sakes. Howbeit he was soone wonne to be married, for he had many wiues, but amongst them all, he loued *Phila* best, and gaue her most honor and preheminentie aboue them all: partly for the respect of her father *Antipater*, and partly also for that she had bene first married vnto *Craterus*, whome the *MACEDONIANS* loued best when he liued, and most lamented after his death, aboue all the other successors of *Alexander*. His father I suppose made him to marry her by force, although in dede her yeares was not meete for him: for he was maruelous young, and the very olde. And when *Demetrius* seemed not to be contented withall, his father rownd him softly in the eare with this saying:

*Refuse no woman nere so old,
VVhose marriage bringeth store of gold.*

Wherein he alluded cunningly to these verses of *Euripides*.

Refuse not to become a thrall,

Where lucre may in seruice withall.

But so much did *Demetrius* honor his wife *Phila*, and all his other wiues he married, that he was not ashamed to keepe a number of *Curensians*, and other mens wiues besides: so that he only of all other kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lecherie. While these things passed on in this fort, he was commaunded by his father, to fight with *Pholomy* for the Realme of *CYPRUS*. So there was no remedie but he must needs obey him, although other wife he was very fory to leaue the warre he had begonne, to set the *GRACIANS* at libertie, the which had bene farre more honorable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from *ATHENS*, he sent vnto *Cleonides* *Pholomyes* generall, that kept the cities of *CARUS* and *SYR-*

Philippides
the Poet.

Demetrius
noted vnto
king *Lysima-*
chus, not desir-
ing to leave
his secret.

Philippides
notable an-
swer vnto
king *Lysima-*
chus, not desir-
ing to leave
his secret.

Demetrius
married vnto
Eurydice, an
Athenian.

Demetrius
had many
wiues, more
than
other.

Phila, *Demet-*
rius wife,
Antipater
daughter, &
Craterus wid-
ow.

Demetrius
married vnto
Eurydice, an
Athenian.

Demetrius
had many
wiues, more
than
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Phila, *Demet-*
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rius wife,
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ow.

Demetrius
married vnto
Eurydice, an
Athenian.

Demetrius
had many
wiues, more
than
other.

Phila, *Demet-*
rius wife,
Antipater
daughter, &
Craterus wid-
ow.

Battell by sea
in the Ile of
Cyprus, be-
twix Demetrius
Antigonus, and Pro-
lomy.

Demetrius
victorie of
Prolomy.

Lamia, the fa-
mous Curis-
sian, taken by
Demetrius,
vpon the de-
feating of
Prolomy.

Salamina yel-
ded vp to De-
metrius.

Arifodemus
a notorious
flatterer in
Antigonus
Court.

ONE to offer him money if he would sette those cities at libertie. But *Cleonides* would not de-
lect withall that way. Thereupon *Demetrius* straight way tooke fea, and sayled with all his
armie towards *CYPRVS*, where at his first comming he ouercame *Menelaus Ptolomyes* bro-
ther. But shortly after, *Ptolomy* went thither in person with a great armie both by sea and land,
and there passed betwixt them fierce threatnings and prowde words to eche other. For *Pto-
lomy* sent to *Demetrius* to bid him to depart if he were wise, before all his armie came together:
which would tread him vnder their feete, and marche vpon his bellie, if he taried their com-
ming: *Demetrius* on the other side sent him word, that he would doe him this fauor to let him
escape, if he would sweare and promise vnto him to withdrawe his garrisons which he had in
the cities of *CORINTHE*, and *SYCIONA*. So the expectation of this battell made these two
Princes not onely very pensieue to fight one with the other, but also all the other Lords, Prin-
ces, and kings: bicause the successe thereof was vncertaine, which of them two should pre-
uaile. But euery man iudged this, that which of them obtayned the victorie, he should not on-
ly be Lord of the Realme of *CYPRVS* and *SYRIA*, but therewith also of greater power then all
the rest. *Ptolomy* in person with fiftie sayle beganne to rowe against his enimie *Demetrius*, and
commanded his brother *Menelaus* that when he sawe them fast grappled in fight together,
he should launche out of the hauen of *SALAMINA*, and giue charge vpon the rereward of *De-
metrius* shippes, to breake their order, with the three score gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius*
on the other side prepared tenne gallies against these three score, thinking them: knowe to
choke vp the hauen mouth being but narrowe, so that none of the gallies that were within
could come out: and furthermore, he disperised his armie by land vpon the foreland points
which reache into the sea, and went him selfe into the maine sea with nynce score gallies, and
gaue such a fierce charge vpon *Ptolomy*, that he valiantly made him flie. Who when he sawe
his armie broken, fled as speedily as he could with eight gallies onely: for all the rest were ei-
ther broken or suncke in fight, and those eight onely escaped, besides three score and tenne
which were taken, and all their fouldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends,
his officers, and household seruants, his wives, his gold and siluer, his armor, engines of batte-
rie, and all such other warlike furniture and munition as was conueyed aboard his carecks and
great shippes riding at anker: of all these things nothing escaped *Demetrius* hands, but all was
brought into his campe. Among those spoyle also was taken that famous Curisian *Lamia*,
who at the first had her name onely for her passing playing vpon the flute: but after she fell to
Curtisan trade, her countenance and credit increased the more. So that euen then when her
beautie through yeares fell to decaye, and that she found *Demetrius* much younger then her
selfe: yet the so wanne him with her sweete conuersation and good grace, that he onely liked
her, and all the other women liked him. After this victorie by sea, *Menelaus* made no more re-
sistance, but yielded vp *SALAMINA* & his shippes vnto *Demetrius*, and put into his hands al-
so twelue hundred horsemen, and twelue thousand footemen well armed. This so famous &
triumphant victorie was yet much more beautified, by *Demetrius* great boundtie and goodnes
which he shewed in giuing his enemies slaine in battell honorable funerals, setting the pris-
oners at liberty without ransom paying, and giuing moreouer twelue hundred complet armors
vnto the *ATHENIANS*. After this, *Demetrius* sent *Arifodemus* *MILESIAN* vnto his father *Ant-
igonus*, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victorie. *Arifodemus* was the greatest
flatterer in all *Antigonus* Court, who deuised then, as it seemeth to me, to adde vnto this ex-
ploit the greatest flatterie possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the
Ile of *CYPRVS*, he would in no wise haue the shippe he came in to come neare the shoare, but
commanded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leaue the shippe: but he him self
got into a litle boate, and went vnto *Antigonus*, who all this while was in maruelous feare and
perplexitie for the successe of this battell, as men may easily iudge they are, which hope after
so great incertainties. Now when worde was brought him that *Arifodemus* was coming to
him all alone, then was he worse troubled than afore, in so much that he could scant keepe
within doores him selfe, but sent his seruants and friends one after another to meete *Arifod-
emus*, to aske him what newes, and to bring him worde presently againe how the world went.
But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on still fayer and foyler with

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A sad countenance, and very demurely, speaking neuer a worde. Wherefore, *Antigonus* hart
being cold in his belly, he could stay no longer, but would him selfe goe and meete with *Arif-
odemus* at the gate, who had a maruelous preface of people following on him, besides those
of the Court which ranne out to heare his gunfwer. At length when he came neare vnto *Ant-
igonus*, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cryed out aloud, God saue thee, O king *Ant-
igonus*: we haue ouercome king *Ptolomy* in battell by sea, and haue wonne the Realme of
CYPRVS, with sixtene thousand and eyght hundred prisoners. Then answered *Antigonus*,
and God saue thee to: Truly *Arifodemus* thou hast kept vs in a trawne a good while, but to
punish thee for the payne thou hast put vs to, thou shalt the later receiue the reward of thy
good newes. Then was the first time that the people with a lowde voice called *Antigonus* and
Demetrius kings. Now for *Antigonus*, his friendes and familiers did at that present instant put
on the royall band or diadeame vpon his heade: But for *Demetrius*, his father sent it vnto
him, and by his letters called him king. They also that were in *EGYPT* with *Ptolomy*, vnder-
standing that, did also call and salute him by the name of king: bicause it should not seeme
that for one ouerthrowe receiued, their hartes were deade. Thus this ambition by ielousie &
emulation, went from man to man to all *Alexanders* successors. For *Lysimachus* then also be-
ganne to weare the diadeame, and likewise *Seleucus*, as often as he spake with the *GRECIANS*
for before that tyme, he delt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But *Cassander*,
though others wrote them selues kinges, he onely subscribed after his wonted manner. Now
this was not onely an increase of a newe name, or chaunging of apparell, but it was such an
honor, as it lyft vp their hartes, and made them stand vpon them selues: and besides it so framed
their manner of life and conseruation with men, that they grew more prowd and state-
ly, then euer they were before: like vnto common players of tragedies, who apprelling them
selues to playe their partes vpon the stage, doe chaunge their gate, their countenance, their
voyce, their manner of sitting at the table, and their talke also. So that afterwards they grew
more cruell in commanding their subiects, when they had once taken away the viler and
diminution of their absolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle
in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought such
a wonderfull chaunge in the worlde. *Antigonus* therefore puffed vp with the glory of the vi-
ctorie of his sonne *Demetrius*, for the conquest of *CYPRVS*: he determined forthwith to set
D vpon *Ptolomy*. Him selfe led the armie by land, hauing his sonne *Demetrius* still rowing by the
shore side with a great flete of shippes. But one of his familiers called *Medius*, being asleepe
had a vision one night that told him, what should be the ende and successe of this iorney. He
thought he sawe *Antigonus* ronne with all his armie who should haue the vpper hande, and
that at the first he ranne with great force and swiftnesse: but that afterwards his strength and
breath sayled him so much, that when he should returne, he had scant any poullie or breath,
and with much adoe retyred agayne. And euen so it chaunced vnto him. For *Antigonus* by
land, was eftsoones in great daunger: and *Demetrius* also by sea was often in hazard to leaue
the coast, and by storme and weather to be cast into places, where was neither hauen, creekes,
nor harborough for his shippes. And at length, hauing lost a great number of his shippes,
E he was driuen to returne without any attempt giuen. Nowe *Antigonus* was at that tyme litle
lesse then foure score yeare olde, but yet his fate and corpulent bodie was more comberfom
to him then his yeares: therefore being growen vnmete for warres, he vsed his sonne in
his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as also skillfull through the experience he had
gotten, did wisely gouerne the waightiest matters. His father besides did not passe for his
youthfull partes, lauihe expences, and common dronkenness he gaue him selfe vnto. For
in tyme of peace, he was giuen ouer to all those vices: but in tyme of warre, he was as so-
ber and continent, as any man so borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that *Lamia*
being manifestly knowne to be Mystrisse ouer him, one daye when he was come from hun-
ting, he came (as his manner was) to kisse his father: and that *Antigonus* smyling vpon him
F sayde, what, howe now Sonne, doest thou thinke thou art kissing of *Lamia*? Another tyme
Demetrius was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and sawe not his father: and then
to excuse him selfe vnto him, he tolde him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his

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The first time
Demetrius &
Antigonus
were called
kings.

Note the force
of flattery by
Arifodemus
Milesian.
Antigonus &
Demetrius
iorney against
Prolomy.
Medius
diame.

Antigonus
march with his
sonne Demetrius.

A strange
custom of the
Scythians in
their drunken-
nesses.

Demetrius a
skillfull Cap-
taine, and an
excellent
Shipwright.

Sundry de-
lights of Prin-
ces.

Demetrius
wonderfull
workes.

Demetrius
besieged
Rhodes.

The descrip-
tion of Demetrius
greatest
engine of his
siege, called E-
lepolis.

chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard sayde *Antigonus*: but was it of *Thae-
sos* or *Chios*, that rewme? he spake it, because that in either of those two llands, there
were excellent good wines. Another tyme *Demetrius* sent his father worde that he was now
well. Thereupon *Antigonus* went to see him, and coming thither, he mette a fayce
younge boye at his doore. So he went vnto his chamber, and sitting downe by his bedde
side, he rooke him by the hande to feele his poulse. *Demetrius* tolde him that his feuer had
left him but a litle before. I knowe it well, sayde *Antigonus*: for I mette the younge boye
euen at the doore as I came in. So *Antigonus* did gently beare with his sonnes faulces, in
respēct of his many other vertues he had. The voyce goeth that the *SCYTHIANS*, when
they are disposed to drinke dronke together, doe duers tymes twange the strynges of their
bowes, as though that would deserue to keepe the strength of their courage and hardines,
which otherwise the pleasures of the wine woulde take from them. But *Demetrius* gaue
him selfe to one thinge at one selfe tyme. Sometime to take his pleasure, fosome tyme to deale
in matters of waight, and in all extremitie he euer vsed but one of them, and woulde ne-
uer myngle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no lesse politike
and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for warres. For as he was a wise Cap-
taine to leade an armie, so was he also very carefull to prouide all thinges meete for their
furniture, and woulde rather haue too muche, then too litle. But aboute all, he exceeded
in sumptuous building of shippes, and framing of all sortes of engines of batterie, and spe-
cially for the delight he tooke to inuent and deuise them. For he had an excellent naturall
witte to deuise suche workes, as are made by witte and hande, and did not bestowe his witte
and inuention in handie craftes, in trifeling toyes and bables: as many other kinges that
haue giuen them selues to playe on flutes, others to paynte and drawe, and others also to
Turners crafte. As *Aetropus* kinge of *Macedon*, who delighted to make fine tables, and
pretie lampes. And *Attalus*, surnamed *Philometor* (to saye, as louer of his mother) that
woulde plante and sette Phisicall herbes, as *Helleborum*, *Lingewort*, or Beares foote:
Hyoscyamum, *Henbane*, *Cicuta*, *Hemlocke*, *Aconitum*, *Libardbaine* or *Woolfes-
baine*, and *Dorycinum*: for the which he haue no Englishe worde: all these would he set
him selfe with his owne handes in the gardeins of his pallace, and also gather them in tyme
of the yere, to knowe the vertue and power of them. As *Asaces*, the kinges of *PARTIA*,
that boasted they coulde them selues make their arrowe heades, and sharpen them. But the
artificers workes which *Demetrius* practised, shewed that they came from a king. For his
manner of workmanship had a certain greatnes in it, the which euen with the subtiltie
and finenes of his workes, shewed the trymme handling of the workman: So that they ap-
peared not onely worthy the vnderstanding and riches of a king, but also the forging and
making by the handes of a great king. For his friendes did not onely wonder at their great-
nes, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more
true, then meete to be spoken: the enemies could but maruell when they sawe his gallies
rowing alongest the coaste, with fifteene or sixteene bankes of ores: and his engines of bat-
terie which they called *Elepolis* (to saye, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great ad-
miration vnto those whom he besieged, as the euents following did thoroughly witness. E
For *Lysimachus* who of all other kinges did malice *Demetrius* most, comming to raise the seege
from the cite of *SOLI* in *CILICIA*, the which *Demetrius* besieged: he sent vnto him to pray
him to let him see his engines of batterie, and his gallies rowing vpon the sea. *Demetrius*
graunting him, *Lysimachus* returned with wonderfull admiration. The *RHODIANS* also hauing
long time defended his seege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leaue some
one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall testimonie & remembrance both of his power,
and also of their courage and valliantnes. The cause why *Demetrius* made warre with the *RHODIANS*,
was, because they were confederats with king *Ptolomy*, he brought against their walles
the greatest engine he had, the foote whereof was like a tyle, more long then broad, and
at the base on either side it was eyght and fortie cubits longe, and three score and sixe highe,
rising still narrow euen to the very top: so that the ypper partes were narrower then the nether,
& within it were many pretie roomes and places conueied for souldiers. The forepart of it was
open

A open towards the enemie, & euery roome or partition had windowes, out of the which they
bestowed all kind of shot, because they were full of armed men, fighting with all sortes of wea-
pons. But nowe, because it was so well framed and counterpealed, that it gaue no way, nor
reeld of either side, which way soeuer they remoued it, but that it stood fast and vpright vpon
her foundation, making a terrible noyse and lownde: that made the workes wonderfull to
behold, as it was a maruelous pleasure for men to see it. In this warre were brought vnto *De-
metrius* two notable armors weying fortie pound a peece, and made by one *Polus* an *Armo-
r*: who to shewe the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, suffered the iron to be pruned and
shot at at six score paces, with the engines of their batterie: and albeit the armors were not
at bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurte. *Demetrius* alwayes wore one of them in these
warres, and *Alcimus* a *Libanian* the other, the strongest and valliantest was he had in all his
hoast, and that onely caried a complete armour weying fixe score poundes, where all other
souldiers wore none aboute three score. This *Alcimus* was slayne at *Rhodes* by the Rhodians
fighting by the Theater. In this seege the *RHODIANS* did valliantly defende them selves, that *De-
metrius* could doe no acte worthy memorie. This notwithstanding, although he sawe he
could not preuaile, but lose his tyme, yet was he the more obstinately bent against them, be-
cause when they had taken a shippe of his, in the which his wife *Phila* had
sent vnto him certaine hangings of tapetrie, linnen, apparell, and leuises, and because he
had sent them all vnto *Ptolomy*, as soone as they had taken them. But the Rhodians did not
C low the honest curtesie of the *ATHENIANS*: who hauing intercepted certain letters of *Philip*,
Philips that made warre against them, they opened all the letters they carried, and read the
sauiug onely his wife *Olympias* letters (he sent him, the which they leuied vnto king *Philip*)
led, as they were when they receiued them. Nowe though this part did muche please and of-
fend him, yet he could not finde in his hart to serue them in that sort, when he might haue
done it not long after. For by chance at that tyme, *Protagenes* an excellent paynter, borne
in the city of *CAVVS*, did paynt them the draught of the cite of *ITALVS*. *Demetrius* found
this table in a house in the suburbs of the cite, being almost ended. The *RHODIANS* thereupon
sending a Herald vnto him, to beseeche him to spare the defacing of so goodly a worke,
he returned them aunswer, that he would rather suffer his fathers images to be burnt, then to
D excellent and passing a worke as that to be losse, and brought to nothing. For it is reported,
that *Protagenes* was seuen yeares drawing of the same: and it is also sayde, that *Apelles* him-
selfe when he sawe it did so wonder at it, that his speeche fayled him, and he roode mure
longe tyme, and at last sayde: surely there is a wonderfull peece of worke, and of great labor,
yet they want those graces and ornaments whereby those that I paynt doe reache vnto hea-
uen. This table afterwards being brought to *Rome*, and hanged vp with others, was in the
ende burnt by fire. Nowe as the *RHODIANS* were desirous to be rid of this warre, and that
Demetrius also was willing to take any honest occasion to doe it: the Ambassadors of the *Atheni-
ans* came happily to serue both their desires, who made peace betweene them with these
condicions. That the *RHODIANS* shoulde be confederats with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, and
E gainst all men, but *Ptolomy* onely. The *ATHENIANS* sent for *Demetrius* vpon *Thessandrus* com-
ming to laye seege to their cite. Whereupon *Demetrius* immediately hoyled laye, towards
ATHENS, with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great number of men of warre, because
so that he did not only drue *Cassander* out of the prouince of *ATTICA*, but followed him when
he fled to the straight of *THERMOPILES*, and there ouerthrew him in set battell, and receiued the
cite of *HERACLEA*, which willingly yielded vnto him, and fixe thousand *Macedonians* were
brought vnto him to take his part. So in his returne backe, he ferall the *GREEKIANS* at *Libe-
ris* on this side the straight: he made league with the *BOBOTIANS*, and tooke the cite of *CARNEA*,
and the castells of *PHYLE* and *PANACTOS*, in the frontiers and confines of *ATTICA*: in the
which *Cassander* had left garrisons to keepe the contry in subiection: and after he had drunne
them out of the contry, he rendred the forts againe vnto the *ATHENIANS*. Therefore though
it seemed the *ATHENIANS* had before bestowed to their vntmost power all kinds of honors
that could be offered him, euery man straining for life to prelerre the same: yet they found but

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Two armors
made of no-
table temper
by *Zoilus* an
armourer.

Alcimus Al-
baniens was
an armor of
fixe score pound
weight.

The discom-
fort of the
kinge of the
Rhodians.

The great cur-
tesie of the
Athenians vnto
king *Philip*
Protagenes,
borne in the
cite of *CAVVS*,
an excellent
paynter.

Protagenes
table of the
cite of *Italy*,
was greatly
commended
by *Apelles*
him selfe.

Demetrius
con. had
peace with
the Rhodians.

Demetrius
vnto kinge
of *Carthage*
in *Grace*.

Antigonus
sent for
Demetrius
vnto kinge
of *Thessandrus*.

new deuises to flatter and please him. For they ordain'd that the place behind the temple of *Minerva*, called *Parthenon* (as who would say, the temple of the virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in: and they sayd, that the goddess *Minerva* did lodge him with her. But to say truly, he was too vnchaſt a ghest, to thinke that a mayden goddess would be content to be ſhoule lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiving that they had lodged his sonne *Philip* on a time in a house, where there were three younge women, he sayde nothing to *Philip* him selfe, but before him he sent for the harbinger, and sayde vnto him: wilthout not remove my sonne out of this straight lodging, & prouide him of a better: And *Demetrius*, that should haue reuerenced the goddess *Minerva*, though for no other respect, but because he called her his eldest sister, (for so he would she should be called) he defiled all the call'd was the temple of these holy virgines, with horrible and abominable insolencies, both towards younge boyes of honest houses, as also vnto younge women of the cite. So that this place seem'd to be most pure and holy, at such time as he laye with his common Curtisians, *Chryſis*, *Lamia*, *Demo*, and *Anticyra*. It shall not be greatly for the honor of the cite of *Athenas*, to tell particularly all the abominable partes he committed there, But *Democles* vertue and honestie deserueth worthy and condigne remembrance. This *Democles* was a younge boye that had no heare on his face, of whose beautie *Demetrius* being informed by the surname he had, as commonly called through the cite, *Democles* the fayer: he foughte diuers waies to intise him, both by fayer meanes, large promises and giftes, and also with threats besides. But when he saw no man could bringe him to the bent of his bowe, and that the younge boye in the ende seeing him so importunate vpon him, came no more to the common places of exercise, where other children used to recreate them selues, and that to auoide the common ſcoques, he went to walk him selfe in another secret stouee: *Demetrius* watching his time and hower of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy seeing him selfe alone & that he could not resist *Demetrius*, tooke of the couer of the kete or chawdron where the water was boyling, and leaping into it, drowned him selfe. Truly he was vnworthy of so lamentable an ende, but yet he shewed a noble hart, worthy of his beautie and contrie. But he did not as another called *Cleomenes*, the sonne of *Cleomedon*, who brought letters from *Demetrius* directed to the people, whereby, through *Demetrius* intercession & request, his fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained prisoner) was clerely remitted and forgiuen. But by this acte, he not onely flamed and dishonored him self, but also troubled all the cite. For the people thereupon releas'd *Cleomedon* of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no Citizen should thenceforth bring any moe letters from *Demetrius*. But afterwards, vnderstanding that *Demetrius* was maruelously offended with this decree: they did not onely reuoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further they made a lawe, that the people of *Athenas* should account all religious to the gods, and iust vnto men, whatſoeuer it pleas'd *Demetrius* to order and appoynt. At that time there was one of the chiefest men of the cite, that saide *Stratocles* was a mad man to preſerre such matters. In deſede, *Demochares* surnamed *LACONIAN*, he were a mad man if he were otherwife: and he spake it, because this *Stratocles* had many great pleasures at *Demetrius* hands. For this flatterie. Howbeit *Demochares* being accused and condemned vpon these wordes, he was banished *Athenas*. See after what sorte the *Athenians* reſtor'd them selues, who seem'd to be deliuer'd from the garriſon they had before, and to be reſtor'd vnto their former libertie and freedom. From thence *Demetrius* went into *PELOPONNESVS*, and neuer an enemye of his durst tary his coming, but all fled before him, and left him their castles & townes. Thus *Demetrius* van into him selfe all the contry called *ACTE*, and all *ARCHADIA*, ſauing the cite of *MANTINEA*: & for the summe of an hundred talents giuen amongst them, he deliuer'd the cities of *ARGOS*, *SIKYONE*, and of *CORINTHE*, from the garriſons that laye amongst them. About that tyme tell out the great feaſt of *Iuno* in *ARGOS*, called *Heræa*. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honor this feaſt with the *GRÆCIANS*, married *Deidamia* (the Daughter of *AEACIDES*, king of the *MOLOSSIANS*, and sister of *Pyrrhus*) and perdid the *SIKYONIANS* to leaue their cite, and to come and builde in an other goodly place neare vnto it, where

Antigonus
flam'd

Demetrius
was unchaſt

The names of
Demetrius
Curtisians

Demetrius
travell'd into
Peloponnesus

Demetrius
married
Deidamia, king
Pyrrhus ſister
of

A where they now doe dwell: and so with the place and situation, he chaung'd also the name of the cite. For in ſtead of *SIKYONE*, he made it to be called *DEMETRIADE*. Then at a general assembly of the states of *GRÆCE*, which was kept in the straight of *PELOPONNESVS*, called *ISTHOS*: *Demetrius* was chosen Lieutenent general of all the *GRÆCIANS*, as *Philip* & *Alexander* (both kings of *MACEDON*) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not only compare him selfe, but thought him selfe greater than they, because fortune smiled on him, and for that he had so good ſuccesse in all his affayres. Whereas *Alexander* did neuer take away the title and name of king, from any other kings: neither did euer call him selfe king of kings, although he had giuen vnto diuers of them the name and power of a king. And in contrary manner also, *Demetrius* laugh'd them to ſcorne which called any other Princes, kings, but his father and him selfe. Moreouer he tooke great pleasure to heare his flatterers, who being at bankets called for wine to drinke to king *Demetrius*, and then to *Selenus* maister of the Elephants, to *Ptolomy* Admiral, to *Lyſimachus* keeper of the treasure, and to *Agathocles* *SICILIAN*, governor of the Iles. All the kings, but *Lyſimachus*, laugh'd at these toys when they were reported to them: but *Lyſimachus* was very angry, & thought great skorne that *Demetrius* should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old custom commonly to giue an Euenuke the charge of keeping the treasure. So *Lyſimachus* of all other Princes did beare him most malice, and because he would finely tawnt him for that he euer kept *Lamia* his Curtisan with him: vntil this present time, said he, I neuer saw harlot play in a tragedy before. *Demetrius* answered him againe, that his harlot was chaster, then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that time out of *PELOPONNESVS*, tooke his iorney towards *ATHENS*, and wrote before to the *ATHENIANS*, that when he came thither he would be receiued into the fraternitie of the holy myſteries, and that he ment they should shew him at one ſelfe time, all that was to be ſcene, euen from the least to the highest ſecrets of their ceremonies, called *Epoptices*, because they made the brethern of the fraternitie ſee them long time after that they had bene first receiued into the lesser ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was euer heard of before. For these smaller miſteries in olde time were celebrated in the month of *November*, and the greater in the month of *August*: & beside it was not lawfull to celebrate or vie these ceremonies within the space of a yeare one of thother. When these letters were openly red, no man durst ſpeake againſt them, but *Pythodorus* the Priest, who caried the torch lighted when they shewed these miſteries. Howbeit his words preuailed not, for by the deuise of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an assembly of the cite, that the month of *March* in the which they were at that time, should be called and reputed *November*. And so, as they could beſt helpe it by their ordinances of the cite, they did receiue *Demetrius* into the fraternitie of the miſteries: & afterwards againe, this ſelfe month of *March* which they had translated into *November*, became ſodainly *August*: and in the ſelfe ſame yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of these great miſteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to ſee the moſt ſtraighteſt and ſecreteſt ceremonies. Therefore *Philippides* the Poet inueyng againſt the ſacriledge, and impietie of religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made these verbes of him:

Into one mooneth his coming hither
Flash thruſt vp all the yeare together.

And afterwards because *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the temple of *Minerva* within the caſtell:

Of chaste *Minerva* ſee how he makes a filthie ſervuſe,
And in that Virgins very ſight his harlots doſh abuſe.

But yet of all the insolent parts done at that time in *Athenas*, (although many were committed) none of all the reſt greued the *Athenians* more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commanded them they should preſently furniſh him with two hundred & fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very harde vnto them, both for the ſhortnes of the time appoynted them, as also for the impossibilitie of abating any part of it. When he had ſcene all this masse of money laid on a heape before him, he commanded it should be giuen to *Lamia*, & among his other Curtisians, to buy them ſope. The ſame the *Athenians* receiued by this gift, greued them more, than the loſſe of their money: & the words he spake to the great contempt of

LLLL iij

and the name
of the cite of
Sikyone, and
called it *De-*
metriade.
Demetrius
chosen gene-
rall of all
Græce.

Demetrius
pride.

Philippides
inveſt againſt
Stratocles the
breaſter.

Demetrius
prodigall gift
of 250 talents
to his Cur-
tisians to buy
them ſope.

Lamia made
Demetrius a
supper of her
owne cost.

Lamia Elap-
siv.

The saying of
Demo a Cur-
tisan, con-
cerning Lamia,
& Demetrius

A pretty fable
commenced
vpon a lovers
drame, and
the judgement
reuerfed by
Lamia the
Curtisan.

The fustelle
of Lamia ap-
pearing Boc-
choris traitor.

The conspira-
cy of the king
against Anti-
gonus.

them and their citie, did more trouble them, then the payment they made. Some say notwith-
standing, that *Demetrius* did not alone vse the *ATHENIANS* thus shamefully, but the *THESSA-*
LIANS also in the same manner. But passing this ouer: *Lamia* of her selfe, & through her owne
countenance, did get a great summe of money together of diuers persons for one supper the
made vnto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that *Lycan*,
borne in the Ile of *SAMOS*, did set downe the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certain
Poet not lesse pleasantly, then truly, called this *Lamia*, *Elapsiv*: to wete, an engine to take ci-
ties. And *Demochares* also borne in the citie of *SOL*, called *Demetrius* a fable, because he had
Lamia euer with him: as in the fables which olde women tell litle children, there is euer light-
ly a *Lamia*, as much to say, as a witche, or forcereffe. So that the great credit & authoritie this
Lamia had, and the loue which *Demetrius* bare her: did not onely cause his wiues suspect and
enuy him, but made him hated also of all his friends & familiers. And therefore certain gentle-
me whom *Demetrius* sent in ambassage vnto king *Lysimachus*, he talking familiarly with them,
& passing the time away, shewed them great wounds of the clawes of a lyon vpon his armes
and legges, telling them also how he was forced to fight with the lyon, when through king *A-*
lexanders fury he was shut vp in his denne with him: they smiling to heare him, told him that
the king their maister had also certeine markes and bytings on his necke, of a vile beast called
Lamia. And to say truly, it was a wonderful thing, that marrying (as he did) his wife *Philo-*
much against his will, because she was too olde for him: how he was so rauished with *Lamia*,
and did so constantly loue her so long together, considering that she was also very old, & past
the best. Therefore *Demo*, surnamed *Mania*, (as much to say, the mad woman) pleasantly aun-
swered *Demetrius*, asking her one night when *Lamia* had plained on the flure all supper time,
what she thought of *Lamia*? an old woman, O king, she. Another time when frute was ser-
ued in, after the bord was taken vp: doe you see said *Demetrius*, how many pretty fine knackes
Lamia sendeth me? My mother, answered *Demo* againe, will send you moe then these, if you
please to lye with her. It is reported of this *Lamia*, that she ouerthrew *Bocchoris* iudgement in
a matter. In *EGYPT* there was a young man that had a maruelous fancie vnto a famous Cur-
tisan, called *Thonis*: who did aske him luche a great summe of money to lye with her, that it
was vnpossible for him to giue it her. At length, this amorous youth being so deepe in loue
with her, dreamed one night he laye with her, and enioyed her: so that for the pleasure he
rooke by his conceyt and imagination, when he awaked, his earnest loue was satisfied. This
Curtisan whome he had cast fancieto, hearing of his dreame, did put him in fure before
the Iudges, to be payed her hyer for the pleasure the young man had taken of her by im-
agination. *Bocchoris* hearing the summe of her complaynt, commaunded the younge man to
bringe before him in some vessell, at a daye appoynted, as much money as she did aske
him to lye with her. Then he badde him tollie it too and froe in his hande before the Cur-
tisan, that she shoulde but onely haue the shadowe and sight of it: for, she, imagination and
opinion, is but a shadowe of truth. *Lamia* sayde this was no equall iudgement: for, sayth
she, the shadowe onely, or the sight of the money, did not satisfie the couetousnes of the
Curtisan, as the younge mans lust was quenched by his dreame. Thus enough spoken of
the Curtisan. But now, the misfortunes and dealths of him we presently write of: they do transport our
historie, as from a comycall into a tragical theater, that is to saye, from pleasant and light
matter, into lamentable and bytter teares. For all the Princes and Kinges conspyred ge-
nerally agaynst *Antigonus*, and ioyned all their force and armies together. Therefore *Dem-*
etrius departed forthwith out of *GRECE*, and came to ioynne with his father, whose cou-
rage he founde more liuely and better giuen to this warre, then his yeares required: be-
sides that *Demetrius* comming made him the bolder, and did litle vpper his harte the more.
And yet it seemes to me, that if *Antigonus* woulde but haue yeilded vpper a fewe trifling
things, and that he coulde or woulde haue brydeled his ouer immoderate couetous desire
to raigne: he had bothe kept for him selfe all the tyme of his life, and also lesse after his
deathe vnto his sonne, the supreme dignitie and power, aboute all the other Kinges and
successors of *Alexander*. But he was so cruell, and rashe of nature, and as insolent and braue
in his doinges, as in his wordes: that thereby he stirred vpper, and brought vpper him as his
enemies,

A enemies, many great and mighty Princes. For euen at that present time he said, that he would
as easily disperie and scatter a sunder that conspiracie against him, as chowghes or other litle
birdes comming to pecke vp the corne newly sowne, are easily scared awaye with a stone, or
making any litle noyse. So he caried to the field with him, aboute three score and tenne thou-
sand footemen, tenne thousand horsemen, and three score and fiftene Elephanes. His ene-
mies had three score and foure thousand footemen, and fise hundred horsemen more then
he, with foure hundred Elephanes, and six score cartes of warre. When the two armies were
one neere vnto the other, me thinks he had some imagination in his head that chaunged his
hope, but not his corage. For in all other battells and conflictes, hauing commonly vsed to
looke bigge of the matter, to haue a lowde high voyce, and to vse braue wordes, and some-
time also euen in the chieft of all the battell to geue some pleasant mocke or other, shewing
a certaine trust he had in him selfe, and a contempt of his enemy: then they sawe him often
times alone, and verie pensiuely, without euer a word to any man. One day he called all his ar-
mie together, and presented his sonne vnto the souldiers, recommending him vnto them, as
his heire and succesor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men maruelled the
more, because that he neuer vsed before to imparte to any man the secrets of his counsell and
determination, no not to his owne sonne, but did all things of him selfe: and then commaun-
ded that thing openly to be done, which he had secretly purposed. For prooffe hereof it is
said, *Demetrius* being but a young man, asked him on a time when the campe should remoue:
and that *Antigonus* in anger answered him, art thou affrayed thou shalt not heare the fownde
of the trompet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill signes and tokens that killed their hartes.
For *Demetrius* dreamed that *Alexander* the great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and
that he asked him what word or signall of battell they were determined to geue at the daye of
the battell. He answered, that they were determined to geue, *Iupiter*, and *Victoria*. Then said
Alexander, I will goe to thine enemies that shall receiue me. And afterwards, at the very day
of the ouerthrow, when all their armie were set in battell ray: *Antigonus* comming out of his
tent, had such a great fall, that he fell flat on his face on the ground, and hurte him selfe verie
forely. So when he was taken vp, then lifting vp his handes to heauen, he made his prayers
vnto the goddes, that it would please them to graunt him victorie, or sodaine death without
great paine, before he shoulde see him selfe vanquished, and his armie ouerthrowen. When
both battells came to ioynne, and that they fought hand to hand: *Demetrius* that had the most
parte of the horsemen with him, went and gaue charge vpon *Antiochus* the sonne of *Seleucus*,
and fought it out so valliantly on his side, that he ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to
flight. But too fondly following the chafe of them that fledde, and out of time: he married all,
and was the occasion of the losse of his victorie. For when he returned from the chafe, he
could not ioynne againe with their footemen, because the Elephanes were betwene both. Then
Seleucus perceiuing *Antigonus* battell was naked of horsemen, he did not presently set vpon
them, but turned at one side as though he woulde enuiron them behinde, and made them af-
frayed: yet making head as he would charge them, only to geue them leasure to come on their
side, as they did. For the most parte of *Antigonus* hoast did forsake him, and yeilded vnto his
enemies: & the rest of them fled euery man. And when a great trowpe of men together went
with great furie to geue charge on that side where *Antigonus* was: one of them that were a-
bout him, sayd vnto him: your grace had neede take heede, for these men come to charge vs.
He answered againe: but how should they know me? And if they did, my sonne *Demetrius*
will come and helpe me. This was his last hope, and still he looked euery way if he could see
his sonne comming towards him: vntill at length he was slaine with arrowes, darts, & pikes.
For of all his frendes and souldiers there taried not one man by his bodie, but *Thorax* of the
citie of *LARISSA* in *THESSALIE*. Now the battell hauing such successe as you haue heard,
the Kinges and Princes that had won so glorious a victorie, as if they had cut a great bodie in-
to sundrie peeces: they deuicid *Antigonus* kingdome among them, and euery man had his
part of all the prouinces and contries which *Antigonus* kept, adding that vnto their other do-
minions which they possessed affore. Nowe *Demetrius* flying with all possible speede, that
might be, with fise thousand footemen and foure thousand horsemen, he got to the citie of *Sig-*

Antigonus the
king's enemies
armie.

Demetrius
drame and
signes.

Demetrius the
sonne of the first
antist, made
Antiochus
the sonne of
Seleucus, fled.
ouerably
chasing the
enemies, he
lost his victo-
rie, and was
overcome.

The death of
king *Antigona*
nus.

Demetrius
flying.

EPHESVS: where euerie man mistrusted, that being needie of money as he was, he would not spare the temple of *Diana* in *EPHESVS*, but would rife all the gold and siluer in it. And in contrarie maner also, *Demetrius* being affrayed of his souldiers, least they would spoyle it against his will: he sodainly departed thence, and sayled towards *GREECE*, putting his greatest confidence & affiance in the *ATHENIANS*, bicause he had left his wife *Deidamia* at *ATHENS*, with shippes and some money, supposing he could goe no whether with better safety in his aduersitie, then to *ATHENS*, of whose good wills he thought him selfe assured. Wherefore when Ambassadors of the *ATHENIANS* came vnto him, and found him not farre from the Illes *CYCLOADES*, as he sayled with great speede towards *ATTICA*, and that they had declared vnto him, he should forbear to come vnto their citie, bicause the people had made an ordinance to suffer no moe kinges to come into *ATHENS*, and that they had sent *Deidamia* his wife honorable accompanied vnto the citie of *MEGARA*: then was *Demetrius* for verie anger & passion of minde, cleane out of countenance, although vntill that time he had patiently borne his aduersitie, and his hart had neuer failed him. But this nipped him to the harte, when he sawe (that contrarie to expectation) the *ATHENIANS* had deceiued and failed him in his greatest neede, and that in his aduersitie he found their former frendshippe counterfeate, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainly appeareth, that the most vncertaine and deceiueable profe of peoples good wills and cities towards Kings and Princes, are the immeasurable and extreame honors they doe vnto them. For sith it is so, that the truth and certainty of honor proceedeth from the good will of those that giue it: the feare which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause for them to mistrust that the people doe it not with good will and from their harts, considering that for feare they doe the selfe same things, which they will also doe for loue. Therefore graue and wise Princes should not passe so much for the images and statues they set vp for them, or the tables or diuine honors they doe decree vnto them: as to regard their owne workes & deedes, and weying them truly, fo to beleue and receiue their honors for true, or otherwise to receiue and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they doe accept these immeasurable and extreame honors done vnto them, but those forties chiefly hate them most, that against their wills are forced to doe them those honors. *Demetrius* seeing then how iniuriouly the *ATHENIANS* had vied him, & at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them: he modestly sent vnto them only to make his complaints, and to demand his shippes, among the which was that galley of fixteene bankes of owers. The which when he had receiued, he hoysed saile immediatly towards the straight of *PELOPONNESVS*, and there found all things to goe against him. For in euery place where he had left any garrison, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yielded them vp, or else reuolted, & kept them against him. Therefore leauing *Pyrrhus* his Lieutenant in *GREECE*, he tooke sea againe, & sayled towards *CHERRONESVS*, & there with the mischieues he did, & with the spoiles he got in king *Lysimachus* land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increafe, & to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for *Lysimachus*, the other kings made no great accompt of him, neither did they sturre to geue him aide, bicause he was nothing inferior vnto *Demetrius*; and for that he was of greater power and possessions then them selues, they therefore were the more affrayed of him. Shortly after, *Seleucus* sent vnto *Demetrius*, to require his daughter *Stratonice* in marriage, notwithstanding that he had a sonne already called *Antiochus*, by his wife *Apama* a *PERSIAN*. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnes of his estate and kingdom, was able enough to maintaine many successors after him. And furthermore, he considered with him selfe that he should haue neede of *Demetrius* allyance, bicause he saw *Lysimachus* him selfe matche with one of *Pholomyes* daughters, & his sonne *Agathocles* with his other daughter. *Demetrius* seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently tooke his daughter with him, & sayled with all his shippes directly towards *SYRIA*. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessitie to lande sometimes, and specially in *CILICIA*, the which *Pisistrachus* the brother of *Cassander* kept at that time, being geuen him by the other kings for his parte and porcion of the spoyle of *Antigonum*, after he was ouerthrowen. This *Pisistrachus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refresh him

The confidence of the Athenians towards Demetrius.

Overgreat honors are signes of vncertaine frendship.

Seleucus requieth Stratonice (Demetrius daughter) in marriage.

Pisistrachus, the brother of Cassander, at that time Governor of Cilicia.

A him selfe, but to forrage and spoyle bicause he would complaine of *Seleucus* for the allyance he made with their common enemy, without the content and priuite of all the other Kings and Princes confederats; he went purposely vnto his brother *Cassander*. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence thereof, sodainly invaded the land, and spoyled as farre as the citie of *CYNDUS*, and caried away (which he had leauied) twelue hundred talentes, which he found yet left of his fathers treasure: and then with all the speede he could possible he returned to his shippes, and hoysed saile. Shortly after, his wife *Philis* also came vnto him. So *Seleucus* receiued them all neere vnto the citie of *ROSSVS*, and there their meeting was Princely, without forow or suspicion one of the other. First of all *Seleucus* did feast *Demetrius* in his tent, in the midst of his campe: & afterwards *Demetrius* feasted him againe in his galley, with thirtene bankes of owers. Thus they passed many dayes together, feasting and reioicing eche with other, being warned, and hauing no souldiers to waite vpon them: vntill at length *Seleucus* with his wife *Stratonice* departed, and tooke his way with great pompe towards the citie of *ANTIOCHIA*. Nowe for *Demetrius*, he kept the prouince of *CILICIA*, and sent his wife *Philis* vnto her brother *Cassander*, to auisore the complaints and accusations of *Pisistrachus* against him. In the meane time *Deidamia* his wife departed out of *GREECE* to come vnto him: who after she had remained with him a few dayes, dyed of a sicknesse. Afterwardes *Demetrius* coming againe in fauor with *Pholomy*, by *Seleucus* his sonne in lawes meanes, he married his daughter *Ptolemeide*. Hitherunto *Seleucus* vied *Demetrius* verie courteously: but afterwards he prayed him to deliuer him *CILICIA* againe, for a summe of money that he offered him: but *Demetrius* plainly denied him. Then did *Seleucus* shew a cruell and tyrannicall couetousnesse: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenance he asked him the cities of *TYRA*, and *SIDON*. But therein he thinkes he lacked honestie and ciuility: as though he that had vnder his obedience and subiection all that which lay betwixt the *INDIANS*, and the sea of *SYRIA*, was in siche neede and pouertie: that for two cities onely, he should driue his father in law from him, who had sustained so hard & bitter chaunge. But thereby he rightly confirmed *Platoes* saying: that he that will be rich in deede, must endeuor him selfe not to increafe his riches, but rather to diminish his couetousnes. For he shall neuer be but a begger, and needie, whose couetous desire hath no ende. This notwithstanding, *Demetrius* yielded not for feare, but provided to replenish the cities with good garrisons to keepe them against him: saying, that though he had bene overcome ten thousand times more in battell, yet it should neuer sincke into his head that he should be contented, and thinke him selfe happie to buy *Seleucus* allyance so deere. On thother side, being aduertised that one *Lachares* hauing spied opportunitie when the *ATHENIANS* were in ciuill warres one against the other, and that he had ouercomen them, and did tyrannically vsurpe the gouernment: he then perswaded him selfe that he might easily winne it againe, if he came thither vpon the sodaine. Thereupon he crossed the seas with a great flecte of shippes, without any daunger: but he had such a great storme & tempest vpon the coast of *ATTICA*, that he lost the most parte of his shippes, and a great number of his men besides. But for him selfe he scaped, and began to make a litle warre with the *ATHENIANS*. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but lost his time: he sent some of his men to gather a number of shippes againe together, and he him selfe in the meane time went into *PELOPONNESVS*, to laye siege to the citie of *MASSENA*, where his person was in greate daunger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blowe with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ranne through his cheek. Notwithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subiection againe, certaine townes that had rebelled against him. After that, he returned againe into *ATTICA*, and tooke the cities of *ELYSIN*, and of *RHAMNVS*: and then spoyled all the contrie, & tooke a shippe fraught with corne, and hong vp the marchaunt that ought it, and the maister of the shippe that brought it. Thereby to terrifie all other marchaunts, that they should be affrayed to bring any more corne thither, and so to famish the citie, by keeping them from all things necessarie for their sustenance: and so it happened. For a bushell of salt was sold at *ATHENS* for fortiefluer Drachmas, and the bushell of wheate for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreame necessitie, the *ATHENIANS* had but a short ioy for the hundred and fiftie gallies they saw neere vnto *ÆGINA*, the which

Demetrius invades Cilicia.

Seleucus marries Stratonice, Demetrius daughter.

The death of Deidamia Demetrius wife.

Demetrius marries Ptolemeide, Ptolemies daughter.

Dissention betwixt Demetrius and Seleucus. Platoes saying of riches.

Demetrius journey against the Athenians.

The Athenians doe yeelde vnto Demetrius.

A very deuill of Epicurus, at the straight siege of Athens, to keepe his scholars alone with beanes.

Demetrius sheweth vnto the Athenians.

Demetrius turneth against the Lacedaemonians.

Demetrius is variable for same.

Demetrius misfortune.

ptolomy sent to aide them. For when the fouldiers that were in them sawe that they brought vnto *Demetrius* a great number of shippes out of *PELOPONNESVS*, out of *CYPRVS*, & diuers other partes, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred saile, they wyped their anckers, and fled presently. Then *Lachares* forooke the city, and secretly faued him selfe. Nowe the *ATHENIANS*, who before had commaunded vpon paine of death, that no man should make any motion to the counsell, to treat of any peace with *Demetrius*: they did then vpon *Lachares* flying, presently open the gates next vnto *Demetrius* campe, and sent *Ambassadors* vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but because necessity draue them so. During this so hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderfull and straunge things: but among others, this one is of speciall note. It is reported that the father and the sonne sitting in their house, voide of all hope of life: there fell a dead ratte before them from the topp of the house, and that the father and sonne fought who should haue it to eat. Moreover, that at the selfe same siege the Philosopher *Epicurus* maintained him selfe and his schollers, by getting them a proportion of beanes euery day, by the which they liued. Thus the cite of *ATHENS* being brought vnto this extremitie, *Demetrius* made his entrie into it, and gaue commanndement to all the citizens, that they shoulde assembe euery man within the Theater: where he made them to be compased in with armed fouldiers, and then placed all his gard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came downe him selfe into the Theater, through high galleries and entrie by the which the common players vsed to come to play their partes in tragedies, insomuche as the *ATHENIANS* were then worfe affrayed then before: howbeit *Demetrius* presently pacified their feare, as soone as he beganne to speake vnto them. For he did not facion his Oration with a hasty angrie voyce, neither did he vse any sharpe or bitter wordes: but onely after he had courteously told them their faults and discursie towards him, he sayd he forgaue them, and that he would be their frende againe: and furthermore, he caused tenne millions of bulhells of wheate to be geuen vnto them, and established such Gouernors there, as the people misliked not of. Then *Demos* the Orator, seeing that the people gaue out great shewes of ioy in the praise of *Demetrius*, and that the Orators dayly contended in the pulpit for Orations, who should exceede other in preferring newe honors for *Demetrius*: he caused an order to be made, that the hauens of *PIREVS* and *MYNCHIA* should be put into *Demetrius* hands, to vse at his pleasure. This being established by voyces of the people, *Demetrius* of his owne priuate authoritie did place a greate garrison within the forte called *MYSEVM*, because the people should rebell no more against him, nor diuert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken *ATHENS*, he went to set vpon the *LACEDAEONIANS*. But *Archidamus* king of *LACEDEMON*, came against him with a puissant armie, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the cite of *MANTINA*. After that he inuaded *LACONIA* with all his armie, and made an inrode to the cite of *SPARTA*, where he once againe ouerthrew the *LACEDAEONIANS* in set battell, rooke fise hundred of them prisoners, and fise two hundred: insomuch that euery man thought he might euen then goe to *SPARTA* without any danger to take it, the which had neuer yet bene taken affore by any. But there was neuer king that had so often and sodaine changes of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affaires was euer so often liued, and then great: so sodainly downe, and vp againe: so weake, & straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great aduersities when fortune turned so contrarie against him, he was wont to crie out vpon fortune, that which *Aeschylus* speaketh in a place:

Thou seemst to haue begotten me, of purpose for to shewre Thy force in lifting of me up, me downe againe to shewre.

Nowe againe when his affaires prospered so well, and that he was likely to recouer a greate force and kingdom: newes were brought him, first that *Lysimachus* had taken all his townes from him, which he helde in *ASIA*: and on the other side, that *Ptolomy* had won from him all the realme of *CYPRVS*, the cite of *SALAMINA* onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very faithfully besieged. This notwithstanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman *Archilochus* speaketh of, who,

Did in the one hand vnder shewre,

And

And in the other fire bestowre.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the cite of *SPARTA* also out of his handes by these dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to haue won it: he presently offered him hopes of other great and new things, by this occasion following. After the death of *Cassander*, *Philip* who was the eldest of all his other sonnes, and left his heire and successour in the kingdom of *MACEDON*: he reigned no long time ouer the *MACEDONIANS*, but deceased soone after his father was dead. The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and warres together: so that the one called *Antipater*, slue his owne mother *Thessalonica*: and the other being *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius*, and *Pyrhus*, the one out of the realme of *EPYRVS*, and the other out of *PELOPONNESVS*. *Pyrhus* came first before *Demetrius*, and kept a greate parte of *MACEDON* for recompence of his paines, comming to aide him at his desire: so that he became a dreadfull neighbour vnto *Alexander* him selfe, that had sent for him into his contrie. Furthermore, when he was aduertised that *Demetrius* did presently vpon the receipt of his letters, set forward with all his armie to come to aide him: the young Prince *Alexander*, was twife as muche more amazed and affrayed, for the great estate and estimation of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithstanding, and receiued him at a place called *Deion*, and there embraced and welcomed him. But immediately after, he told him that his affaires were now in so good state, that praised be the goddes he should not now neede his pretence to aide him. After these wordes the one began to mistrust the other. So it chaunced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexanders* lodging where the feast was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he should thinke to be merie at the banquet. But *Demetrius* was nothing abashed at the newes, and only went a litle softlier, not making such hast as he did before, and in the meane time sent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to haue them in readines: and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many than those of *Alexanders* side) euery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he rose from the table. By this meanes the men whome *Alexander* had appointed to assault him, they durst not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* faining that he was not well at ease at that time to make merie, he went immediately out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importance: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no longer keepe him companie, for that he was driuen of necessity to depart from him, and that an other time they would meete together, with better leisure and libertie. *Alexander* was verie glad to see that *Demetrius* went his way out of *MACEDON* not offended, but of his owne good will: whereuppon he brought him into *THESSALY*, and when they were come to the cite of *LARISSA*, they began againe to feast one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered *Demetrius* occasion to haue *Alexander* in his hand, as he willed with him selfe. For *Alexander* of purpose would not haue his gard about him, fearing least thereby he should teach *Demetrius* also to stand vpon his gard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practise for an other, vpon him selfe: for he was determined not to suffer *Demetrius* to escape his handes, if he once againe came within danger. So *Alexander* being bidden to supper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* tising from the borde in the middle of supper, *Alexander* rose also, being affrayed of that straunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the verie dore. Then *Demetrius* sayd but to his warders at the gate, kill him that followeth me. With those wordes he went out of the dores, and *Alexander* that followed him was laine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him sayd, that *Demetrius* had preuented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of vpror and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the *MACEDONIANS* being maruelously troubled & affrayed of *Demetrius* great power, when they saw that no man came to assaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrarie manner sent vnto them to tell them that he would speake with them, and deliuer them reason for that he had done: then they all began to be bolde againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Nowe *Demetrius* needed not to vse many wordes, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto

Great diffention and strife for the realme of *MACEDON*, after the death of *Cassander*. *Antipater* & *Alexander*, the sonnes of *Cassander*.

Pyrhus becometh *Alexander* and *Demetrius*.

Demetrius kills *Alexander* the sonne of *Cassander*.

him: for, because they hated *Antipater* as a horrible manqueller and murderer of his mother, and because they had no better man to preferre, they easily chose *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and thereupon brought him backe into *Macedon*, to take possession of the kingdom. This change was not misliked of the other *Macedonians* that remained at home in their contrie, for that they yet remembered the traitorous and wicked fact of *Cassander*, against *Alexander* the great: for which cause they vtterly hated & detested all his issue & posteritie. And furthermore, if there were any sparke of remembrance in their hearts, of the bounty & goodnes of their grandfather *Antipater*: *Demetrius* receiued the frute and benefit, for his wife *Phyllis* sake, by whom he had a sonne that should succcede him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. *Demetrius* hauing this great good happe and fortune comen vnto him, he receiued newes also that *Ptolomy* had not onely raised his siege from the cite of *Salamina*, where he kept his mother and children straightly besieged: but further, that he had done them great honor, and bestowed great giftes vpon them. On the other side also he was aduertised, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before bene married vnto *Seleucus*, was now married againe vnto *Antiochus*, the sonne of the sayd *Seleucus*, and how that she was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high prouinces of *Asia*: and that came to passe in this manner. It chaunced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as loue ouercometh all men) became in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who alreadie had a sonne by *Seleucus* his father. She being young, & passing fayer, he was so rauished with her, that though he proued all the wayes possible to maister his furie and passion that way: yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning him selfe to death because he found his desire abominable, his passion incurable, & his reason vtterly overcome: he resolved to kill him selfe by litle and litle, with abstinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedie his griefe, faining to haue some secret inward disease in his body. Yet could he not so finely cloke it, but that *Erasistratus* the Phisitian easily found his griefe, that loue, not sickness, was his infirmite: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. *Erasistratus* being earnestly bent to finde out the partie he loued, he sate by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any fayer young boy or wife came to see him, he earnestly looked *Antiochus* in the face, & carefully obserued all the partes of the bodie, and outward mouings, which do commonly bewray the secret passions & affections of the mind. So hauing marked him diuers times, that when others came to see him, whatsoeuer they were, he still remained in one selfe state, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in lawe came alone or in companie of her husband *Seleucus* to visite him, he commonly perceiued those signes in him, which *Sappho* wryteth to be in louers (to wit, that his words and speech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes still rowled to and fro, and then a sodaine sweate would take him, his pulse would beate fast and rise high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, and shewed all these signes, he became like a man in an extasie & traunse, & white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true conceiture by these fo manifest signes and declarations, that it was only *Stratonice* whom this young Prince fanfied, and the which he forced him selfe to keepe secret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him muche, but yet trusting to his great affection and fatherly loue he bare to his sonne, he ventred one day to tell him, that his sonnes sickness was no other but loue, and withall, that his loue was impossible to be enioyed, and therefore that he must of necessitie dye, for it was incurable. *Seleucus* was cold at the harte to heare these newes: so he asked him, what, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, answered the Phisitian, because he is in loue with my wife. Then replied *Seleucus* againe, alas *Erasistratus*: I haue alwayes loued thee as one of my dearest frendes, and wouldest thou not now doe me this pleasure, to lette my sonne marry thy wife, such thou knowest it will be that I haue no moe sonnes but he, and that I see he is but cast away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not doe it your selfe, sayd *Erasistratus*: if he were in loue with *Stratonice*. O, sayd *Seleucus*: to him againe, that it were the wil of the gods, some god or man could turne his loue that way: for mine owne parte, I would not onely leaue him the thing he loued, but I would geue my kingdom also to laue his life. The *Erasistratus* seeing that the king spake these words from his hart, and with abundance of teares, he tooke him by the right hand, and told him plainly,

your

A your grace needeth not *Erasistratus* helpe in this. For being father, husbände, and king, your selfe also may onely be the Phisitian, to cure your sonnes disease. When *Seleucus* heard that, he called an assemblie of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to crown his sonne *Antiochus* king of the high prouinces of *Asia*, & *Stratonice* Queene, to marry them together: and that he was perswaded that his sonne, (who had alwayes shewed him selfe obedient to his fathers will) would not disobey him in this marriage. And as for *Stratonice*, if he misliked this marriage, and would not consent vnto it because it was no common matter: then he prayed that his frendes would perswade her he should thinke all good & comely that should please the king, and withall that concerned the general benefit of the realme and common wealth. Hereupon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were married together. But now to returne againe to the history of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the kingdom of *Macedon* and *Thessalis*, by this meane as you haue heard, and did moreouer possesse the best parte of *Peloponnesus*, and on this side the straight, the cities of *Megara*, and *Athens*. Furthermore he led his armie against the *Boeotians*, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that *Cleonymus* king of *Sparta* was come into the city of *Thebes* with his army, the *Boeotians* encouraged by the faire wordes and allurements of one *Pisfis*, borne in the cite of *Thespis*, who at that time bare all the sway & chiefe authoritie amongst them: they gaue vp their treaty of peace that had begun with *Demetrius* & determined to make warre. Therupon *Demetrius* wet to besiege the cite of *Thebes*, & layed his engines of batterie vnto it: in so much as *Cleonymus* for feare, stole secretly out of the citie. Therupon the *Thebans* being also affrayed, yeeled them selues vnto *Demetrius* mercie: who putting great garrisons into the cities, & hauing leaued a great summe of money of the prouince, left them *Hieronymus* the historiographer, his Lieutenant & Gouvernor there. So it appeared that he vied them very courteously, & did them many pleasures, and specially vnto *Pisfis*. For when he had taken him prisoner, he did him no hurt, but receiued him very courteously, and vied him well: and furthermore, he made him *Polemarchus*, (to wit, campe maister) in the city of *Thespis*. Shortly after these things were thus brought to passe, king *Lysimachus* by chaunce was taken by an other barbarous Prince called *Dromichetes*. Therupon, *Demetrius*, to take such a notable occasion ofred him, went with a great army to inuade the contry of *Thracia*, supposing he should find no man to withstande him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soone as *Demetrius* backe was turned, the *Boeotians* reuolted againe from him, & therewithall newes was brought him, that *Lysimachus* was deliuered out of prison. Then he returned backe with all speede, maruelously offended with the *Boeotians*, whom he found already discomfited in battell, by his sonne *Antigonus*, & went againe to lay siege to the cite of *Thebes*, being the chiefe city of al that prouince of *Boeotia*. But at that present time, *Pyrrhus* came & foraged all *Thessaly*, and entred euen to the straight of *Thermopyles*. Therefore *Demetrius* was constrained to leaue his sonne to continewe the siege at *Thebes*, whilst he him selfe went against *Pyrrhus*, who sodainly returned againe into his realme. So *Demetrius* left ten thousand footemen, and a thousand horsemen in *Thessaly* to defend the contry, & returned with the rest of his army to win *Thebes*. Therupon he brought his great engine of batterie called *E-lepolis*, against the wall, as you haue heard before, the which was thrust forward by litle & litle, with great labor, by reason of the weight and heauines of it: so that it could scant be driuen forward two furlongs in two months. But the *Boeotians* & the *Thebans* did valiantly defend them selues: & *Demetrius* of a malicious minde & desire of reuenge, (more often then needefull, or to any purpose) compelled his men to go to the assault, & to hazard them selues: so that there were daily a great number of them slaine. *Antigonus* his sonne perceivinge it alas, said he, why doe we thus suffer our men to be slaine and cast away to no purpose? Wherefore *Demetrius* angrily answered him againe: what needest thou to care? Is there any* come to be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, because men should not thinke he still ment to put others in danger, and durst not venter him selfe: he fought with them, till at length he was shot through the necke with a sharpe arrow head, that was shot at him from the wall. Wherewithall he fell very sicke, but yet raised not his siege, nor removed his campe, but tooke the cite of *Thebes* againe by assault: the which being not long before againe repleni-

MMMM

Demetrius
proclaimed
king of *Macedon*.

Antiochus,
the sonne of
Seleucus married his mother in law
Stratonice, with his father's good will.

Erasistratus
Phisitian to
Seleucus.

Erasistratus
the Phisitian
came, to finde out the young
Prince *Antiochus* loue.
Sappho describes the
signes and tokens of a
fained loue.

Seleucus leaued vnto his sonne
Antiochus.

The cite of
Thebes yeeled vnto
Demetrius.
Hieronymus the
historiographer, *Demetrius* Lieutenant.

* Come now
nearly distributed to the
soldiers, as their wages.

shed with people, was in ten yeares space twice won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a maruelous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his coming into THEBES so that they looked to haue receiued the extreamest punishment the vanquished could haue, through the iust wrath and anger of the conqueror. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirtene of them to death, and banished some he pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia, in the honour of *Apollo*: and because the *ÆTOLIANS* kept all the high wayes to bring them vnto the city of *DELPHES* in the which of olde time they did vie to celebrate those sports aforesaid: he caused them to be kept & solemnised at *ATHENS* in a place where this god in reason should be best honored & reuerenced, because he was patron of the citie, and for that the *ATHENIANS* maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into *MACEDON*, & knowing that it was against his nature to liue idly, & in peace, & seeing on the other side also that the *MACEDONIANS* did him more seruice, & were more obedient to him in warres, & that in time of peace they grew seditious, full of vanity & quarrell: he went to make warre with the *ÆTOLIANS*, and after he had spoiled and destroyed their contry, he left *Pantachus* his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. *Demetrius* him selfe went in the meane time with the rest of his army against *Pyrrhus*: and *Pyrrhus* also against him, but they missed of meeting each with other. Whereupon *Demetrius* passed further vnto the realme of *EPHRS*, the which he spoiled & forraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other side went on so farre that he met with *Pantachus*, *Demetrius* Lieutenant, with whom he fought a battell, and came to the sword with him: so that he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus* had the vpper hand, he put *Pantachus* to flight, & slue a great number of his men, & tooke five thousand prisoners: the which was the chief ouerthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* was north the *MACEDONIAN* still will so much for the mischieues & hurts he had done vnto them, as he got him selfe great fame & renowne with them, because him selfe alone had with his owne hand done all the noble exploits of warre in that iorney: for the which, he was afterwarde had in great estimation among the *MACEDONIANS*. Nowe many of them began to say, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the liuely image of the hardines & vallianties of *Alexander* the great was to be scene: & that all the rest, (but specially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeit his graueitie & Princely countenance, like players vpon a stage that would counterfeit his countenance & gesture. And to say truly, there was much finenes and curiosity about *Demetrius*, to make him a playing stocke in common playes. For some say, that he did not only weare a great hat with his diademe vpon his head, & was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but also that he did vie to weare certain wollen shooes on his feete dyed in purple colour, not wouen, but facioned together like a felt, and gilt vpon it. And furthermore, he had long before caused a cloke to be made of a maruelous rich & sumptuous peece of worke. For vpon it was drawn the figure of the world, with starres and circles of heauen, the which was not thoroughly finished by the change of his fortune. So, there was neuer king of *MACEDON* after him that durst weare it: albeit there were many proud & arrogant kings that succeeded him. Now the *MACEDONIANS* were not only sorry, and offended to see suche things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more misliked this curious manner of life, & specially because he was ill to come to, and worse to be spoken with. For he gaue no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, & would sharply take them vp that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambassadors of the *ATHENIANS* two yerres, & would geue them no answer: & yet made as though he loned them better, then any other people of *GREECE*. Another time also he was offended, because the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had sent but one man only Ambassador vnto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him. And so did the Ambassador of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* answer him very gallantly, after the *LACONIAN* manner. For when *Demetrius* asked him, how chaficeth it that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* do send but one man vnto me? No more but one, said he, O king, vnto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly & popularlike, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easelier speake with him, and that he would more courteously heare their complaints. Therupon many came, and put vp their humble supplications and bills of petition vnto him. Here receiued them, & put them vp in the lappe of his cloke. The poore suiters were glad of that, and waited

Demetrius
turnes against
Pyrrhus.

Demetrius
insolencie.

Demetrius
cloke drawn
with the fi-
gure of the
world, and
starres.

The blame
answer of
the Ambassi-
dor of Sparte
vnto *Demetrius*.

A waited vpon him at his heeles, hoping they should quickly be dispatched: but when he was vpon the bridge of the riuer of *Axius*, he opened his cloke, & cast them all into the riuer. This went to the hearts of the *MACEDONIANS*, who then thought they were no more gouerned by a king, but oppressed by a tyrant: & it grieved the so much more, because they did yet remember (either for that they had scene them selues, or otherwise heard their forefathers say) howe euerous king *Philip* was in all such matters, and howe that one day as he passed through the streete, a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and effionnes humbly besought him to heare her, but he answered her he was not then at leisure. Whereupon the poore woman plainly cried out to him, leaue then to be king. This word so nettled him, and he tooke such a eodeit of it, that he returned presently to his pallace, & setting all other matters a part, did nothing else many dayes but gaue him selfe to heare all sutes, & began with this poore olde woman. For truly nothing becommeth a Prince better, then to minister iustice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* saith) significth force, & is a tyrant: but iustice & law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queene of all the world. Moreouer, the wife Poet *Homer* saith not that Princes & Kings haue receiued the custody of engines, & of munition, neither also strong & mighty ships of *Iupiter*, to kepe them to destroy townes withall: but with them to maintaine law & iustice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell & bloody king, but the iust & merciful Prince, *Iupiters* friend & scholler. And *Demetrius* boasted that he had a name and title contrarie vnto *Iupiter*, whom they called *Poleius*, or *Poliouchos*, signifying protector and preferuer of cities: and that he was called *Polioretetes*, a Fortgainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, & vice preferred for vertue: because he could not discern the truth from falsehood, which turned his iniustice to glory, & iniquity to honor: But now to returne where we left *Demetrius* fell into a great & daungerous sickenes in the citie of *Pella*, during which time he almost lost all *MACEDON*, by a sodaine inuasion *Pyrrhus* made, who in manner rode it all ouer, & came as farre as the city of *EDessa*. Howbeit so sone as he recovered health again, he easily draue him out, & afterwards made peace with him, because he would not fighting with him (whom he should haue daily at his dores stil skirmishing somtime here, somtime there) lose the opportunity, and weaken him selfe to bring that to passe which he had determined. For he had no small matters in his head, but thought to recover all the realmes his father had: & besides, the preparation he made was no lesse sufficient, then the purpose of such an imagination required. For he had leauied & assembled an army of a hundred thousand footemen, lacking but two thousand: and vnto them he had also well neere twelve thousand horsemen, & had besides gotten about five hundred shippes together, which were built part in the haue of *PIREVS*, part at *CORINTH*, part in the city of *CHALCIS*, and part about *Pella*. He him selfe in person went through their workehouses, & shewed the artificers how they should make them, & did help to deuise them: so that euery man wondred not only at his infinite preparation, but at the greatnes & sumptuousnes of his works. For at that time there was no man liuing that euer saw a gally of fiftene or sixtene banks of owers. But this is true, that afterwarde *Protemy*, surnamed *Philopator*, built a gally of forty banks of owers, the which was two hundred foure score cubits long, & from the keele in height to the top of the poope, eight & forty cubits: & to looke to the tackle & guide her, required foure hundred mariners, & foure thousand water me to row her, & besides all that the could yet cary about the hatches, wel nere three thousand fighting men. Howbeit this gally neuer serued to other purpose but for show, & was like to a house that neuer sturred: & it was neuer removed out of the place where it was built but with maruelous a do, & great dainger, more to make men wonder at it, then for any seruice or commodity it could be employed vnto. But now, the beawty of *Demetrius* shippes did nothing hinder their swiftnesse & goodnes for fight, neither did the hugenes of their building take away the vse of them, but their swiftnesse and nimblenes deserued more commendacion, then their sumptuousnes & statelines. Thus as this great power & preparation was in hand, being such as neuer king before (since the time of *Alexander* the great) had assembled a greater to inuade *ASIA*: these three kings, *Protemy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lysimachus*, did all foyne together against him. And afterwarde also, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Pyrrhus* in the name of them all, to draw him to their side, alluring him to come into *MACEDON*, perswading him not to repose any trust in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make account of it

The praise of
king *Philip*
carried.
The bolde
speache of a
poore woman
to king *Phi-
lip*.
The chiefest
office of a
king.

Demetrius
called a Fort-
gainer.

Demetrius
armie & pre-
paration for
the recover-
ing of his
realme a-
gaine.

Protemy
wonderfull
gally of forty
banks of
owers.

Three kings
Seleucus,
Protemy, and
Lysimachus, did all
foynne together
against him.

as a good & sure place for, they said that *Demetrius* did not giue him pledge that he would neuer make warre with him, but rather first tooke opportunity him self to make warre with whom he thought good. *Pyrhus* considering so much, & finding their words true: there rose a sharpe & cruell warre on euery side against *Demetrius*, who traded time, & stayed yet to begin. For at one selfe time, *Pyolomy* with a great flecte of shippes came downe into *Greece*, & made all *Greece* reuolt from him: & *Lysimachus* also on *Thraciaes* side, & *Pyrhus* vpon the borders of *Epirus*, confining with the realme of *Macedon*, they entred with a great army, & spoiled and sacked all as they went. Thereupon *Demetrius* leauing his sonne *Antigonus* in *Greece*, he returned with all possible speede into *Macedon*, to goe first against *Lysimachus*. But as he was preparing to go against him, newes were brought him that *Pyrhus* had already taken the citie of *Berrhoea*. This newes being blown abroad amongst the *Macedonians*, all *Demetrius* doings were turned topsie turuey. For all his campe was straight full of teares & complaints, & his men began openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him: so that they would tary no longer, but euery one prayed leaue to depart, pretending to looke to their busines at home, but in truth to go & yeeld them selues vnto *Lysimachus*. Wherefore *Demetrius* thought it best for him to get him as farre from *Lysimachus* as he could, and to bend all his army against *Pyrhus*: because the other was their contry man, & familiarly known among the most of them, for that they had serued together vnder *Alexander* the great, and that as he thought, the *Macedonians* would not preferre *Pyrhus* a strainger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him. For as soone as *Pyrhus* had pitched his campe hard by him, the *Macedonians* that had euer loued valliantes, & had of ancient time esteemed him worthier to be king, that was the best souldier & valliantest in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency & curteley he had shewed to the prisoners he had taken: they hauing had good will of long time fought but good occasion to forsake *Demetrius*, & to yeeld them selues vnto *Pyrhus*, or to any other prince whatsoever he were. Then they secretly began to steale away one after an other, by smal companies at the first: but afterwards there rose such a general tumult against him throughout all the campe, that some of the were so desperat to go into his tent to bid him flie, & saue himselfe, because the *Macedonians* were too weary with fighting for his curiositie. And yet *Demetrius* found these words more gentle, & modest, in respect of the vile & cruel words which others gaue him. So he went into his tent, & cast a black cloke about his face, in stead of his rich & stately cloke he was wont to weare: not like vnto a king, but like a comon player when the play is done, & then secretly stole away. When this was knowen in the campe, many of his souldiers ran to his tent to rife it, and euery man tooke such hold of it to haue his part, that they tare it in peces, & drew their swords to fight for it. But *Pyrhus* coming in the midst of the tumult, pacified this sturre, & presently without blow giuen, wane *Demetrius* campe: & afterwards he deuided the realme of *Macedon* with *Lysimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly reigned the space of seuen yeres. Now *Demetrius* being thus miserably ouerthrowen, & turned out of all his realme: he fled vnto the city of *Cassandria*. There he found his wife *Phila*, who tooke it maruelous heauily, and could not abide to see him againe a priuate man, driuen out of his kingdom, & the most miserable king that euer was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, & detesting the fortune of her husband, she being more constant in calamity then in prosperity, killed her selfe with poison she tooke. *Demetrius* went from thence into *Greece*, purposing to gather together the rest of his shipwracks: and there assembled all his Capitaines and friends that he had. So it seemeth to me, the coparison *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of *Sophocles*, in these verses:

*My state doth turne continually about on fortunes wheele,
Whose double dealing diuers times infort I am to feele:
Resembling right the moone whose face abideth as no stay
Two nights together, but doth change in shape from day to day:
At first she riseth small with hornes. And as in age she growes,
With fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face she shewes.
And when she cometh to the full, and shineth faire and bright,
Among the goodly glistering starres the goodlyest in the night:*

She

*Demetrius
armie for-
sakes him,
and goeth to
Pyrhus.*

*Phila, Demetrius
wife
poisoneth her
selfe.*

*Demetrius
strange for-
tune.*

*She fades and falls away againe, and runnes a counterpace;
Till she haue forgone the light and figure of her face.*

This comparison might I say much better be applied vnto *Demetrius* fortune, to his rising and falling, and to his ouerthrowe and reliefe againe. For when euery man thought his force and power vnto ouerthrowen, then began he to rise againe by repaire of souldiers, which by litle and litle came vnto him, and straight reuiued him with good hope. This was the best time that he was euer sence meanely apparelled, like a priuate man vp and downe the country, without some shew or tokens of a king. And there was one that seeing him in this state at *Thessaly*, pleasantly applied these verses of *Euripides* vnto him:

Of god immortal, now become a mortall wright:

*Nowe when he beganne to haue some hope againe, and was (as it were,) entred into the great high way of kinges, and had gotten souldiers about him, which made a bodie and them of royall power: he restored the *Thessians* their libertie and gouernment againe. But the *Athenians* once more reuolted from him, and did reuoke the dignitie and Priesthood of *Diphilus*, who had bene that yere created Priest of the sauiours, in steade of the Gouernour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we haue told you before: and made a lawe, that from thenceforth the auncient and common Gouernours of their citie should be restored againe to their auncient manner: and they sent also into *Macedon* vnto king *Pyrhus*, rather to terrifie *Demetrius* (whome they sawe beginne to rise againe) then for any hope they had*

he would come and helpe them. Howbeit *Demetrius* came against them with great iustice, and did straightly besiege the citie of *Athens*. Then the *Athenians* sent *Crates*, the Philosopher to him, a man of great estimation and authoritie, who so handled him, partly by inuention, and partly also through his wife persuasions and counsells he gaue him for his profit: that *Demetrius* presently raised his siege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together some shippes as were left him, and had imbarcked twelue thousand footemen, and a small number of horsemen: he presently tooke sea, and sailed towards *Asia*, meaning to take the prouinces of *Caria* and *Lycia* from *Lysimachus*, and to make them to rebell against him. There *Eurydice*, sister to his wife *Phila*, receiued him by the citie of *Miletum*, hauing with her one of *Ptolomyes* daughters & hers, called *Ptolemeide*, the which had bene affore affianced to him

by *Selencus* meanes. So he married *Ptolemeide* there, with the good will and consent of her mother *Eurydice*. After his marriage he presently went into the field againe, and did set forwardes to winne some citie, whereof many willingly receiued him, and others he tooke by force. Amongst them he tooke the city of *Sardis*, whether came diuers Capitaines vnto him of king *Lysimachus*, who yeilded them selues, and brought him a great number of men, and much money besides. But *Demetrius* receiuing aduertisement that *Agathocles*, *Lysimachus* sonne, followed him with a great armie: he went thence into *Phrygia*, making account, and also hoping, that if he coude winne *Armenia*, he might easily make *Media* rebell, and then that he would see if he coude conquer the high prouinces of *Asia*, where he might haue many places of refuge, if fortune turned against him. *Agathocles* followed him verie neere, and yet skirmishing diuers times with him, *Demetrius* alway had the better: howbeit *Agathocles* did cut of his vittells from him euerie waye and kept him at such a straight, that his men durst no more stray from the campe to forrage: wherefore, they suteseyned greate want of vittells, and then beganne his men to be affrayed, and to mistrust that he would make them followe him into *Armenia* and *Media*. The famine dayly increased more and more in his armie, and it chaunced besides, that missing his waye, and failing to gage the forde well as he passed ouer the riuier of *Lycus*, the furie and force of the riuier caried his men downe the streame, and drowned a greate number of them: and yet notwithstanding these greate troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entrie and coming in to his tent, the first verse of the tragedie of *Oedipus Colonian*, wrytten by *Sophocles*, chaunging onely

some word.

*Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus,
To what a point hast thou now caried vs?*

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*Demetrius
writeth from
Phrygia
supplics.*

*Crates the
Philosopher
deliuereth A-
thens from
Demetrius
siege.*

*Demetrius
marrieth Pto-
lemeide.*

*Demetrius
writeth in
Asia.*

Plague, by ill
meates.

Demetrius
famine.

Patroclus fur-
reth vp Seleu-
cus against
Demetrius.

Disperate
wars are not
to be fought
with.

But in the end, the plague began also in the midst of this famine, (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessity, it should so be) because that men being driven to neede and necessity, doe frame them selues to eat all that comes to hande: whereupon he was driven to bring backe those few men that remained, hauing lost of all sortes (good and bad) not so few as eight thousand fully told. When he came into the prouince of TARSVS, he commaunded his men in no case to meddle with any thing, because the contrie was subiect vnto king Seleucus, whom he would in no wise displease. But when he sawe it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to such extremitie and neede, & that Agathocles had bard vp the straights and passages of mount Taurus against him: he wrote a letter vnto Seleucus, first declaring his miserable state and hard fortune, and then presenting his humble petition and request vnto him, praying him to take pitie vpon his friend, whom spitefull fortune had throwen into such miserie and calamitie, that could not but moue his greatest enemies to haue compassion of him. These letters somewhat softened Seleucus hart, insomuche that he wrote to his Gouvernors and Lieutenantes of those partes, to furnish Demetrius person with all things needefull for a Princes houle, and vittells sufficient to maintaine his men. But one Patroclus, a graue wise man accounted, and Seleucus faithfull friend also, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine Demetrius souldiers, was not the greatest fault he made therein, & most to be accepted of; but that he did not wisely looke into his affaires, to suffer Demetrius to remaine in his countrie, considering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterprise any matters of great importance, and now he was brought to such dispaire and extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowards (contrarie to their nature) to be most desperat & hardie in greatest daungers. Seleucus being moued with these persuasions, presently tooke his iorney into CILICIA with a great armie. Demetrius being allied with this sodaine change, and dreading fo great an armie, got him to the strongest places of mount Taurus. Then he sent vnto Seleucus, first of all to pray him to suffer him to conquer certaine barbarous people thereabouts, who liued according to their owne lawes, and neuer had king: to the end that he might yet there with safetie end the rest of his life and exile, staying at length in some place where he might be safe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it would ye please him to vittell his men for the winter time onely, in the same place where they were, and not to be so hard harted vnto him as to driue him thence, lacking all needefull things, and so to put him into the mouth of his most cruell and mortall enemies. But Seleucus mistrusting his demaundes, sent vnto him that he should winter if he thought good, two monethes, but no more, in the contrie of CATAONIA, so he gaue him the chiefest of his frendes for ostages: howbeit in the meane time he stopped vp all the wayes & passages going from thence into SYRIA. Demetrius nowe seeing him selfe kept in of all sides, like a beast to be taken in the toyle: he was driven to trust to his owne strength. Thereupon he ouertanne the contry thereabouts, and as often as it was his chaunce to haue any skirmish or conflict with Seleucus, he had euer the better of him: and sometime also when they draue the armed carkes with fishes against him, he ouercame them, and put the rest to flight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the passages to keepe him that he should not goe into SYRIA, and so kept them him selfe. In fine, finding his mens hartes lift vp againe, and pretily encouraged: his hart also grew so bigge, that he determined to fight a battell with Seleucus, and to set all at fixe and seven. So that Seleucus was at a straight with him selfe, and wist not what to doe. For he had returned backe the ayde which Lysimachus sent vnto him, because he was affrayed of him, and mistrusted him. On thother side also he durst not fight with Demetrius alone, being affrayed to venter him selfe with a desperate man: and also mistrusting muche his vnconstant fortune, the which hauing brought him to great extremitie, raised him vp againe to great prosperitie. But in the meane space Demetrius fell into a great sickenesse, the which brought his bodie very weake and low, and had almost vterly ouerthrowen his affaires. For his souldiers, some of them yielded them selues to his enemies, and others stole away without leaue, and went where they listed. Afterwardes when he had hardly recovered his health, and within forty dayes space was pretily grown to strength againe: with those few souldiers that remained with him, he seemed to his enemies,

that

Amanus walls

Demetrius
displeasing
of his good suc-
cesses attempt-
eth to assault
Seleucus by
night.

Demetrius
army forsake
him, and yel-
ded them
selues to Se-
leucus.
Demetrius
flyeth from
Seleucus.

Demetrius
yeldeth him
selfe vnto Se-
leucus.

that he would goe and invade CILICIA. But then sodainly in the night without soundung any trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went another way: and hauing passed ouer mount Amanus, he spoyled all the contry vnder it, as farre as the region of CYRENTICA. But Seleucus followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereupon Demetrius sodainly armed his men, and went out by night to assault Seleucus, and to take him sleeping when he mistrusted nothing. So that Seleucus knew nothing of his stealing on him but late enough, vntil that certaine traitors of Demetrius campe that fled before, went quickly to aduertise him finding him asleepe, and brought him newes of the daunger he was in. Then Seleucus in a mafe and feare withall, got vp, and founde the alarm: and as he was putting on his hose and making him ready he cryed out, (speaking to his friends and familiars about him) we haue now a cruell and dauntlesse beast to deale with. Demetrius on the other side perceiving by the great flure & noyse he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterprise was discovered: he reryed againe with speede, and the next morning by breake of day, Seleucus went and offered him battell. Demetrius prepared him selfe to ioyne with him, and hauing giuen one of his faithfull friendes the leading of one of the wings of his armie, him selfe led the other, and ouerthrowe some of his enemies on his side. But Seleucus in the middelt of the battell lighted from his horse, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the first ranckes of his armie, to make him selfe knowne vnto Demetrius men: perswading them to yeeld them selues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had so long time deferred to giue them battell, rather to faue them, then to spare Demetrius. Demetrius souldiers hearing him say so, they did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yeilded vnto him. Demetrius hauing sundry times before proued fo many chaunges & ouerthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to scape this last also, & to passe it ouer: he fled vnto the gates Amanides, which are certaine straights of the mount Amanus. There he founde certaine litle thicke groues, where he determined to stay all night with certaine gentlemen of his house, and a fewe other of his household feruants & officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could possible, to take his way towards the citie of CAVNVS, to goe to that sea coast, hoping to heare of his shippes there. But when it was tolde him he had no vittells nor prouision left onely to serue him that day: he began then to deuise some other way. At length, one of his familiar friends Sofigenes came vnto him, that had foure hundred peeces of golde about him in his girdell. So hoping that with the same money he might flie to the sea, they tooke their way by night directly, to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceived that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great store of fires hard by them: they then dispaired to passe any further, least they should be scene. So they returned to the selfe same place from whence they came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remained any life in them as before. So, one among the rest tooke vpon him, to say, that there was no other way to scape, but to put Demetrius into Seleucus hands. Demetrius therewithall drew out his sword, and would haue slaine him selfe: but his friends about him would not suffer him, but perswaded him to yeld him selfe vnto Seleucus. Thereupon he sent vnto Seleucus, to tell him that he yelded him selfe vnto him. Seleucus was so ioyfull of the newes, that he sayd it was not Demetrius good fortune that saued him, but his owne: who besides many other happy good turnes she had done him, gaue him yet so honorable occasion and good happe, as to make the world to knowe his clemencie & curtesie. Thereupon immediately he called for his officers of household, and commaunded them to set vp his richest pavilion, and to prepare all things meete to receiue him honorably. There was one Appolonides a gentleman in Seleucus Court, who sometime had bene very familiar with Demetrius: Him Seleucus sent immediately vnto Demetrius, to will him to be of good chere, and not to be affrayd to come to the king his Maister, for he should find him his very good friend. So soone as the kings pleasure was knowne, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meete him: but afterwards, euery man striued who should goe meete him first, because they were all in hope that he should presently be muche made of, and growe in credit with Seleucus. But hereby they turned Seleucus pitie into enuie, and gaue occasion also to Demetrius enemies and spitefull men, to turne the kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and daungers, saying, that certainly fo

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soone as the souldiers sawe him, there would grow great sturre and change in their campe. And therefore, shortly after that *Apollonides* was come vnto *Demetrius*, being glad to bringe him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good words from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* him self after so great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to haue yelded his body into his enemies hands) changed his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, & to haue good hope to recouer his state againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Capitaines called *Panfanias*, accompanied with a thousand footemen & horsemen in all, who compassed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the rest depart that were come vnto him before, hauing charge giuen him not to bring him to the Court, but to conuey him into *CHERRONESVS* of *SYRIA*, whether he was brought, and euer after had a strong garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwise, *Seleucus* sent him Officers, money, and all things els meete for a Princes house: and his ordinary fare was so delicate, that he could wishe for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasant walks, and goodly arbors to walke or sit in, & fine parkes full of beasts where he might hunt; moreouer, the king suffered his owne household seruants that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other vnto him from *Seleucus*, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that so soone as *Antiochus* & *Stratonice* were come, they would make some good agreement and peace betwene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this estate, wrote vnto his sonne *Antigonus*, and to his friends and Lieutenants which he had at *CORINTHE*, & *ATHENS*, that they should giue no credit to any letters written in his name, though his seale were to them: but that they should keepe the townes they had in charge for his sonne *Antigonus*, and all the rest of his forces, as if he him selfe were dead. When *Antigonus* heard the pitifull captiuitie of his father, he maruelous greuously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for sorrow, and wrote vnto all the other kings, but vnto *Seleucus* specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, & that he was ready to yeld vp all that he kept, to haue his fathers libertie. The like request did many cities make vnto him, and in manner all Princes, but *Lysimachus*: who promised *Seleucus* a great summe of money to put *Demetrius* to death. But *Seleucus*, who of long time had no great fancie to *Lysimachus*, but rather vtterly despised him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made vnto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, because he would haue *Demetrius* deliuered by his sonne *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*; meanes, for that *Demetrius* should be bound to them for his deliuerie, and for euer should acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forget the miserie he was in. For first of al, he gaue him selfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very grosse, and to giue ouer such pastimes, and therewithall he fell into dronkenness and dying: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seeme, either to auoid the greuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober: or els vnder culler of dronkenness and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or els finding in him selfe that it was that manner of life he had long desired, and that through his vaine ambition and follie till that time he could neuer attayne vnto, greatly turmoyleing and troubling him selfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by sea & land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in ease and idlenes, when he nether thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better ende can euill and vnadvised kings and Princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who in deede deceiue them selues greatly, not onely for that they followe their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicitie, in steede of vertue and honest life: but also, because that in truth they can not be merry, and take their pleasure as they would. So, *Demetrius* after he had bene shut vp in *CHERRONESVS* three yeares together, by ease, grossenes, & dronkenness, fell sicke of a disease whereof he dyed, when he was foure and fiftie yeare old. Therefore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed, and he him selfe also did much repent him that he so suspected him as he did, and that he followed not *Dromichetes* curtesie, a barbarous man borne in *THRACIA*, who had so royally and curteously intreated *Lysimachus*, whom he had taken priso-

Demetrius kept as prisoner in Syria, by Seleucus.

The natural love of Antigonus to his father Demetrius.

Demetrius turned his captiuitie into pleasure.

The death of Demetrius in Cherronesus.

ner in the warres. But yet there was some tragical pompe in the order of his funerall. For his sonne *Antigonus* vnderstanding that they brought him the ashes of his bodie, he tooke sea with all his shippes, and went to meete them, to receiue them in the Isles: and when he had receiued them, he set vp the funerall pot of golde (in which were his embers) vpon the poope of his Admirall galley. So, all the cities and townes whereby they passed, or harbored, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of men thither in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuoye, to the very solemnitie of his funeralls. In this sort sayled all the whole flecte towards the citie of *CORINTHVS*, the port being plainly scene farre off, standing on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple, and ouer it, the diademe or royall band, and about it also were goodly younge men armed, which were as Pensioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famouslest Musition in that time, being set hard by it, played a sweete and lamentable songe on the flute, wherewithall the ores keeping stroke and measure, the fownd did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuoye where the mourners doe knocke their breastes, at the foote of euery verse. But that which most made the people of *CORINTHVS* to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongest the shore side to see it: was *Antigonus*, whom they sawe all beblubored with teares, apparelled as a mourner in blackes. Nowe, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and nosegayes, and cast them vpon the funerall pot, and had solemnized all the honors possible for the funeralls at *CORINTHVS*: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burye it in the citie of *DEMETRIADE*, the which bare the name of *Demetrius* that was dead, and was a newe citie, that had bene replenished with people, and built of litle townes which are about *IOLCOS*. *Demetrius* left two children by his first wife *Phila*, to wete, *Antigonus*, and *Stratonice*: and two other sonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one furnamed the leane, of a woman of *ILYRIA*, and the other king of the *CYRENIANS*, of his wife *Ptolemeide*: and another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who liued in *ÆGYPT*. And it is reported also, that he had another sonne called *Corribabus*, by his wife *Eurydice*, and that his posteritie reigned by succession from the father to the sonne, vntil the time of *Perseus*: who was the last king of *MACEDON*, whome the *ROMANES* ouercame by *Paulus Aemilius*, & wanne all the Realme of *MACEDON* vnto the Empire of *ROME*. Now that the *MACEDONIAN* hath played his part, giue the *ROMANES* also leaue to come vpon the stage.

The funerall of Demetrius

Xenophantus a famous musician.

Demetrius posteritie.

Perseus king of Macedon, (the last king of Macedon) came of the posteritie of Demetrius.

THE LIFE OF Marcus Antonius.



Antonius par-
venge.

* Bicaufe thus
by his death
he ended the
warre which
he vncon-
uincely made
against those
of Creta.
The libe-
tie of Antoni-
us father.

Julia the mo-
ther of M.
Antonius.

Antonius was cor-
rupted by Cu-
rio.

ANTONIUS grandfather was that famous Orator whome *Marim* A
flue, bicaufe he tooke *Syllas* parte. His father was an other *Antonius*
furnamed **Cretan*, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in
the common wealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and
of a very good nature, and specially very liberal in giuing, as appea-
reth by an acte he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his
wife would not let him vse his liberallie and francke nature. One day
a friend of his comming to him to praye him to helpe him to some
money, hauing great neede: *Antonius* by chaunce had no money to
giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bringe him some water in a siluer basen, &
after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he ment to haue shauen it, and
then found an arrant for his man to send him out, and gaue his friend the siluer basen, and bad
him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great sturre in the house among the
seruaunts, seeking out this siluer basen. Inasmuch as *Antonius* seeing his wife maruelously of-
fended for it, & that she would examine all her seruants, one after another about it, to know
what was become of it: at length he confessed he had giuen it away, & prayed her to be con-
tented. His wife was *Julia*, of the noble house and familie of *Julius Caesar*: who for her vertue &
chastitie, was to be compared with the noblest Lady of her time. *M. Antonius* was brought
vp vnder her, being married after her first husbands death, vnto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Ci-
cero* put to death with *Cethegus*, and others, for that he was of *Catlines* conspiracie against the
common wealth. And this seemeth to be the originall cause and beginning of the cruell and
mortal hate *Antonius* bare vnto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* selfe sayth, that he would neuer giue him
the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went first to intreat *Ciceroes* wife
the which vndoubtedly was a flat lye. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them, whom he ex-
ecuted by law. Now *Antonius* being a fayer younge man, and in the prime of his youth: he
fell acquainted with *Curio*, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague
vnto him. For he was a dissolute man, giuen ouer to all lust and insolencie, who to haue *Anto-
nius* the better at his commaundement, trayned him on into great follies, and vaine expences
vpon

ANTONIUS.

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Apon women, in rioting & banketing. So that in shorttime, he brought *Antonius* into a mar-
uelous great det, & too great for one of his yerres, to wete: of two hundred & fifty talents, for
all which summe *Curio* was his fuerie. His father hearing of it, did put his sonne from him,
and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with *Clo dius*, one of the desperatest and most wicked
Tribunes at that time in *Rome*. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who
bred great sturres and mischief in *Rome*: but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his
rashnes and folly, or els for that he was afraid of them that were bent against *Clo dius*. There-
vpon he left *Italy*, and went into *Greece*, and there bestowed the most parte of his tyme,
sometime in warres, and otherwhile in the studie of eloquence. He vied a manner of phrase
in his speeche, called *Asiatick*, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and
was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolie, brauerie, and
vaine ambition. After he had remayned there some tyme, *Gabinus* Proconsul going into *Sy-
ria*, perswaded him to goe with him. *Antonius* tolde him he would not goe as a priuate man
Wherefore *Gabinus* gaue him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So first
of all he sent him against *Aristobulus*, who had made the *Iewes* to rebell, & was the first man
him selfe that got vp to the wall of a castell of his, and so draue *Aristobulus* out of all his holds:
and with those few men he had with him, he ouercame al the *Iewes* in set battell, which were
many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke *Aristobu-
lus* him selfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards *Ptolomy* king of *Egypt*, that had bene dri-
uen out of his contry, went vnto *Gabinus* to intreate him to goe with his armie with him into
Egypt, to put him againe into his kingdom: and promised him if he would goe with him,
tenne thousand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to goe thither, &
Gabinus him selfe made it daintie to enter into this warre: although the couetousnes of these
tenne thousand talents stucke sorely with him. But *Antonius* that sought but for opportunitie
and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie *Ptolomyes* re-
quest: he went about to perswade *Gabinus* to goe this voyage. Now they were more afraid
of the way they should goe, to cometo the cite of *Pelusiym*, then they feared any daunger
of the warre besides: bicaufe they were to passe through deepe sandes & desert places, where
was no freshe water to be had all the marishes thorough, which are called the marishes *Serpo-
nides*, which the *Egyptians* call the exhalations of fume, by the which the *Gyants* *Typhon*
D breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out
vnder the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this
side. So *Antonius* was sent before into *Egypt* with his horsemen, who did not onely winne
that passage, but also tooke the cite of *Pelusiym* (which is a great cite) with all the souldi-
ers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the
hope of the victorie also certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies them selues feele
the frutes of *Antonius* curtesie, and the desire he had to winne honor. For when *Ptolomy* after
he had entred into the cite of *Pelusiym* for the malice he bare vnto the cite, would haue
put all the *Egyptians* in it to the sword: *Antonius* with tooke him, & by no meanes would
suffer him to do it. And in all other great battells and skirmishes which they fought, and
were many in number, *Antonius* did many noble actes of a valliant and wise Captaine: bes
specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giuing them the victorie
that fought against them, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valliane-
nes deserved. So was his great curtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed vnto
Archelaus. For hauing bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while
he liued: but after his death he fought for his bodye, and gaue it honorable buriall. For these
respects he wanne him selfe great fame of them of *Alexandria*, and he was also thought a
worthy man of all the souldiers in the *Romanes* campe. But besides all this, he had a noble
presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard,
abroad forehead, crooke nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance,
as is commonly seene in *Hercules* pictures, stamped or grauen in mettell. Now it had bene a
speeche of old time, that the familie of the *Antony* were descended from one *Antony*, the sonne
of *Hercules*, whereof the familie tooke name. This opinion did *Antonius* seeke to confirme in

Antonius v-
sed in his
pleading the
Asiatick phrase

Antonius had
charge of
his men,
vnder Gabi-
nus Procon-
sul, going into
Syria.
Antonius acts
against Ari-
stobulus.
Antonius
tooke Aristo-
bulus prisoner

Antonius acts
in Egypt
vnder Gabi-
nus.

Antonius cur-
tesie vnto
Archelaus
being dead.
Antonius
shape & pre-
sence.

The house of
the Antony
descended
from Hercules

all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenes of his bodye, as we haue sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shewe him selfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke gyrt downe lowe vpon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and vpon that, some ill fauored cloke. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to ieast with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with euery body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull loue it wanne him amongst them. And furthermore, being giuen to loue: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further euery mans loue, and also would not be angry that men should merily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and aduancement, was his liberalitie, who gaue al to the souldiers, and kept nothing for him selfe: and when he was grown to great credit, then was his authoritie and power also very great, the which notwithstanding him selfe did ouerthrowe, by a showe of other faults he had. In this place I will shewe you one example onely of his wonderfull liberalitie. He commaunded one day his coferer that kept his money, to giue a friend of his 25. Myriades: which the ROMANES call in their tongue, Decies. His coferer marueling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money in a heape together, to shewe him what a maruelous masse of money it was. Antonius seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer answered him, it was the money he willed him to giue vnto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the spight of his man, I thought, sayd he, that Decies had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a triffle: and therefore he gaue his friend as much more another tyme, but that was afterwarde. Nowe the ROMANES mainteyning two factions at ROME at that tyme, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did ioyne with Pompey being then in ROME: and the contrary side taking part with the people, sent for Caesar to ayde them, who made warres in GAYLE. Then Curio Antonius friend, that had changed his garments, and at that tyme tooke parte with Caesar, whose enemy he had bene before: he wanne Antonius, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and swaye he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which Caesar gaue him: that Antonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtheraunce to Caesars practises. For so soone as Antonius became Tribune, he did oppose him selfe against those things which the Consul Marcellus preferred: (who ordeyned that certaine legions which had bene already leauied and billed, should be giuen vnto Cneus Pompey, with further commission and authoritie to leaue others vnto them) and set downe an order, that the souldiers which were already leauied and assembled, should be sent into SYRIA, for a newe supplie vnto Marcus Bibulus, who made warre at that tyme against the PARTHIANS. And furthermore, prohibition that Pompey should leaue no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompeys friends and followers would not suffer Caesars letters to be receiued, and openly red in the Senate: Antonius hauing power and warrant by his person, through the holines of his tribuneship, did read them openly, and made diuers men change their mindes: for it appeared to them that Caesar by his letters required no vnreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideration vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey, or Caesar, should leaue their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete Pompey should leaue his armie, but they all in manner commaunded Caesar to doe it. Then Antonius rising vp, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Caesar both, should leaue their armies. Thereunto all the Senators ioyntly together gaue their whole consent, and with a great cry commending Antonius, they prayed him to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allowe of that. Therefore Caesars friendes preferred other reasonable demands and requests againe, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls draue Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made greuous curses against him. After that, he tooke a slaues gowne, and speedily fled to Caesar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hyered coach. When they came to Caesar, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand

OUT

Antonius liberalitie.

Antonius Tribune of the people, and Augure.

Antonius ally for Caesar.

Antonius flyeth from Rome vnto Caesar.

A ouer head at ROME: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their mindes, and were driuen away in great daunger of their liues, as many as stood with lawe and iustice. Hereupon Caesar incontinently went into ITALY with his army, which made Cicero lay in his Philipides: that as Hellen was cause of the warre of TROY, so was Antonius the author of the ciuill warres, which in deede was a starke lye. For Caesar was not so fickle headed, nor so easily caried away with anger, that he would so sodainly haue gone and made warre with his contrary, vpon the sight onely of Antonius and Cassius, being fled vnto him in miserable apparell, and in a hyered coach: had he not long before determined it with him selfe. But first is deede Caesar looked of long time but for some culler, this came as he wished, and gaue him iust occasion of warre. But to say truly, nothing els moued him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one selfe cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire to raigne, with a senseles countenance to be the best man in the world, the which he could not come vnto, before he had first put downe Pompey, and vterly ouerthrowen him. Now, after that Caesar had gotten ROME at his commaundement, & had driuen Pompey out of ITALY, he purposed first to goe into SPAYNE, against the legions Pompey had there: and in the meane time to make prouision for shippes and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Prator, gouernour of ROME: and Antonius that was Tribune, he gaue him charge of all the souldiers, and of ITALY. Then was Antonius straight maruelously commended and beloued of the souldiers, because he commonly exercised him self among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and also be liberal vnto them, according to his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchafed diuers other mens euill willes, because that through negligence he would not doe them iustice that were injured, & deli very churlishly with them that had any sute vnto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to iustise mens wiuers. To conclude, Caesars friends that gouerned vnder him, were cause why they hated Caesars gouernment (which in deede in respect of him selfe was no lesse then a tyrannie) by reason of the great insolencies & outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest fautes, deserued most blame. But Caesar notwithstanding, when he returned from the warres of SPAYNE, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, & a valliant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefe affayres, and was not whit deceiued in his opinion of him. So he passed ouer the IONIAN sea vnto BRINDVSIVM, being but slenderly accompanied: & sent vnto Antonius & Gabinus, that they should imbarke their men as soone as they could, and passe them ouer into MACEDON. Gabinus was affrayd to take the sea, because it was very roughe, and in the winter time: & therefore fetched a great compasse about by land. But Antonius fearing some daunger might come vnto Caesar, because he was compassed in with a great number of enemies: first of all he draue away Libo, who roade at anker with a great armie, before the haven of BRINDVSIVM. For he manned out such a number of pynnaces, barks, and other small boates about euery one of his gallies, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into shippes twenty thousand footemen, and eght hundred horsemen, and with this armie he boyled sayle. When the enemies sawe him, they made out to followe him: but the sea rose so highe, that the billowes purbake their gallies that they could not come neare him, and so he escaped that daunger. But withall he fell vpon the rocks with his whole flecte, where the sea wrought very highe: so that he was out of all hope to saue him selfe. Yet by good fortune, sodainly the winde turned South-west, and blew from the gulfie, driuing the waues of the riuer into the mayne sea. Thus Antonius loosing from the lande, and sayling with safetie at his pleasure, soone after he sawe all the coastes full of shippewracks. For the force and boylerousnes of the winde, did cast away the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and diuers also cast away, and Antonius tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great summe of money also. Besides all thes, he tooke the cite of LYSSVS, and brought Caesar a great supplie of men, and made him coragious, comming at a pynche with so great a power to him. Now there were diuers hotte skymishes and encounteres, in the which Antonius fought so valliantly, that he caried the prayle from them all: but specially at two severall tymes,

Cicero reproved for lying.

Alexander, Cyrus, & Caesar all commended to raigne. Caesars ambition the only cause of the ciuill warre. Caesar gaue the charge of Italy vnto Antonius.

Antonius taketh sea with his army as Brindusium, and goeth vnto Caesar.

Antonius manured in warre

NNNN

when *Cæsars* men turned their backs, & fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: for that the victorie fell on *Cæsars* side. For this cause he had the seconde place in the campe amongst the fouldiers, and they spake of no other man vnto *Cæsar*, but of him: who shewed playnely what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of *PARSALIA* (which in deede was the last tryall of all, to giue the Conqueror the whole Empire of the worlde) he him selfe did leade the right wing of his armie, and gaue *Antonius* the leading of the left wing, as the valliantest man, and skilfullest fouldier of all those he had about him. After *Cæsar* had wonne the victorie, and that he was created Dictator, he followed *Pompey* steppe by steppe: howbeit before, he named *Antonius* general of the horsemen, and sent him to *ROME*. The generall of the horsemen is the second office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the onely man that remaineth, and all the other officers and Magistrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, *Dolabella* being at that tyme Tribune, and a younge man desirous of change and innouation: he preferred a law which the *ROMANES* call *Nouas tabulas* (as much to saye, as a cutting of and cancelling of all obligations and specialities, & were called the newe tables, because they were diuen then to make bookes of daily receit and expence) and perswaded *Antonius* his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this lawe. But *Trebellius* & *Asinius* dissuaded from it al they could possible. So by good hap it chaunced that *Antonius* mistrusted *Dolabella* for keeping of his wife, and tooke such a conceite of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house being his Cousin Germane, & the daughter of *C. Antonius*, who was Consul with *Cicero*: & ioyning with *Asinius*, he resisted *Dolabella*, & fought with him. *Dolabella* had gotten the market place where the people doe assemble in counsell, & had filled it full of armed men, intending to haue this law of the newe tables to passe by force. *Antonius* by commandement of the Senate, who had giuen him authoritie to leauy men, to vse force against *Dolabella*: he went against him, & fought fo valiantly, that men were slaine on both sides. As by this meanes, he got the ill will of the comon people, & on the other side, the noble men (as *Cicero* saith) did not onely mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquettes & dronke feasts he made at vnseasonable times, & his extreme wastfull expences vpon vaine light huswiues, & then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his drunkenness, thinking to weare away the fume of the abondance of wine which he had taken oute that night. In his house they did nothing but feast, daunce, & maske: and him selfe passed away the time in hearing off foolish plays, or in marrying these plaieres, tombleres, iesters, & such sort of people. As for profe hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* mariage, one of his iesters, he drank wine so lustely all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people assembled in counsell, who had sent for him: he being queise stomaked with his surfeit he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, & one of his friends held him his gowne in stead of a basen. He had another pleasaunt player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefest men about him, & a woman also called *Cytheride*, of the same profession, whom he loued derely: he caried her vp & downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, & had as many men waiting upon her litter, as the being but a player, as were attending vpon his owne mother. It greued honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the contry, he caried with him a great number of cubbords full of siluer & gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had ben the pompe or shewe of some triumphe: & that oftfoones in the midst of his iorney he would set vp his hailes and tents hard by some greene groue or pleasaunt riuer, and there his Cookes should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harnesed in traves to drawe his carts: and besides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where he came, he would haue common harlots, curtisans, & these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it greued men much, to see that *Cæsar* should be out of *ITALY* following of his enemies, to end this great warre, with such great perill and danger: and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authoritie, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts vnto their Citizens. This me thinkes was the cause that made the conspiracie against *Cæsar* increase more and more, and layed the reynes of the brydle vpon the fouldiers neckes, whereby they durst bouldier commit many extorsions,

Antonius led the left wing of Cæsars battell as Pharsalia where Pompey lost the field. The dignitie of the general of the horsemen.

Dissension betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.

Antonius abominable life.

Antonius laid vp his stomach before the whole assembly. Antonius in solency.

extorsions, cruelties and robberies: And therefore *Cæsar* after his returne pardoned *Dolabella*, & being created Consul the third time, he tooke not *Antonius*, but chose *Lepidus*, his colleague and fellow Consul. Afterwards when *Pompeys* house was put to open sale, *Antonius* bought in but when they asked him money for it, he made it very straunge, and was offended with them, and writeth him selfe that he would not goe with *Cæsar* into the warres of *AFRICA*, because he was not well recompensed for the seruice he had done him before. Yet *Cæsar* did somewhat bridle his madnes and insolencie, not suffering him to passe his faulte so lightly away, making as though he sawe them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married *Fulvia* that was *Clodius* widowe, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewifery, and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: so that *Cleopatra* was to giue *Fulvia* thanks for that she had taught *Antonius* this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commandement. Nowe, because *Fulvia* was somewhat fower, and crooked of condition, *Antonius* deuiled to make her pleasaunter, & somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would playe her many pretty youthfull partes to make her mery. As he did once, when *Cæsar* returned the last time of all Conqueror out of *SPAYNE*, euery man went out to meete him: and so did *Antonius* with the rest. But on the fownde there ranne a rumor through *ITALY*, that *Cæsar* was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereupon he returned with speede to *ROME*, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying that he had brought *Fulvia* letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her mislaid as he was, for being known: but the taking the matter heauily, asked him if *Antonius* were well, *Antonius* gaue her the letters, and sayd neuer a word. So when she had opened the letters, and beganne to read them: *Antonius* ramed of her necke, and kissed her. We haue told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Nowe when *Cæsar* was returned from his last warre in *SPAYNE*, all the chiefest nobilitie of the citie road many dayes iorney from *ROME* to meete him, where *Cæsar* made maruelous much of *Antonius*, aboute all the men that came vnto him. For he alwayes tooke him into his coche with him, through out all *ITALY*: and behind him, *Brutus Albinus*, and *Octavianus*, the sonne of his Nece, who afterwards was called *Cæsar*, and became Emperor of *ROME* a long time after.

D So *Cæsar* being afterwards chosen Consul the fift time, he immediatly chose *Antonius* his colleague and companion: and desired by depositing him selfe of his Consulship, to make *Dolabella* Consul in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senate. But *Antonius* did stowly withstand it, and openly reuiled *Dolabella* in the Senate: and *Dolabella* also spared him as little. Thereupon *Cæsar* being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when *Cæsar* attempted againe to substitute *Dolabella* Consul in his place, *Antonius* cryed out, that the signes of the birdes were against it: so that at length *Cæsar* was compelled to giue him place, and to let *Dolabella* alone, who was maruelously offended with him. Now in truth, *Cæsar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cæsar* answered one that did accuse *Antonius* and *Dolabella* vnto him for some matter of conspiracie: thus he said, they be not those fat fellows and fine comed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who afterwards conspired his death, and slue him.

*Antonius vnwares afterwards gaue Cæsars enemies iust occasion and culler to doe as they did: as you shall heare. The ROMANES by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, & Cæsar being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they vse to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chiefe Officers for that yeare: who running naked vp & downe the citie, annoynted with the oyle of olyue, for pleasure do strike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they haue in their hands. Antonius being one amonge the rest that was to runne, leauing the auncient ceremonies & old customes of that solemnitie: he ranne to the Tribune where *Cæsar* was set, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, hauing a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he*

Cæsar, Lepidus, & Octavius bought in Pompeys house.

Antonius married Fulvia, Clodius widowe. Fulvia ruled Antonius at home, and abroad.

Cæsar, & Antonius, companions.

Antonius vnwares gaue Cæsars enemies occasion to conspire against him.

Antonius Lu-
perian put-
teth the dia-
deme vpon
Cæsars head.

was come to *Cæsar*, he made his fellow ronnars with him lift him vp, & so he did put this laurell crowne vpon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But *Cæsar* making as though he refused it, turned away his heade. The people were so reioyced at it, that they all clapped their hands for ioy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his head: *Cæsar* againe refused it, and thus they were struing of and on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this laurell crowne vnto him, a few of his followers reioyced at it: & as oft also as *Cæsar* refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they suffered all things subjects should doe by commaundement of their kings: & yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the vtter destruction of their liberty. *Cæsar* in a rage rose out of his seate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike of his head that would. This laurell crowne was afterwards put vpo the head of one of *Cæsars* statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they wayted on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cæsar* did turne the out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for *Brutus* & *Cassius* to conspire his death, who fel into a cōsort for their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise: but yet stood doubtful whether they should make *Antonius* priuy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, sauing *Trebonius* only. He told them, that when they rode to meete *Cæsar* at his returne out of SPAYNE, *Antonius* & he alwaies keeping company, & lying together by the way, he felt his mind a farre off but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would barken no more vnto it, & yet notwithstanding neuer made *Cæsar* acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to him self. After that they cōsulted whether they should kil *Antonius* with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would in no wise consent to it, saying: that venturing on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law & iustice, isought to be cleere from all villanie. Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, & the authoritie of his office, appointed certain of the cōspiracy, that when *Cæsar* were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe *Antonius* in a talke out of the Senate house. Euen as they had deuised these matters, so were they executed: and *Cæsar* was slaine in the middelt of the Senate. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, cast a slaues gowne vpon him, and hid him selfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murderers slue no man els, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he sent his sonne vnto them for a pledge, & bad them boldly come downe vpon his word. The selfe same day he did bid *Cassius* to supper, and *Lepidus* also bad *Brutus*. The next morning the Senate was assembled, & *Antonius* him selfe preferred a lawe that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint prouinces, vnto *Cassius* and *Brutus*: the which the Senate confirmed, & further ordeyned, that they should cancell none of *Cæsars* lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more prayed, and better esteemed, then euer man was: because it seemed to euery man that he had cut of all occasion of ciuill warres, and that he had shewed him selfe a maruelous wise gouernor of the common wealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great waight & importance. But nowe, the opinion he conceiued of him selfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him selfe the chieftest man if he might ouercome *Brutus*: did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when *Cæsars* body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in cōmendacion of *Cæsar*, according to the auncient custom of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to heare *Cæsar* spoken of, & his praises vttered: he mingled his oration with lamentable wordes, and by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their harts and affections vnto pittie & compassion. In fine to conclude his oration, he vnfolded before the whole assembly the bloudy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, & called the malefactors, cruell & cursed murderers. With these wordes he put the people into such a fury, that they presently toke *Cæsars* body, & burnt it in the market place, with such tables & fourmes as they could get together. Then whē the fire was kindled, they toke firebrands, & ran to the murderers houses to set the afire, & to make the come out to fight. *Brutus* therefore & his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driue to fly the city. Then came all *Cæsars* friends vnto *Antonius*, & specially his wife *Calpurnia* putting her trust in him, she brought the moste part of her money into his

Brutus & Cassius conspire Cæsars death.

Consultation about the murder of Antonius with Cæsar.

Antonius makes his speech among the people for the murder of Cæsar.

Calpurnia, Cæsars wife.

his house, which amounted to the summe of foure thousand talents, & furthermore brought him all *Cæsars* bookes & writings, in the which were his memorials of al that he had done & ordeyned. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that meanes he created newe officers, made newe Senators, called home some that were banished, and deliuered those that were prisoners: and then he sayde that all those things were so appoynted and ordeyned by *Cæsar*. Therefore the ROMANES mocking them that were so moued, they called them CHARONITES: because that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe but to saye, that thus they were found in *Cæsars* memorials, who had layed in *Charons* boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consul, and *Cicero* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now things remayning in this state at ROME, *Octavius Cæsar* the younger came to ROME, who was the sonne of *Iulius Cæsars* Nece, as you haue heard before, and was left his lawefull heire by will, remayning at the tyme of the death of his great Vncle that was slayne, in the citie of APOLLONIA. This young man at his first arriual went to salute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæsars* friendes, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire: and withall, he was presently in hande with him for money and other things which were left of trust in his handes, because *Cæsar* had by will bequeathed vnto the people of ROME, three score and fiftene siliuer Drachmas to be giuen to euery man, the which he as heire stood charged withall. *Antonius* at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very young: and sayde he lacked witte, and good friendes to aduise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hande, as to vndertake to be *Cæsars* heire. But when *Antonius* saw that he could not shake him of with those wordes, and that he was still in hande with him for his fathers goods, but specially for the ready money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when *Octavius Cæsar* beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chayer of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor *Cæsar* with: he threatened to send him to prison, and moreover desired not to put the people in an vprore. This young *Cæsar* seeing his doings, went vnto *Cicero* and others, which were *Antonius* enemies, and by them crept into fauor with the Senate: and he him self sought the peoples good will euery manner of way, gathering together the olde souldiers of the late deceased *Cæsar*, which were dispersed in diuers cities and colonyes. *Antonius* being afraid of it, talked with *Octavius* in the capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night *Antonius* had a straunge dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, & burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cæsar* lay in waite to kil him. *Cæsar* cleered him selfe vnto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleue the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then euer they were in so much that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through ITALY, that were dispersed in diuers townes: & made them large promises, & sought also to winne the legions of their side, which were already in armes. *Cicero* on the other side being at that time the chieftest man of authoritie & estimation in the citie, he stirred vp al me against *Antonius*: so that in the end he made the Senate pronouce him an enemy to his contry, & appointed young *Cæsar* Sergeants to cary axes before him, & such other signes as were incident to the dignitie of a Consul or Prætor: & moreover sent *Helcius* and *Pansa*, then Consuls, to driue *Antonius* out of ITALY. These two Consuls together with *Cæsar*, who also had an armye, went against *Antonius* that besegged the citie of MODENA, and there ouerthrew him in battell: but both the Consuls were slaine there. *Antonius* flying vpon this ouerthrowe, fell into great miserie al at once: but the chieftest want of all other, & that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would ouercome any aduersitie, and the heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more constant shewed he him selfe. Euery man that felt he want or aduersitie, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should doe: but when in deede they are ouerlaid with extremitie, and be fore oppressed, few haue the harts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much lesse to auoid that they reprove and mislike. But rather to the contrary, they yield to their accustomed easie life: and through sayne hart, & lacke of corage, doe chaunge their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull

Charonites, why so called.

M. Antonius Consul, Cicero Antonius Prætor, Lucius Antonius Tribune, all three brethren.

Varianus be-
trayes Antonius
and Octavius
Cæsars, heire vnto
Iulius Cæsar.

Octavius Cæsar
is signed in
friendship
with Cicero.
Antonius and
Octavius be-
came friends,
Antonius
drame.

Antonius led
ged an enemy
by the Senate
Helcius and
Pansa Con-
suls.

Antonius o-
uerthrown in
battell by the
citie of Mo-
dena.
Antonius pa-
cients in ad-
uersitie.

*Antonius
hardens in ad
versus, not
withstanding
his fine brin-
ging up.*

example to the souldiers, to see *Antonius* that was brought vp in all finenes and superfluities, & easily to drinke puddle water, and to cate wild frutes and rootes: and moreover it is reported, that euen as they passed the Alpes, they did cate the barkes of trees, and such beasts, as neuer man tasted of his flesh before. Now their intent was to ioyne with the legions that were on the other side of the Mountaines, vnder *Lepidus* charge: who *Antonius* tooke to be his friend, bicause he had holpen him to many things at *Cæsars* hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where *Lepidus* was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him selfe, and to goe vnto *Lepidus*. Since the ouerthrow he had at *Modena*, he suffred his beard to grow at length and neuer clypt it, that it was maruelous long, and the heare of his heade also without coming: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of *Lepidus* campe. Then he beganne to speake vnto the souldiers, and many of them their hartes yerned for pitie to see him so poorly arrayed, and some also through his wordes beganne to pitie him: insomuch that *Lepidus* beganne to be affrayd, and therefore commaunded all the tromperts to fownd together to stoppe the souldiers eares, that they should not harken to *Antonius*. This notwithstanding, the souldiers tooke the more pitie of him, & spake secretly with him by *Clodius* & *Lalius* meanes, whom they sent vnto him disguised in womens apparel, & gaue him counsel that he should not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of souldiers that would receiue him, and kill *Lepidus*, if he would say the word. *Antonius* would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a litle riuier that ranne betwene them: and him selfe was the foremost man that tooke the riuier to get ouer, seeing a number of *Lepidus* campe that gaue him their handes, plucked vp the stakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trench to let him in to their campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commaundement: he vied *Lepidus* very courteously, imbraced him, and called him father: and though in deepe *Antonius* did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue *Lepidus* the name and honor of the Captaine. *Munatius Plancus*, lying allo in campe hard by with an army: vnderstanding the report of *Antonius* curtesie, he also came and ioined with him. Thus *Antonius* being a foote againe, and grown of great power, repassed ouer the Alpes, leading into *Italy* with him seuentene legions, and tenne thousand horsemen, besides six legions he left in garison amonge the *Gaulles*, vnder the charge of one *Varus*, a companion of his that would drinke lustily with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed *Cotylon*: to wit, a bibber. So *Octavius Caesar* would not leane to *Cicero*, when he saw that his whole trauail and endeuor was onely to restore the common wealth to her former libertie. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together, (to wete, *Caesar*, *Antonius*, & *Lepidus*) in an Iland enuyroned round about with a litle riuier, & there remaind three dayes together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, & did deuide all the Empire of *Rome* betwene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for euery one of them would kill their enemies, and saue their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their greedy desire to be reuenged of their enemies, they spumed all reuerence of blood, and holines of friendship at their feete. For *Caesar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius* will, *Antonius* also forooke *Lucius Caesar*, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together suffred *Lepidus* to kill his owne brother *Paulus*. Yet some writers affirme, that *Caesar* & *Antonius* requested *Paulus* might be slaine, & that *Lepidus* was contented with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnatural, & crueller change then this was. For thus chaunging murder for murder, they did aswell kill those whom they did forsake & leaue vnto others, as those also which others left vnto them to kill: but so much more was their wickednes & cruelly great vnto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, & hauing no cause to hate them. After this plat was agreed vpon betwene the souldiers that were thereabouts, would haue this friendship & league betwix them confirmed by marriage, & that *Caesar* should marry *Claudia*, the daughter of *Fulvia*, & *Antonius* wife. This marriage also being agreed vpon, they condoned three hundred of the chieft citizens of *Rome*, to be put to death by proscripō. And *Antonius* also coma-

*Antonius was
all *Lepidus*
army from
him.*

*Varus, sur-
named *Coty-
lon*.*

*The conspira-
cie and mee-
ting of *Caesar*,
Antonius, &
Lepidus.*

*The proscrip-
tion of the
Triumvirs.*

And the to who he had geuen cōmission to kill *Cicero*, that they should strik of his head & right hand, with the which he had written the inuective Orations (called *Philippides*) against *Anto-
nius*. So whe the murderers brought him *Ciceros* head & hand cut of, he beheld them a long time with great ioy, & laughed hartly, & that oftentimes for the great ioy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set vp in an open place, ouer the pulpit for Orations (where when he was aloue, he had often spoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not bleamished his owne fortune, shewing him selfe (to his great shame and infamie) a cruell man, and vnworthie the office and authoritie he bare. His vncle *Lucius Caesar* also, as they fought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fledde vnto his sister. The murderers coming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, she stood at her chamber dore with her armes abroade, crying out still: you shall not kill *Lucius Caesar*, before you first kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes she saued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of these *Triumvirs* grewe odious and hateful to the *Romans*, for diuers respects: but they most blamed *Antonius*, bicause he being elder then *Caesar*, and of more power and force then *Lepidus*, gaue him selfe againe to his former rior and excesses, when he left to deale in the affaires of the common wealth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolencie, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of *Pompey* the great: a man as famous for his temperance, modestie, and ciuill life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the Capitaines, Magistrates of the citie, and also Ambassadors of strange nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tombles, anticke dauncers, iuglers, players, iesters, and dronkards, quaffing and gofeling, and that on them he spent and bestowed the most parte of his money he got by all kind of possible extorsions, bribetrie and policie. For they did not onely sell by the crier, the goods of those whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murder, slanderously deceiued the poore widowes and young orphans, & also raised all kind of imposts, subsidies, and taxes: but vnderstanding also that the holy vestall Nunnes had certaine goods & money put in their custodie to keepe, both of mens in the citie, and those also that were abroade: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. *Octavius Caesar* perceiving that no money would serue *Antonius* turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money betwene them, and so did they also deuide the armie, for them both to goe into *Macedon* to make warre against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: and in the meane time they left the gouernment of the citie of *Rome* vnto *Lepidus*. When they had passed ouer the seas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, *Antonius* against *Cassius*, and *Caesar* against *Brutus*: *Caesar* did no great matter, but *Antonius* had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the first battell *Caesar* was ouerthrowen by *Brutus*, and lost his campe, and verie hardly saued him selfe by flying from them that followed him. Howebeit he writeth him selfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was geuen, bicause of a dreame one of his friends had. *Antonius* on the other side ouerthrowe *Cassius* in battell, though some write that he was not there him selfe at the battell, but that he came after the ouerthrowe, whilst his men had the enemies in chase. So *Cassius* at his earnest request was slaine by a faithfull seruant of his owne called *Pindarius*, whom he had enfranchised: bicause he knewe not in time that *Brutus* had ouercomen *Caesar*. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, who afterwards also slue him selfe. Thus *Antonius* had the chieft glorie of all this victorie, specially bicause *Caesar* was sicke at that time. *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* body after this battell, blaming him muche for the murder of his brother *Caes*, whom he had put to death in *Macedon* for reuenge of *Ciceros* cruell death, and yet laying the fault more in *Horrensus* then in him: he made *Horrensus* to be slaine on his brothers tombe. Furthermore, he cast his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and sumptuous) vpon *Brutus* bodie, and gaue commaundement to one of his slaues enfranchised, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, *Antonius* hearing that his enfranchised bondman had not burnt his coate armor with his bodie, bicause it was verie riche, and worth a great summe of money, and that he had also kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall & tombe: he also put him to death.

*Antonius
cruelly vnto
Cicero.*

*Lucius Caesar
liffe saued, by
his sister.*

*Antonius
rises in his
Triumvirs
rate.*

*The praise of
Pompey the
great.*

*The villanie
of *Anto-
nius* against
Brutus.*

*The death of
Cassius.*

*Brutus slue
him selfe.*

*Antonius
gaue honor-
able buriall
vnto *Brutus*.*

After that *Cæsar* was conueied to *ROME*, and it was thought he would not liue long, nor cease the sickenes he had. *Antonius* on thother side went towards the East provinces and regions, to leaue money: and first of all he went into *GREECE*, and caried an infinite number of soldiers with him. Now, bicause euery souldier was promised fiewe thousande siluer Drachmas, he was driuen of necessitie to impose extreame tallages and taxacions. At his first coming into *GREECE*, he was not hard nor bitter vnto the *GRECIANS*, but gaue him selfe onely to heare wife men dispute, to see playes, and also to note the ceremonies & sacrifices of *GREECE*, ministring iustice to euery man, and it pleased him maruelously to heare them call him *Phil-ellen*, (as much to say, a louer of the *GRECIANS*) and specially the *ATHENIANS*, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the *MEGARIANS*, to exceede the *ATHENIANS*, thinking to shew *Antonius* a goodly sight: they prayed him to come & see their Senate house, & counsell hall. *Antonius* went thither to see it: so when he had seene it at his pleasure, they asked him, my Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (q he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore, he tooke measure of the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into *ASIA*, hauing left *Lucius Censorinus* Gouvernor in *GREECE*, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East partes, and that Princes, great Lordes and Kinges, came to waite at his gate for his coming out, and that *Queenes* and *Princesse*s to excell one an other, gaue him verie riche presentes, and came to see him, curiously setting forth them selues, and vsing all art that might be to shewe their beawtie, to win his fauor the more: (*Cæsar* in the meane space turmoyling his wits and bodie in ciuill warres at home, *Antonius* liuing merrily & quietly abroad) he easely fell againe to his old licentious life. For straight one *Anaxenor* a player of the citherne, *Xouthus* a player of the flutes, *Metrodorus* a tombler, and such a rabble of minstrells & fit ministers for the pleasures of *ASIA*, (who in finenes & flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of *ITALIE*) all these flocked in his court, & bare the whole sway: & after that, all went awry. For euery one gaue them selues to riot and exceste, when they saw he delighted in it: and all *ASIA* was like to the citie *Sophocles* speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

*VVas full of sweete perfumes, and pleasant songs,
VVith vvooefull weeping mingled thereamong.*

For in the citie of *EPHESVS*, women attyed as they goe in the feastes and sacrifice of *Bacchus*, came out to meete him with such solemnities & ceremonies, as are then vsed: with men and children disguised like *Fawnes* and *Satyres*. Moreover, the citie was full of luey, & darts wreathed about with luey, psalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their songes they called him *Bacchus*, father of mirth, courteous, and gentle: and so was he vnto some, but to the most parte of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to geue it vnto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gaue a citizens house of *MAGNESTA* vnto a cooke, bicause (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the ende he doubled the taxation, and imposed a seconde vpon *ASIA*. But then *Hybraas* the Orator sent from the estates of *ASIA*, to tell him the state of their contrie, boldly sayd vnto him: if thou wilt haue power to lay two tributes in one yere vpon vs, thou shouldest also haue power to geue vs two sommers, two autumnes, and two haruests. This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken vnto *Antonius* by the Orator, and it pleased him well to heare it: but afterwards amplifying his speache, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose. *ASIA* hath payed the two hundred thousand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske accompt of them that leaued it: but if thou haue receiued it, and nothing be left of it, then are we vterly vndone. *Hybraas* words nettled *Antonius* roundly. For he vnderstoode not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treasure and affaires: nor so much bicause he was carelesse, as for that he ouersimply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without furtletie, and therefore ouerlate founde out the fowle fautes they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confesse it vnto them whome his officers had done iniurie vnto, by countenance of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet

*Antonius
great courtier
in Greece.*

*The plagues
of louse, in
riue,*

*Antonius
cruellie in
Asia.*

*Hybraas
words vnto
Antonius,
touching
their great
payments of
money vnto
him.*

*Antonius
simplicity.*

As he did exceede more in geuing, then in punishing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly vsed, mocking and flouting of euery man: that was remedied by it selfe. For a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, & he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly, & truly in mirth: would neuer flatter him in good earnest, in any matter of weight. But thus he was easely abused by the praises they gaue him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flatterie, vnder this familiar and plaine manner of speech vnto him, as a fine deuise to make difference of meares with sharpe and tart sauce, & also to kepe him by this franke iealeting & bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie should not be troublesome vnto him, as men do easely mislike to haue too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would geue him place in any matter of weight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so much to please him, but bicause they were ignorant, & vnderstoode not so much as he did. *Antonius* being thus inclined, the last and extreamest mischiefe of all other (to wit, the loue of *Cleopatra*) lighted on him, who did waken and stirre vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were neuer seene to any: and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of riing were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it straight, and made it worse then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. *Antonius* going to make warre with the *PARTHIANS*, sent to commaunde *Cleopatra* to appeare personally before him, when he came into *CILICIA*, to aunswere vnto suche accusations as were layed against her, being this: that she had aided *Cassius* and *Brutus* in their warre against him. The messenger sent vnto *Cleopatra* to make this summons vnto her, was called *Dellius*: who when he had thoroughly considered her beawtie, the excellent grace and sweetenesse of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted that *Antonius* would doe any hurte to so noble a Ladie, but rather assured him selfe, that within few dayes she should be in great fauor with him. Thereupon he did her great honor, and perswaded her to come into *CILICIA*, as honorably furnished as she could possiblie, and bad her not to be affrayed at all of *Antonius*, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that she had euer seene. *Cleopatra* on thother side beleuing *Dellius* wordes, and gessing by the former access and credit she had with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Cneus Pompey* (the sonne of *Pompey* the great) only for her beawtie: she began to haue good hope that she might more easely win *Antonius*. For *Cæsar* and *Pompey* knew her when she was but a young thing, & knew not then what the worlde ment: but nowe she went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans beawtie is at the prime, and the also of best iudgement. So, she furnished her selfe with a world of gifts, store of gold and siluer, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthie and rich a realme as *EGYPT* was. But yet she caried nothing with her wherein she trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and inchantment of her passing beawtie and grace. Therefore when she was sent vnto by diuers letters, both from *Antonius* him selfe, and also from his frendes, she made so light of it, and mocked *Antonius* so much, that she diddaind to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the riuer of *Cydnus*, the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of siluer, which kept stroke in rowing after the founde of the musicke of flutes, & howboyes, citherns, violls, and such other instruments as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the person of her selfe: she was layed vnder a pavillion of cloth of gold of tiffue, apparelled and attired like the goddesse *Venus*, commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe set forth god *Cupid*, with litle fannes in their hands, with the which they fanned wind vpon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphes *Nereides* (which are the mermaides of the waters) and like the *Graces*, some stearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweete fauor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes side, pelttered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongest the riuers side: others also ranne out of the citie to see her coming in. So that in thend, there ranne such multitudes of people one after another to see her, that *Antonius* was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate to geue audience: and there went a rumor in the peoples mouthes, that the goddesse *Venus*

*Antonius
maner*

*Antonius loue
to Cleopatra
whom he sent
for into Cilla-
cia.*

*The wonder-
full sumptuous-
nesses of
Cleopatra,
Queene of
EGYPT, go-
ing vnto An-
tonius,
Cydnus fl.*

was come to play with the god *Bacchus*, for the generall good of all *Asia*. When *Cleopatra* landed, *Antonius* sent to inuite her to supper to him. But the fent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. *Antonius* therefore to shew him selfe courteous vnto her at her arriuall, was contented to obey her, & went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppes of the house, geuing light in euerie place, so artificially set and ordered by deuises, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discerne, or that euer books could mention. The next night, *Antonius* feasting her, contended to passe her in magnificence and finenes: but the ouercame him in both. So that he him selfe began to skorne the grosse seruice of his house, in respect of *Cleopatras* sumptuousnes and finenesse. And when *Cleopatra* found *Antonius* icasts and flents to be but grosse, and soldierlike, in plaine manner: the gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him thoroughly. Now her beawtie (as it is reported) was not so passing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet fuche, as vpon present viewe did enamour men with her: but so sweete was her companie and conuersation, that a man could not possiblie but be taken. And besides her beawtie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her courteous nature that tempered her words & dedes, was a spurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voyce and words were maruelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musike to diuers sports and pastimes, the which she easely turned to any language that pleased her. She spake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them auniuer her selfe, or at the least the most parte of them: as the *Æthiopi*ans, the *A*-*C*-*R*ABIANs, the *T*ROGLDYTES, the *H*EBREVS, the *S*YRIANs, the *M*EDES, and the *P*ARTHIANs, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas diuers of her progenitors, the kings of *Ægypt*, could scarce learne the *Ægyptian* tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the *MACEDONIAN*. Nowe, *Antonius* was so rauished with the loue of *Cleopatra*, that though his wife *Fulvia* had great warres, and much a doe with *Cesar* for his affaires, and that the armie of the *P*ARTHIANs, (the which the kings *Licentiautes* had geuen to the onely leading of *Labiens*) was now assembled in *M*ESOPOTAMIA readie to inuade *S*YRIA: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yeelded him selfe to goe with *Cleopatra* into *A*LEXANDRIA, where he spent and lost in childish sports, (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most pretious thing a man can spende, as *Antiphon* sayth: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called *Amimetobion* (as much to say, no life comparable and matcheable with it) one feasting ech other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for prooffe hereof, I haue heard my grandfather *Lamprys* report, that one *Philotas* a Phisitien, borne in the cite of *A*MPHISIA, told him that he was at that present time in *A*LEXANDRIA, and studied Phisicke: and that hauing acquaintance with one of *Antonius* cookes, he tooke him with him to *Antonius* house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one onely supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diuersities of meates, and amongst others, eight wilde boares roasted whole: he began to wonder at it, and sayd, sure you haue a great number of ghests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him, no (he) not many ghestes, nor aboute twelue in all: but yet all that is boyled or roasted must be serued in whole, or else it would be marred straight. For *Antonius* peradventure will suppe presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath dronke well to day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we doe not dresse one supper only, but many suppers, because we are uncerteine of the houre he will suppe in. *Philotas* the Phisitien tolde my grandfather this tale, and sayd moreover, that it was his chauce shortly after to serue the eldest sonne of the sayd *Antonius*, whome he had by his wife *Fulvia*: and that he fate commonly at his table with his other frendes, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisitien that was so full of words, that he made euery man wearie of him at the bord: but *Philotas* to stoppe his mouth, put out a subtle proposition to him. It is good in some sorte to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew: euerie man that hath an agew hath it in some sorte, ergo it is good for a man

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatra beawtie.

An order set up by Antonius & Cleopatra. The excessive expenses of Antonius and Cleopatra in Ægypt.

Eight wilde boares roasted whole.

Philotas a Phisitien, borne in Amphisia, reporter of this feast. Philotas, Phisitien in the younger Antonius. Philotas subtil proposition.

A man that hath an agew to drinke colde water. The Phisitien was so grauelled and amazed with all, that he had not a word more to say. Young *Antonius* burst out in such a laughing as him, and was so glad of it, that he sayd vnto him: *Philotas*, take all that, I geue it thee: shewing him his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and siluer. *Philotas* thanked him, and told him he thought himselfe greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would neuer haue thought that he had had power to haue geuen so many things, and of so great value. But much more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young *Antonius* men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him ser his marke and stampe vpon them, and to locke them vp. *Philotas* returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reprocued if he tooke them. Then the youg gentleman *Antonius* sayd vnto him: alas poore man, why doest thou make it nife to take them? Knowest thou not that it is the sonne of *Antonius* that geues them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not beleue me, take rather the readie money they come to: because my father peradventure may aske for some of the plate, for the antike & excellent workmanship of them. This I haue heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to *Cleopatra*. *Plato* writeth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* deuied it into many kinds. For shee, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest, still deuised fundrie new delights to haue *Antonius* at commandement, neuer leauing him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dyce with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or actiuitie of body. And sometime also, when he would goe vp and downe the citie disguised like a slaue in the night, & would peere into poore mens windowes & their shops, and scold & brawle with them within the house: *Cleopatra* would be also in a chamber maides array, & amble vp & downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes *Antonius* bare away both mockes & blowes. Now, though most men misliked this manner, yet the *A*LEXANDRIANs were commonly glad of this idoly, & liked it well, saying verie gallantly, and wisely: that *Antonius* shewed them a comicall face, to wit, a merie countenance: and the *R*OMANs a tragical face, to say, a grimme looke. But to reckon vp all the foolish sportes they made, reuelling in this sorte: it were too fond a parte of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, because *Cleopatra* stood by. Wherefore he secretly commanded the fisher men, that when he cast in his line, they should straight diue vnder the water, and put a fish on his hooke which they had taken before: and so snatched vp his angling rodde, and brought vp fish twife or thrife. *Cleopatra* found it straight, yet the seemed not to see it, but wondered at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she told them howe it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing. *Antonius* then threw in his line and *Cleopatra* straight commaunded one of her men to diue vnder water before *Antonius* men, and to put some old fatte fish vpon his baite, like vnto those that are brought out of the contrie of *P*ONT. When he had hong the fish on his hooke, *Antonius* thinking he had taken a fish in deede, snatched vp his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing, *Cleopatra* laughing also, said vnto him: leaue vs (my Lord) *Ægyptians* (which dwell in the contrie of *P*HARVS and *C*ANOBVS) your angling rodde: this is not thy profession: thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and contries. Nowe *Antonius* delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, verie ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from *R*OME, that his brother *Lucius*, and *Fulvia* his wife, fell out first betwene them selues, and afterwards fell to open warre with *Cesar*, & had brought all to nought, that they were both driven forth out of *I*TALIE. The seconde newes, as bad as the first: that *Labiennus* conquered all *A*RIA with the armie of the *P*ARTHIANs, from the riuer of *E*uphrates, and from *S*YRIA vnto the contries of *L*YDIA and *I*ONIA. Then began *Antonius* with much a doe, a litle to rouse him selfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great dronkenness. So, first of all he bent him selfe against the *P*ARTHIANs, and went as far as the contrie of *P*HONICIA: but there he receiued lamentable letters from his wife *Fulvia*. Whereuppon he straight returned towards *I*TALIE, with two hundred faile: and as he went, tooke vp his frendes by the way that fled out of *I*TALIE, to come to him. By the time he was in

Plato writeth of foure kinds of flatterie. Cleopatra. Queene of all Ægyptians.

Antonius fishing in Ægypt.

The warres of Lucius Antonius and Fulvia against Octavianus Cesar.

The death of Fulvia Antonius wife.

All the Empire of Rome decided betwene the Triumvirs, Octavia, the halfe sister of Antonius Caesar, & daughter of Anchura, who was the first procuress of this warre, fearing to make matters worse betwene them: but they made them friends together, and deuided the Empire of Rome betwene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their diuision. For they gaue all the prouinces Eastward, vnto Antonius: and the countie Westward, vnto Caesar: and left AFRICKE vnto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three one after another should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be them selues. This seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bonde, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia the eldest sister of Caesar, not by one mother, for she came of Anchura, & Caesar him self afterwards of Ascia. It is reported, that he dearly loued his sister Octavia, for in deede she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who dyed not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had bene widower euen since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, but so did he not confesse that he had her as his wife: & so with reason he did defend the loue he bare vnto this EGYPTIAN Cleopatra. Thereupon euerie man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this Ladie Octavia, hauing an excellent grace, wisdom, & honestie, ioynd vnto so rare a beawtie, that when she were with Antonius (he louing her as so worthy a Ladie deserueth) she should be a good meane to keepe good loue & amitie betwix her brother and him. So when Caesar & he had made the matche betwene them, they both went to Rome about this marriage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be married within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the marriage proceeded accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in SICILIA, and so made many an inrode into ITALIA with a great number of pygnasses and other pirates shippes, of the which were Capitaines two notable pirats, Menas, and Menebrates, who so scoored all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a sayle. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had delt verie friendly with Antonius, for he had courteously receiued his mother, when she fled out of ITALIA with Fulvia: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Milena, vpon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: Pompey hauing his shippes ryding hard by at anker, and Antonius and Caesar their armies vpon the shoare side, did rectly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should haue SICILIA and SARDINIA, with this condicon, that he should ridde the sea of all theeues and pirats, and make it safe for passengers, and withall that he should send a certaine of wheate to Rome: some of them did feast an other, and drew cuts who should beginne. It was Pompeius chaunce to winne them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: & where shall we suppe? There, said Pompey, and shewed him his admirall galley which had six bankes of owers: that (sayd he) is my fathers house: they haue left me. He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he had his fathers house, that was Pompeys the great. So he cast ankers enow into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then bulled bridge of woodde to conuey them to his galley, from the heade of mount Milena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great chere. Now in the midst of the feast, when they fell to be merie with Antonius loue vnto Cleopatra: Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his eare, said vnto him: shall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of SICILIE and SARDINIA, but of the whole Empire of Rome besides? Pompey being puffed with a while vpon it, at length answered him: thou shouldest haue done it, and neuer haue told it me, but now we must content vs with that we haue. As for my selfe, I was neuer taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feare him in their campe, and then he returned into SICILIE. Antonius after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into ASIA to stay the PARTHIANS, and to keepe them they should come

Alas at Rome for marryng of widows. Antonius married Octavia, Octavius Caesars halfe sister.

Antonius and Octavius Caesar, doe make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

Sextus Pompeius taunt to Antonius. Sextus Pompeius being offered a great full galee: for his benefit and fathers sake, refused it.

no further: and he him selfe in the meane time, to gratifie Caesar, was contented to be chosen Iulius Caesars priest and sacrificer, & so they ioyntly together dispatched all great matters, concerning the state of the Empire. But in all other manner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other: Antonius was euer inferior vnto Caesar, and alway lost, which grieued him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of EGYPT, that coulde cast a figure, and iudge of mens natiuities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he founde it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of it selfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamished, and obfcured by Caesars fortune: and therefore he counselled him vterly to leaue his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy Demon said he, (that is to say, the good angell and spirit that kepeth thee) is affraid of his: and being coragious & high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timorous when he commeth neere vnto the other. Howsoeuer it was, the euents ensuing proued the EGYPTIANs words true. For, it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should haue any thing, or whether they played at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cockefight, or quails that were taught to fight one with an other: Caesars cockes or quails did euer ouercome. The which spight Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therefore he beleued the EGYPTIAN the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his house vnto Caesar, & went out of ITALIA with Octavia his wife, whom he caried into GRECE, after he had had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at ATHENS, newes came vnto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had ouercome the PARTHIANS in battell, in the which also were slaine, Labienus, and Pharnabates, the chiefe Captaine king Orodes had. For these good newes he feasted all ATHENS, and kept open house for all the GRECIANS, and many games of price were played at ATHENS, of the which he him selfe would be iudge. Wherefor leauing his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his house, he came into the how place (or lites) where these games were played, in a long gowne and slippers after the GRECIAN facion, and they caried tipstauas before him, as marshalls men do cary before the Iudges to make place: and he him selfe in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Oliue, and caried a vessell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepsidra, because of an Oracle he had receiued that so commaunded him. In the meane time, Ventidius once againe ouercame Pacorus, (Orodes sonne king of PARTHIA) in a battell fought in the contrie of CYRESTICA, he being come againe with a great armie to inuade SYRIA: at which battell was slaine a great number of the PARTHIANS, & among them Pacorus, the kings owne sonne slaine. This noble exploit as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the ROMANES, of the shame and losse they had receiued before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the PARTHIANS flie, and glad to keepe them selues within the confines and territories of MESOPOTAMIA, and MEDIA, after they had thrife together bene ouercome in seuerall battells. Howbeit Ventidius durst not vndertake to follow them any further, fearing least he should haue gotten Antonius displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his armie against them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongst whom he besieged Antiochus, king of COMMAGENA, who offered him to give a thousand talentes to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised euer after to be at Antonius commaundement. But Ventidius made him answer, that he should send vnto Antonius, who was not farre off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this litle exploit should passe in his name, and that they should not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenant Antiochus. The siege grew verie long, because they that were in the towne, seeing they coulde not be receiued vpon no reasonable composition: determined valiantly to defende them selues to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet receiued great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talentes for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state & affaires of SYRIA, he returned againe to ATHENS: and hauing giuen Ventidius suche honors as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumphe for the PARTHIANS. Ventidius was the only man that euer triumphed of the PARTHIANS vnto

Antonius told by a Soothsayer, that his fortune was inferior vnto Octavius Caesars.

Order king of Parthia.

Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians. The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthians sonne.

Ventidius the only man of the Romanes, that triumphed for the Parthians.

ill this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house nor family: who only came to that he attained vnto, through *Antonius* friendshipp, the which deliuered him happie occasion to achieve to great matters. And yet to say truly, he did so well quit him selfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of *Antonius* and *Cesar*: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by their selues. For *Sosius*, one of *Antonius* Lieutenantes in SYRIA, did notable good seruice: and *Candianus*, whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he also ouercome the kinges of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANs, and went on with his conquests vnto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the fame of *Antonius* power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But *Antonius* notwithstanding, grew to be maruelously offended with *Cesar*, vpon certaine reportes that had bene brought vnto him: and so tooke lea to go towards ITALIE with three hundred faile. And because those of BRYNDYSIUM would not receiue his armie into their haven, he went further vnto TARENTUM. There his wife *Octavia* that came out of GRECE with him, befought him to fend her vnto her brother: the which he did. *Octavia* at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in iorney, and met with her brother *Octavius Caesar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe frendes, *Mecenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possiblie, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest woman of the world, to become nowe the most wretched and vnfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, euerie mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the Emperours and wife of the other. And if the worst counsell take place, (which the goddes forbidde) and that they growe to warres: for your selues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes haue assigned the victorie, or overthrowe. But for me, on which side fouer victorie fall, my fite can be but most miserable fill. These words of *Octavia* so softened *Cesars* harte, that he went quickly vnto TARENTUM. But it was a noble fight for them that were present, to see so great an armie by lande not to stirre, and so many shippes ashore in the roade, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindnesse of frendes, Iouling embracing one an other. First, *Antonius* sealed *Cesar*, which he granted vnto for his sisters sake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that *Cesar* should geue *Antonius* two legions to go against the PARTHIANS: and that *Antonius* should let *Cesar* haue a hundred gallies armed with brasse spures at the prooes. Besides all this, *Octavia* obteyned of her husbande, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husbande, a thousande armed men. After they had taken leaue of each other, *Cesar* went immediately to make warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to gette SICILIA into his handes. *Antonius* also leauing his wife *Octavia* and litle children begotten of her, with *Cesar*, and his other children which he had by *Fulvia*: he went directlie into ASIA. Then beganne this pestilent plague and mischief of *Cleopatras* loue (which had slept a long tyme, and seemed to haue bene vterlie forgotten, and that *Antonius* had geuen place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, so soone as *Antonius* came neere vnto SYRIA. And in the ende, the horse of the minde as *Plato* termeth it, that is so hard of rayne (I meane the vneyreid lust of concupiscence) did put out of *Antonius* heade, all honest and commendable thoughtes: for he sent *Pontellus Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* into SYRIA. Vnto whome, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things: but vnto that he had already, he added the prouinces of PHOENICIA, those of the nethermost SYRIA, the Ile of CYPRVS, and a great parte of CILICIA, and that contrie of LYBIE where the true balme is, and that parte of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS doe dwell, which stretcheth out towards the Ocean. These great giftes muche misliked the ROMANES. But now, though *Antonius* did easily geue away great feignories, realmes, & mighty nations vnto some priuate men, and that also he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes (as from *Antigonius* king of the IAWRS, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had suffred like death) yet all this did not so much offend the ROMANES, as the vnumeasurabie honors which he did vnto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggrauate their malice & it wil be towards him, because that *Cleopatra* hauing brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a daughter, he named his sonne *Alexander*, & his daughter *Cleopatra*, and gaue them to their surnames, the

Sunne

A Same to the one, & the moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shamefull deedes with fine words, said that the greatnes & magnificence of the Empire of ROMA appeared most, not where the ROMANES tooke, but where they gaue much: & nobility was multiplied amongst men, by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seede in diuers places: and that by this meanes his first auncclester was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing *Solons* lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gaue it vnto nature, and established the fundacion of many noble races and families in diuers places. Nowe when *Phraortes* had slaine his father *Orades*, and possessed the kingdom of many gentlemen of PARTHIA forooke him, and fled from him. Amongst them was *Manages*, a noble man, and of great authority among his contry men, who came vnto *Antonius*, that receiued him, & compared his fortune vnto *Themistocles*, and his owne riches & magnificence, vnto the kings of PERSIA. For he gaue *Manages* three cities, LARISSA, AETHYSSA, & HIRAPOLIS, which was called before BOMBYCE. Howbeit the king of PARTHIA shortly after called him home againe, vpon his faith & word. *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale vpon *Phraortes* vnprovidd. For he sent vnto him, & told him that they would remaine good frends, & haue peace together, so he would but only redeliuer the standers & ensignes of the ROMANES, which the PARTHIANS had wonne in the battell where *Marcus Crassus* was slaine, & the men also that remained yet prisoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he sent *Cleopatra* backe into EGYPT, & tooke his way towards ARABIA & ARMENIA, & there tooke a general muster of all his army he had together, & of the kings his cōfederats that were come by his cōmāndement to aide him, being a maruelous number: of the which, the chieftest was *Artaxasdes*, king of ARMENIA, who did furnish him with six thousande horsemen, and seuen thousand footemen. There were also of the ROMANES about three score thousand footmen, & of horsemen (SPANIARDS & GAYLES reckoned for ROMANES) to the number of ten thousand, & of other nations thirty thousand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light armed footmen. This so great & puissant army which made the INDIANS quake for feare, dwelling about the contrie of the BACTRIANS, and all ASIA also to tremble, serued him to no purpose, & all for the loue he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earnest great desire he had to lye all winter with her, made him begin his warre out of due time, and for hast, to put all in hazard, being so rauished & enchanted with the sweete poyson of her loue, that he had no other thought but of her, & how he might quickly returne againe: more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For first of all, where he should haue wintered in ARMENIA to refresh his men, wearied with the long iorney they had made, hauing comen eight thousand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and inuade MEDIA, before the PARTHIANS should stirre out of their houses & garriisons: he could tary no longer, but led them forth with vnto the prouince of ATROPATENE, leauing ARMENIA on the left hand, & foraged all the contrie. Furthermore, making all the hast he coule, he left behinde him engines of batterry which were caried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ramme foure score foote long) being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get againe for money if they were once lost or marred. For the hie prouince ASIA haue no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of batterry. This notwithstanding, he left them all behinde him, as a hinderance to bring his matters & intent speedily to passe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gaue them in charge vnto one *Tatianus*. Then he went to besiege the cite of PHRAATA, being the chieftest and greatest cite the king of MEDIA had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight sounde his owne fault, and the want of his artillerie he left behinde him, by the worke he had in hand: for he was fayne for lacke of a breache (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the cite, the which by litle and litle with greate labour, rose to some height. In the meane time king *Phraortes* came downe with a great armie: who vnderstanding that *Antonius* had left his engines of batterie behinde him, he sent a great number of horsemen before, which enuironed *Tatianus* with all his cariage, and slue him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this,

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Candianus conquest.

Newe displeasures betwixt Antonius and Octavian Caesar.

The works of Octavia vnto Mecenas and Agrippa.

Octavia pacifieth the querrell betwixt Antonius and her brother Octavian Caesar.

Plato callith concupiscence: the horse of the minde. Antonius sent Pontellus Capito for Cleopatra into Syria. Antonius gaue great prouinces vnto Cleopatra. Antonius was the first king belaid by Antonius. Antonius swines by Cleopatra, & their names.

Phraortes slues his father Orades king of Persia.

Antonius greets & pursues his army.

Antonius dronke with the loue of Cleopatra.

Antonius besieges the cite of Phraata in Media.

The Parthians
tooke Antonius
engines of battery.

Battell be-
tweene the
Parthians
& Antonius.

The Romans
good order in
their march.

Decimation a
murtherous
punishment.

the barbarous people tooke their engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, A amongst whom they tooke also king *Polemon*. This discomfort marvellously troubled all *Antonius* army, to recieve so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their iorney: in so much that *Artabazus*, king of the *ARMENIANS*, despairing of the good success of the *ROMANS*: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was him selfe the first procurer of this warre and iorney. On the other side, the *PARTHIAN*s came courageously vnto *Antonius* campe, who lay at the siege of their chiefe city, and cruelly reuiled and threatened him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens hearts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or ensignes of the *Prætors*, (which are companies appointed for the gard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the *PARTHIAN*s to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a dayes iorney from his campe, he saw the *PARTHIAN*s wheeling round about him to geue him the onfet, & to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he set out his signall of battell, & yet caused his tents and fardells to be trusted vp, as though he ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshalled like a cressant or halfe moone: and commaunded his horsemen, that as soone as they thought the legions were nere enough vnto their enemies to set vpon the voward, that then they should set spurres to their horses, & begin the charge. The *PARTHIAN*s standing in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the *ROMANS* as they marched: they appeared to be fouldiers in deede, to see them marche in so good array as was possible. For in their march, they kept the ranks a like space one from another, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking neuer a word. But so soone as the allarom was giuen, the horsemen sodainly turned head vpon the *PARTHIAN*s, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the first recieued their charge courageously, for they were ioined nerer the within an arrowes shoote. But when the legions also came to ioine with them, shewing out alowde, & rattling of their armors: the *PARTHIAN*s horses and them selues were so affrayed and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the *ROMANS* could come to the sword with them. Then *Antonius* followed the hard in chase, being in great good hope by this conflict to haue brought to end all, or the most part of this warre. But after that his footemen had chased them fiftie furlonges of, and the horsemen also thrise as farre: they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about foure score men only slaine. But this did much discourage them, when they considered with them selues, that obtaining the victory, they had slaine so few of their enemies: and where they were overcome, they lost as many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning, *Antonius* army trusted vp their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the first a few of the *PARTHIAN*s: then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, & troubled them on euery side, as freshly & courageously, as if they had not bene overthrown: so that the *ROMANS* very hardly got to their campe with safety. The *MEDES* on the other side, that were besieged in their chiefe city of *PHRAATA*, made a sally out vpon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and draue them for feare, from the mount they kept. *Antonius* was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deuicid his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he caused them to haue barley giuen them in stead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out trouble some vnto both parties, and the ende thereof much more fearefull. For *Antonius* could looke for no other of his side, but famine: because he could forrage no more, nor fetch in any vittells, without great losse of his men. *Phaortes* on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the *PARTHIAN*s to any thing els, but to lye in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the *ROMANS* continued their siege all winter long, & made warre with him still that his me would forsake him, & specially because the time of the yere went away apace, & the ayer waxed cloudy, & cold, in the equinoctiall autumn. Therupon he called to mind this deuise. He gaue the chiefe of his gentlem of the *PARTHIAN*s charge, that when they met the *ROMANS* out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their

The craft of
the Parthians
against the
Romans.

Antonius yet
turneth from
the safety of
the Parthians.

their horse, or for some other prouision: that they should not distresse them too much, but should suffer them to carie somewhat away, and greatly commend their valliantnes and hardines, for the which their king did esteeme them the more, and not without cause. After these first baytes and allurements, they beganne by litle and litle to come neerer vnto them; and to talke with them a horsebacke, greatly blaming *Antonius* selfewill that did not geue their king *Phaortes* occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more, then to saue the liues of so goodly a companie of valliant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadfull enemies he could haue, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they should hardly away withall, though the *PARTHIAN*s did the best they could to aide & accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to *Antonius*, they made him a litle pliant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he would not sende vnto the king of *PARTHIA*, before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so courteously vnto his men, whether they spake it of them selues, or that they were their maisters words. When they told them the king him selfe sayd so, and did perswade them further not to feare or mistrust them: then *Antonius* sent some of his friends vnto the king, to make demaund for the deliuey of the ensignes and prisoners he had of the *ROMANS*, since the overthrow of *Cyrtus*: to the ende it should not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they shoulde thinke he was glad that he might only scape with safety out of the daunger he was in. The king of *PARTHIA* answered him: that for the ensignes & prisoners he demaunded, he should not breake his head about it: notwithstanding, that if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without daunger. Wherefore *Antonius* after he had giuen his men some time to truste vp their cariage, he raised his campe, & tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to enterteine his fouldiers and men of warre, and that he could passingly well do it, as well, or better then any Capitaine in his time: yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speake vnto them at his removing, but willed *Domitius AEnobarbus* to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill parte, & thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently vnderstoode the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carie the like respect vnto their Capitaine, that their Capitaine did vnto them: and so they became the more obedient vnto him. So *Antonius* was minded to returne the same way he came, being a plaine barren contry without wodde. But there came a fouldier to him, borne in the contry of the *MARDIAN*s, who by oft frequenting the *PARTHIAN*s of long time, knew their facions very wel, and had also shewed him selfe very true & faithfull to the *ROMANS*, in the battell where *Antonius* engines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came vnto *Antonius*, to counsell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a pray, being heauily armed, vnto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should haue nothing to let them to compass him round about: and that this was *Phaortes* fetch to offer him so friendly codicions & courteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, an other way on the right hand, through woddess & mountaines, a farre neerer way, and where he should finde great plenty of all things needefull for his army. *Antonius* hearing what he said, called his counsell together, to consult vpon it. For after he had made peace with the *PARTHIAN*s, he was loth to geue them cause to thinke he mistrusted them: and on thother side also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places well inhabited, where he might be prouided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the *MARDIAN* what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The *MARDIAN* gaue himselfe to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the contry of *ARMENIA*. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, *Antonius* thinking the *PARTHIAN*s would no more follow him, & trusting therein, suffred the fouldiers to march in disorder as euery man list. The *MARDIAN* perceiving that the dammes of a riuer were newly broken vp, which they should haue passed ouer, & that the *F*riuer had overflowen the banks and drowned all the way they shoulde haue gone: he gessed fraight that the *PARTHIAN*s had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the *ROMANS* for getting too farre before them. Therupon he bad *Antonius* looke to him selfe, and told him

that his enemies were not farre from thence. *Antonius* hauing set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers & sling men to resist the enemies, & to driue them backe: they discomfited the *PARTHIAN*s that wheeled round about the army to compasse them in on euery side, & to breake their ranks, & their light armed men gaue charge vpon them. So after they had hurt many of the *ROMAN*es with their arrowes, and that they them selues were also hurt by them with their darters and plummets of leade: they retired a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge. Vntill that the horsemen of the *GAULE*s turned their horses, & fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as al that day they gathered no more together. Thereby *Antonius* knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the reward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darters and sling men, and made his army march in a square battell: commanding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assaile them, they shoulde driue them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the *PARTHIAN*s foure daies after, seeing they did no more hurte to the *ROMAN*es, then they also receiued of them: they were not so hotte vpon them as they were commanded, but excusing them selues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, *Flavius Gallus*, a valliant man of his handes, that had charge in the armie: came vnto *Antonius* to pray him to let him haue some moe of his light armed men then were already in the reuerward, and some of the horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe some notable exploit. *Antonius* granting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their maner to set vpon the taile of the army, and to skirmish with them: *Flavius* coragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to doe before, to retire and ioyne presently with their army, for he ouerashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Capteines that had the leading of the reuerward, seeing *Flavius* stray too farre from the army: they sent vnto him to will him to retire, but he would not harken to it. And it is reported also, that *Titius* himselfe the Treasorer, tooke the ensignes, & did what he could to make the ensigne bearers returne backe, reuiling *Flavius Gallus*, because that through his folly and desperantes he caused many honest and valliant men to be both hurt & laine to no purpose. *Gallus* also fel out with him, and commaunded his men to stay. Wherefore *Titius* returned againe into the army, and *Gallus* stil ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then seeing him selfe environned of all sides, he sent vnto the army, that they shoulde come and aide him: but there the Capteines that led the legions (among the which *Canidius*, a man of great estimation about *Antonius* made one) committed many faults. For where they shoulde haue made head with the whole army vpon the *PARTHIAN*s, they sent him aide by small companies: and when they were slaine, they sent him others also. So that by their beastlineesse and lacke of consideration, they had like to haue made all the armie flie, if *Antonius* him selfe had not come fro the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the midst of them that fled, vntill they came to front of the enemies, & that they stayed them from chafing any further. Howbeit at this last consist there were slaine no lesse the three thousand men, and fise thousande besides brought fore hurt into the campe, and amongst them also *Flavius Gallus*, whose body was shot through in foure places, whereof he died. *Antonius* went to the tents to visite & comfort the sicke & wounded, and for pities sake he could not refrain from weeping: and they also shewing him the best countenance they coulede, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble him selfe for them, most reuerently calling him their Emperour & Capitaine: & that for them selues, they were whole & safe, so that he had his health. For in deede to say truly, there was not at that time any Emperour or Capitaine that had so great & puissant an army as his together, both for lusty youths, & corage of the souldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great paines & trouble. Furthermore, the obedience & reuerence they shewed vnto their capitaine, with a marvelous earnest loue & good wil, was so great: & all were indifferently (as wel great as smal, the noble men, as meane men, the Capteines and souldiers) so earnestly bent to esteeme *Antonius* good will & fauor, about their owne life & safety: that in this point of marshall discipline, the ancient *ROMAN*es could not haue don any more. But diuers things were cause therof, as we haue told you before: *Antonius* nobility & ancient house, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality & magnificence,

The *Parthians* doe set vpon *Antonius* in his reuerence.

The bold act of *Flavius Gallus*.

Canidius faults, *Antonius* Capitaine.

Flavius Gallus slaine. *Antonius* care of them that were wounded.

The loue and reuerence of the souldiers vnto *Antonius*.

There are singular gifts of *Antonius*.

A magnificence, & his familiarity to sport & to be mery in company: but specially the care he tooke at that time to help, visite, & lament those that were sicke & wounded, leing euery man to haue that which was meete for him: that was of such force & effect, as it made them that were sicke & wounded to loue him better, & were more desirous to do him seruice, then those that were whole & sound. This victory so encouraged the enemies, (who otherwise were weary to follow *Antonius* any further) that all night longe they kept the fieldes, and hovered about the *ROMAN*es campe, thinking that they would presently flie, & then that they shoulde take the spoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of daye, there were gathered together a farre greater nuber of the *PARTHIAN*s, then they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then forty thousand horse, because their king sent thither euen the very gard about his person, as vnto a most certaine and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoyle and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king him selfe, he was neuer in any conflict or battell. Then *Antonius* desirous to speake to his souldiers, called for a blacke gowne, to appeare the more pitifull to them: but his friends did disswade him from it. Therefore he put on his coate armor, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his armie in the which he highly commended them that had ouercome and driuen backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had ouercome, prayed him to be of good chere: the other also to cleere them selues, willingly offered to take the lots of *Decimation* if he thought good, or otherwise, to receive what kind of punishment it shoulde please him to laye vpon them, so that he would forget any more to milke, or to be offended with them. *Antonius* seeing that, did lift vp his hands to heauen, and made his prayer to the goddes, that if in exchange of his former victories, they would now sende him some bitter aduerlittie: then that all might light on him selfe alone, and that they would giue the victory to the rest of his armie. The next morning, they gaue better order on euery side of the armie, and so marched forward: so that when the *PARTHIAN*s thought to returne againe to assaile them, they came farre short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight, but to spoyle and make hauock of all: when they came neare them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other iauelings as the *ROMAN*es darterd at them, & the *PARTHIAN*s found them as rough and desperat in fight, as if they had bene fresh men they had delt withall. Wherevpon their harts beganne againe to faile them. But yet when the *ROMAN*es came to goe downe any steepe hills or mountaines, then they would set on them with their arrowes, because the *ROMAN*es could goe downe but fayer and softly. But then againe, the souldiers of the legion that caried great shields, returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the midst amongst them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, and so set downe their shields before them: and they of the second rancke also couered them of the first rancke, and the third also couered the second, and so from rancke to rancke all were couered. In somuch that this manner of couering and theading them selues with shields, was deuised after the facion of laying tiles vpon houses, and to fight, was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most stronge defence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth vpon it. When the *PARTHIAN*s saw this countenance of the *ROMAN*es souldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sorte vpon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with trauell: they layed downe their bowes, & tooke their speares & lances, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the *ROMAN*es sodainly rose vpon their feete, and with the darts that they threw from them, they slue the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of these daungers and lets, *Antonius* armie could winne no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could haue but litle corne, and yet were they driuen daily to fight for it, and besides that, they had no instruments to grynd it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had bene left behind, because the beasts that caried them were either dead, or els employed to cary them that were fore and wounded. For the famine was so extreame great, that the eight parte of a bushell of wheate was sold for fifty Drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the weight of siluer. In the ende, they were compelled to liue of erbes and rootes, but they found few of them that men doe commonly eate of, and were enforced to tast of them that were neuer eaten be-

The king of *Parthia* neuer came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

The *Romanes* defend, and couering against first.

Great famine in *Antonius* army.

A deadly robe
incurable
without wine.

The valliant-
nes of some
Alouand Gra-
cians, whome
Xenophon
brought away
after the ouer-
throw of Cyrus

The Parthi-
ans very cru-
ell and craft-
ie people.

Mithridates
a Parthian,
brought vnto
Antonius
the conspira-
cie of his euen
contry men
against him.

fore: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and he knew no manner of thing, but onely busied him selfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bene a matter of great weight, and to be done with all possible speede. All the campe ouer, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast vp a great deale of choller, and dyed sodainly, because they lacked wine, which was the onely soueraine remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that *Antonius* seeing such a number of his men dye daily, and that the *PARTHANS* left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cryed out fighting, and sayd, O yenne throwland. He had the valliantnes of tenne throwland *GRACIANS* in such admiration, whome *Xenophon* brought away after the ouerthrow of *CYRUS*: because they had comen a farder iorney from *BABYLON*, and had also fought against much more enemies many tymes told, then them selues, and yet came home with safetie. The *PARTHANS* therefore seeing that they could not breake the good order of the armie of the *ROMANES*, and contrarily that they, them selues were oftentimes put to flight, and well assuredly beaten: they fell againe to their olde craftie subtilties. For when they found any of the *ROMANES* scattered from the armie to goe forrage, to seeke some corne, or other vittells: they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and shewed them their bowes vnbeaten, saying, that them selues also did returne home to their contry as they did, and that they would follow them no further, howbeit that they should yet haue certaine *MEDS* that would follow them a dayes iorney or two, to keepe them that they should doe no hurt to the villages from the high wayes: and so holding them with this talke, they gently tooke their leaue of them, and bad them farewell, so that the *ROMANES* began againe to thinke them selues safe. *Antonius* also vnderstanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine contry, because also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take this course, there came into his hoast one *Mithridates*, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was Cosen vnto *Monezes* that fled vnto *Antonius*, and vnto whome he had giuen three cities. When he came to *Antonius* campe, he praied them to bring him one that could speake the *PARTHIAN*, or *SYRIAN* tongue. So one *Alexander* *ANTIOCHIAN*, a famillier of *Antonius*, was brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and sayde, that *Monezes* had sent him to *Antonius*, to requite the honor and curtesie he had shewed vnto him. After he had vsed this ceremonious speeche, he asked *Alexander* if he sawe those highe Mountaines a farte of, which he poynted vnto him with his finger. *Alexander* answered he did. The *PARTHANS* (sayd he) doe lye in ambushe at the foote of those Mountaines, vnder the which lyeth a goodly playne champion contry: and they thinke that you beeing deceived with their craftie subtil words, will leaue the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painefull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if *Antonius* take the lower way, let him assure him selfe to runne the same fortune that *Marcus Crassus* did. So *Mithridates* hauing sayd, he departed. *Antonius* was maruelously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, & therefore called for his friends, to heare what they would say to it. The *MARDIAN* also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered: that he thought as much as the gentleman *Mithridates* had sayd. For, sayd he, admit that there were no ambushe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine way, though it be stonye and painefull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole dayes trauelling without any water. So *Antonius* charging his first mind and determination, remoued that night, and tooke the Mountaine way, commanding euery man to provide him selfe of water. But the most part of them lacking vessels to cary water in, some were driuen to fill their fallets and murrions with water, and others also filled goates skinned to cary water in. Nowe they marching forward, worde was brought vnto the *PARTHANS* that they were remoued: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the *ROMANES*, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe, that they were euen done. For, beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundred

and

A and forty furlong, and further, to see their enemies so sodainly at their backs, that made them vterly despair: but mozte of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to driue their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The rereward of the armie by chaunce met with a riuer that was very cleere, and colde water, but it was faine and venomous to drinke: for straight it did gnawe the guts of those that had dronke it, and made them marcelous drye, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the *MARDIAN* had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would haue kept them from drinking: and so dranke. But *Antonius* going vp and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a litle patience for a while, for hard by there was another riuer that the water was excellent good to drinke: & that from thenceforward the way was so stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he caused the retreat to be sounded to call them backe that fought, and commanded the tents to be set vpe, that the souldiers might yet haue shadow to refresh them with. So when the tents were set vp, and the *PARTHANS* also rettyred according to their manner: the gentleman *Mithridates* before named, returned againe as before, and *Alexander* in like manner againe brought vnto him for Interpreter. Then *Mithridates* aduised him, that after the armie had reposed a litle, the *ROMANES* should remoue forthwith, and with all possible speede get to the riuer: because the *PARTHANS* would goe no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. *Alexander* caried the report thereof vnto *Antonius*, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to bestowe vpon *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and so departed with speede. So *Antonius* sayd his campe being yet day light, and caused all his army to marche, & the *PARTHANS* neuer troubled any of them by the way: but amongst them selues it was as ill and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were Villens of their owne company, who cut their fellows throates for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and cariage of such money as they caried: and at length, they set vpon *Antonius* slaues that draue his owne sumpters, and eariage, they brake goodly tables & riche plate in peeces, and deuided it among them selues. Thereupon all the campe was straight in tumult and vprore: For the residue of them were afraid it had bene the *PARTHANS* that had giuen them this alarom, and had put all the armie out of order. Inso much that *Antonius* called for one *Rhamnus*, one of his slaues enfranchised that was of his gird, and made him giue him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut of his head: because he might not betaken aliue of his enemies, nor known when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the hart, that they burst out a weeping for sorrow. The *MARDIAN* also did comfort him; and assured him that the riuer he fought for was hard by, and that he did gesse it by a sweete moyst wind that breathed vpon them, and by the ayer which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind more at libertie: and moreover, because that since they did set forward, he thought they were neare their iorneyes ende, not lacking much of day. On the other side also, *Antonius* was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetousnes and villany of certaine of his souldiers. Therefore *Antonius* to let his armie againe in order, and to pacifie this vprore, sounded the trompet that euery man should lodge. Now day began to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to cease, when the *PARTHANS* drewe neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereupon the signall of battell was giuen to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer them selues as they had done before with their shields, with the which they receiued & defended the force of the *PARTHANS* arrowes, who neuer durst any more come to hand strokes with them: and thus they that were in the vaward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they tyed the riuer. There *Antonius* placed his armed men vpon the sands to receive and driue backe the enemies, and first of all gouer-ner his men that were sicke and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left F to resist the enemies, had leysure enough to drinke safely, and at their pleasure. For when the *PARTHANS* saw the riuer, they vnbeaten their bowes, and bad the *ROMANES* passe ouer without any feare, and greatly commended their valliantnes. When they had all passed ouer the

A salubrum.

Antonius
great libe-
rality vnto
Mithridates,
for the care he
had of his fol-
lowers.

The tumult of
Antonius fol-
lowers through
contentions.

Antonius de-
spised wounds.

Araxes.

ruier at their ease, they tooke a litle breath, and so marched forward againe, not greatly misting the PARTHIANS. The sixt day after this last battell, they came to the ruier of Araxes, which deuiceth the contry of ARMENIA from MADAIA: the which appeared vnto them very dangerous to passe, for the depth and swiftnesse of the streame. And furthermore, there ranne a rumor through the campe, that the PARTHIANS lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come & set vpon them whilst they were troubled in passing ouer the ruier. But now, after they were all comen safely ouer without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other side, into the prouince of ARMENIA: then they worshipped that land, as if it had bene the first land they had seene after a long and dangerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy haven: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and euery man embraced eache other for the great ioy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitful country so plentifull of all things, after so great a famine and want of all things: they so crammed them selues with such plenty of vittells, that many of them were cast into fluxes and dropies. There Antonius mustering his whole army, found that he had lost twenty thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, which had not all bene slayne by their enemies: for the most part of them dyed of sickness, making seuen and twenty dayes iorney, coming from the cite of PHRAATIA into ARMENIA, and hauing overcome the PARTHIANS in eigheteen severall battells. But these victories were not thoroughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of ARMENIA, had refused Antonius to end this warre. For if the sixteene thousand horsemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at these battells, considering that they were armed and apparelled much after the PARTHIANS manner, and acquainted also with their fight: When the ROMANES had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, & that these ARMENIANS had followed the chase of them that fled, they had not gathered them selues againe in force, neither durst they also haue returned to fight with them so often, after they had bene so many times overthrowen. Therefore, all those that were of any credit and countenance in the army, did perswade and egge Antonius to be reuenged of this ARMENIAN king. But Antonius wisely dissembling his anger, he told him not of his treachery, nor gaue him the worse countenance, nor did him lesse honor then he did before: because he knew his armie was weake, & lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into ARMENIA with a great army, and so with fayer wordes, and sweete promises of Messengers, he allured Artabazus to come vnto him: whome he then kept prisoner, and led in triumphe in the cite of ALEXANDRIA. This greatly offended the ROMANES, and made them much to mislike it: when they saw that for Cleopatraes sake he deprived his contry of her due honor and glory, onely to gratifie the EGYPTIANS. But this was a pretty while after. Howbeit then, the great haste he made to returne vnto Cleopatra, caused him to put his men to so grea paines, forcing them to lye in the field all winter long when it new vnreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his men, and so came downe to the seafide with a small companye, to a certaine place called BLANCOVRG, which standeth betwixt the cities of BERYTUS and SIDON, and there taried for Cleopatra. And because he taried longer then he would haue had her, he pined away for loue and sorrow. So that he was at such a straight, that he wist not what to doe, and therefore, to weare it out, he gaue him selfe to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the loue of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast were ended: but many times while others banketted, he ranne to the sea side to see if she were coming. At length she came, and brought with her a worlde of apparell and money to giue vnto the souldiers. But some saye notwithstanding, that he brought apparell, but no money, and that she tooke of Antonius money, and caused it to be giuen amonge the souldiers in her owne name, as if she had giuen it them. In the meane time it chanced, that the king of the MEDES, and Phraortes, king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoiles of the ROMANES: and grew to be so hot betwene them, that the king of MEDES was no lesse afraid, then also in daunger to lose his whole Realme. Thereupon he sent vnto Antonius to pray him to come and make warre with the PARTHIANS, promising him that he would ayde him to his vttermost power. This put Antonius againe in good comfort, considering

18. several
battels fought
with the Par-
thians.
The treachery
of Artabazus
king of Ar-
menia, vnto
Antonius.

Antonius tri-
umphed of
Artabazus
king of Ar-
menia, in ALE-
XANDRIA.

Antonius pi-
nished away for
loue of Cleo-
patra.

Cleopatra
came to BIL-
BURY vnto
Antonius.

Warres be-
twixt the Par-
thians and
Medes.

ring that vnlooked for, the onely thing he lacked, (which made him he could not overcome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offered him in that sort: that he did him more pleasure to accept it, then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had spoken with the king of MEDES: at the ruier of Araxes, he prepared him selfe once more to goe through ARMENIA, and to make more cruell warre with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whilst Antonius was busie in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whome he had left at ROME, would needs take sea to come vnto him. Her brother Octavius Caesar was willing vnto it, not for his respect at all (as most authors doe report) as for that he might haue an honest culler to make warre with Antonius: if he did mislike her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to ATHENS, she received letters from Antonius, willing her to stay there vntill his coming, & did aduertise her of his iorney and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knewe it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of answer, she asked him whether he would haue those things sent vnto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for souldiers, a great number of horse, summe of money, and gifts, to bestow on his friends and Captaines he had about him: and besides all those, she had two thousand souldiers chosen men, all well armed, like vnto the Prætors bands. When Niger, one of Antonius friends whome he had sent vnto ATHENS, had brought these newes from his wife Octavia, and withall did greatly prayle her, as she was worthy, and well deferred: Cleopatra knowing that Octavia would haue Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her vertue and honest behavior, (besides the great power of her brother Caesar) she did adde thereunto her modest kind loue to please her husband, that she would then be too stronge for her, and in the end winne him away: she furtly seemed to languish for the loue of Antonius, pynning her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, she euery way so framed her countenance, that when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauished for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering, looked ruffly of the matter, and still found the meane that Antonius should oftentimes finde her weeping: and then when he came sodainly vpon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, & turned the face away, as if she were vnwilling that he should see her weep. All these tricks the used, Antonius being in readines to goe into SYRIA, to speake with the king of MEDES. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatraes mind, blamed Antonius, and tolde him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had small loue in him, that would see a poore Lady in such torment for his sake, whose life depended onely vpon him alone. For Octavia, sayd they, that was married vnto him as it were of necessitie, because her brother Caesars affayres so required it: hath the honor to be called Antonius lawefull spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being borne a Queene of so many thousands of men, is onely named Antonius Leman, and yet that the disdayned not so to be called, if it might please him the might enioy his company, and liue with him: but if he once leaue her, that then it is vnpossible he should liue. To be short, by these their flatteries and enticementes, they wrought Antonius effeminate mind, that fearing least he would make her selfe away: he returned againe vnto ALEXANDRIA, and referred the king of MEDES to the next yeare following, although he receyued newes that the PARTHIANS at that tyme were at ciuill warres amonge them selues. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he married his Daughter which was very younge, vnto one of the sonnes that Cleopatra had by him: and then returned, being fully bent to make warre with Caesar. When Octavia was returned to ROME from ATHENS, Caesar commaunded her to goe out of Antonius house, and to dwell by her selfe, because he had abused her. Octavia answered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thing, that two so famous Captaines should bringe in ciuill warres amonge the ROMANES, the one for the loue of a womā, & the other for the ielously betwixt one another. Now as she spake the wordes, so did she also performe the deede. For she kept still in Antonius house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly and honorably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia. Further-

Octavia, An-
tonius wife,
came to A-
thens to meete
with him.

The sickening
enrichment
of Cleopatra,
vnto Antonius.

The occasion
of ciuill warres
betwixt An-
tonius and
Caesar.

The loue of
Octavia to
Antonius her
husband, and
her wife and
womanly be-
havior.

more, when *Antonius* sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the common wealth. He receiued him very courteously, and so vied her selfe vnto her brother, that he obtained the thing he requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did *Antonius* great hurt. For her honest loue and regard to her husband, made euery man hate him, when they sawe he did so vnkindly vnto so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice vnto him, was for the diuision of lands he made amongst his children in the cite of *ALEXANDRIA*. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the *ROMANES*. For he assembled all the people in the show place, where younge men doe exercise them selues, and there vpon a high tribunall situered, he set two chayres of gold, the one for him selfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chayres for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish *Cleopatra* Queene of *ÆGYPT*, of *CYPRVS*, of *LYDIA*, and of the lower *SYRIA*, and at that time also, *Cesarion* king of the same Realmes. This *Cesarion* was supposed to be the sonne of *Iulius Cesar*, who had left *Cleopatra* great with child. Secondly he called the sonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, and gaue *Alexander* for his portion, *ARMENIA*, *MEDIA*, and *PARTHIA*, when he had conquered the contry: and vnto *Psolomy* for his portion, *PHENICIA*, *SYRIA*, and *CILICIA*. And therewithall he brought out *Alexander* in a long gowne after the facion of the *MEDES*, with a high copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the *MEDES* and *ARMENIANS* doe vse to weare them: and *Psolomy* apparelled in a cloke after the *MACEDONIAN* manner, with slippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attyre of the auncient kinges and successors of *Alexander* the great. So after his sonnes had done their humble duties, and killed their father and mother: presently a company of *ARMENIAN* souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of the *MACEDONIANS* the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times els when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddess *Isis*, and so gaue audience vnto all her subiects, as a new *Isis*. *Octavius Cesar* reporting all these things vnto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome: he thereby stirred vp all the *ROMANES* against him. *Antonius* on thother side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefe poyntes of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that hauing spoyled *Sextus Pompeius* in *SICILE*, he did not giue him his parte of the Ile. Secondly, that he did deteyne in his hands the shippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that hauing put *Lepidus* their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and hauing deprived him of all honors: he retayned for him selfe the lands and reuenues thereof, which had bene assigned vnto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner deuided all *ITALY* amongst his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. *Octavius Cesar* answered him againe: that for *Lepidus*, he had in deede deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did ouercruelly vse his authoritie. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented *Antonius* should haue his part of them, so that he would likewise let him haue his part of *ARMENIA*. And thirdly, that for his souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in *ITALY*, because they possessed *MEDIA* and *PARTHIA*, the which prouinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperor and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing these newes, being yet in *ARMENIA*, commaunded *Canidius* to goe presently to the sea side with his sixtene legions he had: and he him selfe with *Cleopatra*, went vnto the cite of *EPHESVS*, and there gathered together his galleies and shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great shippes of burden: and of thole, *Cleopatra* furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thousand talents besides, and prouision of vittells also to mainteyne all the whole army in this warre. So *Antonius*, through the perswasions of *Domitius*, commaunded *Cleopatra* to returne againe into *ÆGYPT*, and there to vnderstand the successe of this warre. But *Cleopatra*, fearing least *Antonius* should againe be made friends with *Octavius Cesar*, by the meanes of his wife *Octavia*: she so plyed *Canidius* with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes man vnto *Antonius*, and told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who desired so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, because that thereby the *ÆGYPTIANS* would

*Antonius arrogantly de-
widely diuers
pruinces vnto
his children
by Cleopatra.
Cesarion, the
supposed sonne
of Cesar, by
Cleopatra.
Alexander &
Psolomy, An-
tonius sentes
by Cleopatra.*

*Accusations
brought Octa-
uius Cesar, &
Antonius.*

*Antonius
came with
eight hundred
shippes against
Octavius Ce-
sar.*

A would then be vitterly discouraged, which were the chiefe strength of the army by sea; considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederats, that *Octavius Cesar* was inferior vnto, either for wisdom or iudgement, seeing that longe before he had, wisely gouerned so great a realme as *ÆGYPT*, & besides that he had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom he had learned to maneage great assayres. These sayre perswasions wan him: for it was predestined that the gouernment of all the world should fall into *Octavius Cesar*'s handes. Thus, all their forces being ioyned together, they hoied sayle towards the Ile of *SAMOS*, and there gaue them selues to feasts and sollace. For as all the kings, Princes, & communalities, peoples and cities from *SYRIA*, vnto the marishes *Mæotides*, and from the *ARMENIANS* to the *ILLYRIANS*, were sent vnto, to send and bringe all munition and warlike preparation they could: euen so all players, minstrells, tumblers, fooles, and iesters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of *SAMOS*. So that, where in manner all the world in euery place was full of lamentations, sighes and teares: onely in this Ile of *SAMOS* there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and pypping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrells, and singing men. Besides all this, euery citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, and kings did giue one with another who should make the noblest feasts, & giue the richest gifts. So that euery man sayd, what can they doe more for ioy of victorie, if they winne the battell? When they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gaue the whole rabble of these minstrells, & such kind of people, the cite of *PATRIS* to keepe them withal, during this warre. Then he went vnto the cite of *ATHENS*, and there gaue him selfe againe to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other side, being ielous of the honors which *Octavia* had receiued in this citie, where in deede she was marvellously honored and beloued of the *ATHENIANS*: to winne the peoples good will also as *ATHENS*, he gaue them great gifts: and they likewise gaue her many great honors, and appointed certain Ambassadors to cary the decree to her house, among the which *Antonius* was one, who as a Citizen of *ATHENS* reported the matter vnto her, & made an oration in the behalfe of the citie. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife *Octavia* out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all *Antonius* children, sauing the eldest of them he had by *Fulvia*, who was with her father, bewailing & lamenting her curled hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompanied one of the chiefe causes of this ciuill warre. The *ROMANES* did pitie her, but much more *Antonius*, & those specially that had bene *Cleopatra*: who, neither excelled *Octavia* in beawtie, nor yet in young yeares. *Octavius Cesar* vnderstanding the iocand & wonderful great preparation of *Antonius*, he was not a little astonied at it, (fearing he should be driuen to fight that sommer) because he wanted many things, & the great and grievous exactions of money did sorely oppresse the people. For all manner of men els, were driuen to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenue: but the Libertines, (to wete, those whose fathers or other predecessors had some time bene bond men) they were sessed to pay the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there rose a wonderfull exclamation and great vprore all *ITALY* ouer: so that among the greatest faults that euer *Antonius* committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to giue *Cesar* battell. For he gaue *Cesar* leysure to make his preparations, and also to appeale the complaints of the people. When such a great summe of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grew to mutinie vpon it: but when they had once paid it, they remembered it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Plancius* (two of *Antonius* chiefe friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great injuries *Cleopatra* did them, because they hindered all they could, that she should not come to this warre: they went and yelded them selues vnto *Cesar*, and tolde him where the resentment was that *Antonius* had made, knowing perfidy what was in it. The will was in the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes: of whom *Cesar* demanded for it. They answered him, that they would not giue it him: but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereuppon *Cesar* went thither, & hauing red it first to him selfe, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch: so assembling all the Senate, he red it before them all. Whereuppon diuers were marvellously offended, and thought it a strange matter that he being alieue, should be punished for that he had appoynted by his will to be done after his death. *Cesar* chiefly tooke hold of this that he

*Antonius ca-
ried Cleopa-
tra with him,
to the warre,
against Octa-
uius Cesar,
& kept great
feasting as the
Ile of Samos
rejoiced.*

*Antonius
sent his wife
Octavia out
of his house
at Rome.*

*Antonius put
his wife Octa-
uia out of his
house at Rome.*

*Octavius Ce-
sar excuseth
griuous pay-
ments of the
Romans.*

*Titius and
Plancius spe-
cials from the
Romans, and
dore yeld to
Cesar.*

ordeyned touching his buriall: for he willed that his bodie, though he dyed at Rome, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middelt of the market place, and that it should be sent into ALEXANDRIA vnto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among diuers other faultes wherewith Antonius was to be charged, for Cleopatraes sake: Calpurnius, one of Cæsars friends reproved him, because he had frankly giuen Cleopatra all the libraries of the royall cite of PERGAMVM, in the which she had about two hundred thousand feuerall bookes. Again also, that being one time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the borde, and trode vpon Cleopatraes foote, which was a signe giuen betwene them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffred the EPHESTIANS in his preference to call Cleopatra, their fouraine Ladye. That diuers times fitting in his tribunall and chayer of state, giuing audience to all kings and Princes: he had receiued loue letters from Cleopatra, written in tables of onyx or cristall, and that he had read them, sitting in his imperial seate. That one day when FURNIUS, a man of great accompt, and the eloquentest man of all the ROMANES, pleaded a matter before him: Cleopatra by chaunce coming through the market place in her litter where FURNIUS was a pleading: Antonius straight rose out of his seate, and left his audience to followe her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Calpurnius deuided the most part of all these accusations of his owne head. Neuertheles they that loued Antonius, were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one Geminus vnto Antonius, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people of Rome. This Geminus being arriued in GRECE, made Cleopatra ielous straight of his coming: because she furnished that he came not but to speake for OCTAUIA. Therefore the spared not to tawnt him all supper tyme, and moreover to spyte him the more, she made him be set lowest of all at the borde, the which he tooke patiently, expecting occasion to speake with Antonius. Now Antonius commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he answered him; that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning fasting: but dronke or fasting, howsoeuer it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side: vnles Cleopatra were sent backe into EGYPT. Antonius tooke these wordes in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other side answered him, thou dost well Geminus, sayd she, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within fewe dayes after, Geminus stole away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also to please Cleopatra, did make her driue many other of Antonius faithfull seruants and friends from him, who could not abide the iniuries done vnto them: amonge the which these two were chiefe, Marcus Syllanus, and Dellius the Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, because her Phisitian Glaucus tolde him, that Cleopatra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore he had Cleopatraes displeasure, because he sayde one night at supper, that they made them drinke fower wine, where Sarmentus at Rome dranke good wine of FALERNA. This Sarmentus was a pleasaunt young boye, such as the Lordes of Rome are wont to haue about them to make them pastyme, which they call their ioyes, and he was OCTAUIUS Cæsars boye. Nowe, after Cæsar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open warre against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolishe the power and Empire of Antonius, because he had before giuen it yppe vnto a woman. And Cæsar sayde furthermore, that Antonius was not Maister of him selfe, but that Cleopatra had brought him beside him selfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make warre with them, should be MARDIAN the Euenuke, Photinus, and Iras, a woman of Cleopatraes bedchamber, that frised her heare, and dressed her head, and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affaires of Antonius Empire. Before this warre, as it is reported, many signes & wonders fel out. First of all, the cite of PISAVRVM which was made a colony to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius, standing vpon the shore side of the sea Adriatick, was by a terrible earthquake sonck into the ground. One of the images of stone which was set vp in the honor of Antonius, in the cite of ALBA, did sweare many dayes together: and though some wyped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the cite of PATRAS, whilest Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the cite of ATHENS also, in a place where the warre of the gyants against the goddes is set out in magerie: the statue of Bacchus with a terrible winde was throwen downe in the Theater.

It

Antonius li-
brairie in the
cite of Per-
gamm.

Furnius, an e-
loquent Orator
among the
Romanes.

Geminus
sent from
Rome to An-
tonius, to bid
him take
heede to him
selfe.

Many of An-
tonius friends
dote for sake
him.

Antonius Em-
pire taken
from him.

Signes and
wonders be-
fore the ciuill
warre be-
twix Antonius
and Oct.
Cæsar.
Pisera, a cite
in Italy, sonck
into the ground
by an earth-
quake.

A It was sayd that Antonius came of the race of Hercules, as you haue heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus: and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering storme of wind, ouerthrew the great monstrous images at ATHENS, that were made in the honor of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named and inteaured, the Antonians, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many besides. The Admirall galley of Cleopatra, was called Antonide, in the which there enchaunced a marvelous ill signe. Swallows had bred vnder the poope of her shippe, & there came others after them that draue away the first, & plucked downe their nealls. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight: it was found that Antonius had no lesse then two hundred good ships of warre, amonge the which there were many galleies that had eight & ten banks of oars, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for fight, as for triumphe: abounded with thousand footemen, & twelve thousand horsemen, & had with him to ayde him these kinges and subiects following. Bocchus king of LYBIA, Tarcondemus king of high CILICIA, Antiochus king of CAPPADOCIA, Philadelphus king of PAPHLAGONIA, Mithridates king of CAPPADOCIA, and Adalus king of THRACIA. All the which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent sent their armies, as Polemo king of PONT, Manachus king of ARABIA, Herodes king of IUDY: & furthermore, Amyntas king of LYCAONIA, & of the GALATIANS: and besides all these, he had all the ayde the king of MEDES sent vnto him. Now for Cæsar, he had two hundred and fifty shippes of warre, foure score thousand footemen, & well neare as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part, had all vnder his dominiõ from ARMENIA, & the riuier of Euphrates, vnto the sea IONIVM & ILLYRICVM. Octavianus Cæsar had also for his part, all that which was in our HEMISPHERE, or halfe part of the world, from ILLYRIA vnto the Ocean sea vpon the west: then all from the Ocean, vnto Mare Siculus: & from AFRICA, all that which is against ITALY, as GAULE, & SPAYNE. Furthermore, all from the prouince of CYRENIA, vnto ETHIOPIA, was subiect vnto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subiect to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatraes sake, he would needs haue this battell tryed by sea: though he sawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water men, his Captaines did presse by force all sortes of men out of GRECE: that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muletters, reapers, haruest men, and yonge boyes, and yet could they not sufficiently furnishe his galleies: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant rowe, because they lacked water men enow. But on the contrary side, Cæsars shippes were not built for pompe, highe, and great, onely for a fight and brauery, but they were light of yarge, armed and furnished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readines, in the hauens of TARENTVM, and BRINDYSIVM. So Octavianus Cæsar sent vnto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into ITALY: and that for his owne part he would giue him safe harbor, to lande without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his armie from the sea, as farre as one horse could runne, vntil he had put his army a shore, & had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side brauely sent him word againe, and challenged the combat of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIA. As Julius Cæsar, and Pompey had done before. Now whilest Antonius rode at anker, lying idely in harbor at the head of ACTIVM, in the place where the cite of NICOPOLIS standeth at this present, Cæsar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called TORYNE, before Antonius vnderstoode that he had taken shippe. Then began his men to be affraid, because his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it: and what daunger, I pray you, said she, Cæsar keepe at TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in battell against him, Antonius was affraid that if they came to ioyne, they would take and cary away his shippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water men, and set them in order of battell vpon the forecattell of their shippes, and then lift vp all his rancks of owers towards the element, as well of the one side, as the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of ACTIVM, and so kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water men and souldiers. Thus Octavianus Cæsar beinge finely deceyued by this stratageme, re-

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An ill signe
for Cleopatra
swallows bred
vnder the poope
of her shippe
Antonius sent
his army
from
ARMENIA
to the
sea IONIVM
to ayde him.

The army of
Octavianus Cæsar
gainge Antonius
dominion.
Octavianus Cæsar
dominion.

Antonius too
much ruled
by Cleopatra.

Antonius
rode at anker
at the head of
a citie where
the cite of
NICOPOLIS
standeth.
The grace of
this scene can
not properly
be expressed
in any other
language, be-
cause of the
equiuaquacy
of this word.
Toryne, which
signifieth a

chie of Al-
bia,
and also
a ladd to
scome the
par with: as if
for men, Ca-
sar say by the
fire side, com-
ing of the
po.

Dominus for-
sake the An-
tonius, & goeth
into Osta-
us Caesar.
Antonius, de-
bath reuile
from Anton-
ius, and goe
into Caesar.

Antonius in
danger of
taking as a
flame.

Antonius re-
gardeth not
the good coun-
sell of his
Iudices.

Battail by sea
as Antonius,
berueth An-
tonius and
Caesar.

tyred presently, and therewithall *Antonius* very wisely and sodainly did cut him off from fresh water. For, vnderstanding that the places where *Ostanius Caesar* landed, had very little store of water, and yet very bad: he shut them in with stronge ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from salying out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water further of. Furthermore, he delt very friendly and courteously with *Domitius*, and against *Cleopatras* mynde. For he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a little boate to goe to *Caesars* campe, *Antonius* was very fory for it, but yet he sent after him all his cariage, trayne, and men: and the same *Domitius*, as though he gaue him to vnderstand that he repented his open treason, he died immediately after. There were certain kings also that forsooke him, and turned on *Caesars* side: as *Amyntas*, and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore, his fleet and navy that was vnfortunate in all thinges, and vngeddy for seruice, compelled him to change his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And *Canidius* also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow *Antonius* determination: he turned him cleane contrary, and counseled him to send *Cleopatra* backe againe, and him selfe to retyre into *MACEDON*, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that *Dicomes* king of the *GETES*, promised him to ayde him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonor to him to let *Caesar* haue the sea, (because him selfe & his men both had bene well practised & exercised in battels by sea, in the warre of *SICILIA* against *Sextus Pompeius*) but rather that he should doe against all reason, he hauing so great skill and experience of battells by land as he had, if he should not employ the force and valliantnes of so many lusty armed footemen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by deuiding them into shippes. But now, notwithstanding all these good persuasions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by sea: considering with her selfe how he might sie, & prouide for her safetie, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to fie more easily after the battell lost. Betwixt *Antonius* campe & his fleet of shippes, there was a great high point of firme lande that ranne a good way into the sea, the which *Antonius* often vied for a walke, without mistrust of feare or danger. One of *Caesars* men perceiued it, & told his Maister that he would laugh & they could take vp *Antonius* in the middelt of his walke. Thereupon *Caesar* sent some of his men to lye in ambush for him, & they missed not much of taking of him: for they tooke him that came before him, because they discouered to soone, & so *Antonius* escaped verie hardly. So when *Antonius* had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other shippes a fire, but three score shippes of *EGYPT*, & reserved onely but the best & greatest gallies, D from three bancks, vnto renne bancks of owers. Into them he put two & twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters & slingers. Now, as he was setting his men in order of battel, there was a Capitaine, & a valliant man, that had serued *Antonius* in many battels & conflicts, & had all his body hacked & cut: who as *Antonius* passed by him, cryed out vnto him, & sayd: O, noble Emperor, how commeth it to passe that you trust to these vile brittle shippes? what doe you mistrust these woundes of myne, and this sword? let the *EGYPTIANS* & *PHENICIAN*s fight by sea, and set vs on the maine land, where we vse to conquer, or to be slayne on our feete. *Antonius* passed by him, and sayd neuer a word, but onely beckoned to him with his hand & head, as though he willed him to be of good corage, although in deede he had no great corage him selfe. For when the Masters of the gallies & Pilots would haue let their failes alone, he made them clapp them on, saying to culler the matter withall, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day, & the three dayes following, the sea rose so high, & was so boysterous, that the battel was put off. The fifth day the storme ceased, & the sea calmed againe, & the they rowed with force of owers in bataille one against the other: *Antonius* leading the right wing with *Publicola*, & *Calpurnius* the left, & *Marcus Octavius*, & *Marcus Tullius* the middelt. *Ostanius Caesar* on thother side, had placed *Agrippa* in the left winge of his armye, and had kept the right winge for him selfe. For the armies by land, *Canidius* was generall of *Antonius* side, and *Taurus* of *Caesars* side: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, vpon the sea side, without stirring one agaynst the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaynes: *Antonius* being in a swift pinnace, was caried vp and downe by force of owers through his army, & spake to his people to encourage them to fight valliantly, as if they were on maine land, because of the steadines & heauines of their shippes: & commaunded the Pilots & masters of the gallies,

A gallies, that they should not sturre, none otherwise then if they were at anker, and so to receiue the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not goe out of the straight of the gulfe. *Caesar* berymes in the morning going out of his tent, to see his shippes thorough out met a man by chance that draue an asse before him. *Caesar* asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him, his name was *Eutychnus*, to say, fortunate: and his asse's name *Nicon*, to say, Conquerer. Therefore *Caesar* after he had wonne the battell, setting out the market place with the spures of the gallies he had taken, for a signe of his victorie: he caused also the man and his asse to be set vp in brasse. When he had visted the order of his armie thorough out, he tooke a little pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he sawe his enemies lye still in the straight, & sturred not. For, decerning them a farr off, men would haue thought they had bene shippes riding at anker, and a good while he was so periuaded: So he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies. About noone there rose a litle gale of winde from the sea, and then *Antonius* men waxing angry with taryng so long, and trusting to the greatnes and height of their shippes, as if they had bene inuincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. *Caesar* seeing that, was a glad man, and began a litle to giue backe from the right wing, to allure them to come further out of the straight & gulfe: to thend that he might with his light shippes well manned with water men, turne and enuiron the gallies of the enemies, the which were heauy of yarage, both for their biggenes, as also for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to ioyne, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the shippes vehemently hit one against the other, as they doe commonly in fight by sea. For on the one side, *Antonius* shippes for their heauines, could not haue the strength and swiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and *Caesars* shippes on thother side tooke great heede, not to rushe & shooke with the fore castells of *Antonius* shippes, whose proues were armed with great brassen spures. Furthermore they durst not flanketh them, because their points were easily broken, which way soeuer they came to set vpon his shippes, that were made of great mayne square peeces of tymber, bounde together with great iron pinnes: so that the battel was much like to a battel by land, or to speake more properly, to the assault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of *Caesars* shippes about one of *Antonius* shippes, and the fouldiers fought with their pykes, halberds, and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. *Antonius* ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their crowsbowes and engines of battery, great store of shot from their high towers of wodde, that were upon their shippes. Now *Publicola* seeing *Agrippa* put forth his left wing of *Caesars* army, to compasse in *Antonius* shippes that fought: he was driuen allo to loofe off to haue more roome, & going a litle at one side, to put thole further of that were affraid, and in the middelt of the battel. For they were fore distressed by *Aruntius*. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when sodainly they saw the three score shippes of *Cleopatra* busie about their yard masts, and hoysing saile to fie. So they fled through the middelt of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great shippes, & did marvellously disorder the other shippes. For the enemies them selues wondred much to see them saile in that fort, with full saile towards *PELOPONNESVS*. There *Antonius* shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the corage and hart of an Emperor, but also of a valliant man, & that he was not his owne man: (proving that true which an old man spake in myrrh, that the soule of a louer liued in another body, and not in his owne) he was so caried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, & that she could not haue removed without mouing of him also. For when he saw *Cleopatras* shippe vnder saile, he forgot, forsooke, & betrayed them that fought for him, & imbarcked vpon a galley with fise bankes of owers, to follow her that had already begon to ouerthrow him, & would in the end be his vtter destruction. When she knew this galley a farr off, she lift vp a signe in the poope of her shippe, and so *Antonius* comming to it, was plucked vp where *Cleopatra* was, howbeit he saw her not at his first comming, nor the him, but went and fate down alone in the prow of his shippe, and said neuer a word, clapping his head betwene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of *Caesars* that followed him hard. So *Antonius* straight turned the prow of his shippe, and presently put the rest to flight, sauing one *Eurycles* *LACEDEMONIAN*, that follow-

A litle sign
vnto Ostani-
us Caesar.
Eutychnus Ni-
con, fortunate
Conquerer.

Cleopatra fly-
eth.

The soule of a
louer liued
in another
body.
Antonius fly-
eth after Cle-
opatra.

ed him neare, and prest vpon him with great corage, shaking a dart in his hand ouer the prow, as though he would haue throwen it vnto *Antonius*. *Antonius* seing him, came to the forecassell of his ship, & asked him what he was that durst follow *Antonius* to neare? I am, answered he, *Eurycles* the sonne of *Lachares*, who through *Cesar*s good fortune seeketh to reuenge the death of my father. This *Lachares* was condemned of felonnie, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But yet *Eurycles* durst not venter on *Antonius* shippe, but fet vpon the other Admirall galley (for there were two) and fell with him with such a blowe of his brassen spur, that was so heauy and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was laden with very rich stuffe and cariage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he returned againe to his place, and sate downe, speaking neuer a word as he did before: and so liued three dayes alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arriued at the head of *Tanarus*, there *Cleopatra*s women first brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to speake together, and afterwards, to suppe and lyetogether. Then beganne there agayne a great number of Marchaunts shippes to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this ouerthrow: who brought newes, that his army by sea was ouerthrowen, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. The *Antonius* then vnto *Canidius*, to returne with his army into *ASIA*, by *MACEDON*. Now for him selfe, he determined to crosse ouer into *AFRICK*, & toke one of his carrets or hulks laden with gold and siluer, and other rich cariage, and gaue it vnto his friends: commanding them to depart, and to seeke to saue them selues. They answered him weeping, that they would nether doe it, nor yet forsake him. Then *Antonius* very curteously and louingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote vnto *Theophilus* gouernor of *CORINTHE*, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hidethem in some secret place, vntil they had made their way and peace with *Cesar*. This *Theophilus* was the father of *Hipparchus*, who was had in great estimation about *Antonius*. He was the first of all his infranchised bondmen that reuolued from him, and yielded vnto *Cesar*, and afterwards went and dwelt at *CORINTHE*. And thus it stood with *Antonius*. Now for his armie by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of *ACTIUM*: they helde out a long tyme, and nothing troubled them more then a great boysterous wind that rose full in the prooes of their shippes, and yet with much a doe, his navy was at length ouerthrowen, fise howers within night. There were not slaine about fise thousand men: but yet there were three hundred shippes taken, as *Octavianus Cesar* writeth him selfe in his commentaries. Many plainly sawe *Antonius* fle, and yet could hardly beleue it, that he that had nyntene legions whole by lande, and twelue thousand horsmen vpon the sea side, would so haue forsaken them, and haue fled so cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proued both the one and the other fortune, & that he had not bene thoroughly acquainted with the diuers chaunges and fortunes of battells. And yet his souldiers still wished for him, and euer hoped that he would come by some meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore, they shewed them selues so valliant and faithfull vnto him, that after they certainly knewe he was fled, they kept them selues whole together seven daies. In the ende *Canidius*, *Antonius* Lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his campe: when they saw them selues thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yielded themselves vnto the stronger. This done, *Cesar* sailed towards *ATHENS*, and there made peace with the *GRECIANS*, and deuided the rest of the come that was taken vp for *Antonius* army, vnto the townes and cities of *GRECE*, the which had bene brought to extreme misery & pouerty, cleane without money, slaues, horse, & other beastes of cariage. So that my grandfather *Nicarcho* tolde, that all the Citizens of our cite of *CHERONEA* (not one excepted) were driuen them selues to cary a certaine measure of come on their shoulders to the sea side, that lieth directly ouer against the Ile of *ANTICTRA*, & yet were they driuen thether with whippes. They caried it thus but once: for, the second tyme that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the come being ready to be caried, newes came that *Antonius* had lost the battell, & so escaped our poore city. For *Antonius* souldiers & deputies fled immediatly, & the citizens deuided the come amongst them. *Antonius* being arriued in *LIBYA*, he sent *Cleopatra* before into *ÆGYPT* from the cite of *PARETONIVS*: & he him selfe remained very solitary, hauing onely two of his friends with him, with whom he wandered vp & down, both of them orators, the one *Aristocrates* a *GRECIAN*, & the other *Lucilius*

Antonius lyceth with his friends to depart, and giueth them a shippe laden with gold and siluer.

Antonius neuer ouerthrowen by *Cesar*.

Antonius legions doe yield them selues vnto *Octavianus Cesar*.

Aelius a *ROMANE*. Of whom we haue written in an other place, that at the battell where *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, by the cite of *PHILIPPES*, he came & willingly put him selfe into the hands of those that followed *Brutus*, saying that it was he: bicause *Brutus* in the meane time might haue liberty to saue him selfe. And afterwards bicause *Antonius* saued his life, he still remained with him: and was very faithfull and friendly vnto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had trusted with the gouernment of *LIBYA*, and vnto whom he had geuen the charge of his armie there, had yielded vnto *Cesar*: he was so made withall, that he would haue slaine him selfe for anger, had not his frendes about him withstoode him, and kept him from it. So he went vnto *ALEXANDRIA*, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderful enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the redde sea, and the sea betweene the landes that poynt vpon the coast of *ÆGYPT*, there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the seas; and separateth *AFRICK* from *ASIA*: the which straight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not about three hundred furlonges ouer. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her shippes out of the one sea, and to hale them ouer the straight into the other sea: that when her shippes were come into this goulfe of *ARABIA*, she might then carie all her gold & siluer away, and so with a great companie of men goe and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea farte from the sea Meditteranium, to scape the danger and bondage of this warre. But now, bicause the *ARABIANS* dwelling about the cite of *PETRA*, did burne the first shippes that were brought alande, and that *Antonius* thought that his armie by lande, which he left at *ACTIUM* was yet whole: the left of her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the portes and passages of her realme. *Antonius*, he forooke the cite and companie of his frendes, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of *PHAROS*, vpon certaine forced mountes which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished him selfe from all mens companie: saying that he would lead *Timons* life, bicause he had the like wrong offered him, that was affore offered vnto *Timon*: and that for the vnthankfulness of those he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his frendes, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This *Timon* was a citizen of *ATHENS*, that liued about the warre of *PELOPONNESVS*, as appeareth by *Plato*, and *Aristophanes* comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a vyper, & malicious man vnto mankind, to shunne all other mens companies, but the companie of young *Alcibiades*, a bolde and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast, and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cause what he ment to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: *Timon* answered him, I do it sayd he, bicause I know that one day he shall do great mischief vnto the *ATHENIANS*. This *Timon* sometimes would haue *Apemantus* in his companie, bicause he was much like to his nature & condicions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feasts called *Chœ* at *ATHENS*, (to wit, the feasts of the dead, where they make sprinklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by them selues, *Apemantus* said vnto the other: O, here is a trimme banket *Timon*. *Timon* answered againe, yea said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this *Timon* on a time (the people being assembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got vp into the pulpit for Orations, where the Orators commonly vse to speake vnto the people: & silence being made, euerie man listning to heare what he would say, bicause it was a wonder to see him in that place: at length he began to speake in this manner. My Lordes of *ATHENS*, I haue a litle yard in my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue haged them selues: & bicause I meane to make some building vpon the place, I thought good to let you all vnderstand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time goe hang your selues. He dyed in the cite of *HALLES*, and was buried vpon the sea side. Nowe it chaunced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tombe rounde about, that no man coulde come to it: and vpon the same was wrytten this epitaphe.

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soule bereft,

Seeke not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left.

It is reported, that *Timon* him selfe when he liued made this epitaphe: for that which is

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Lucilius sought of in *Brutus* life.

The fidelity of *Lucilius* vnto *Antonius*.

The wonderful attempt of *Cleopatra*.

Antonius followeth his life and example of *Timon* *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*.

Plato, & *Aristophanes* representing of *Timon* *Apemantus*, what he was.

The epitaphe of *Timon* *Misanthropus*.

commonly rehearfed was not his, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*.

*Heere lye I Timon vnto alme all liuing men did hate,
Passe by, and curse thy fill: but passe, and stay not here thy gate.*

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this litle shall suffice at this present. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe, *Canidius* him selfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his armie by land at *ACTIVM*. On thother side he was aduerfed also, that *Herodes* king of *IVRTE*, who had also certeine legions and bandes with him, was reuolted vnto *Cesar*, and all the other kings in like maner: so that, sauing those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him, and it seemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and so to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitarie houle he had built in the sea which he called *Timoneon*, and *Cleopatra* receiued him into her royall pallace. He was no sooner comen thither, but he straight set all the city of rioting and banketing againe, and him selfe, to liberalitie and gifts. He caused the sonne of *Iulius Cesar* and *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according to the maner of the *ROMANS*) amongst the number of young men: & gaue *Anryllus*, his eldest sonne he had by *Fulvia*, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne, without gart or imbroderie of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banketing, and dauncing in *ALEXANDRIA* many dayes together. In deece they did breake their first order they had let downe, which they called *Ammetobion*, (as much to say, no life comparable) & did set vp another which they called *Synapothanumion* (signifying the order and agreement of those that will dye together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnes and cost was not inferior to the first. For their frendes made them selues to be inrolled in this order of those that would dye together, and so made great feastes one to another: for euerie man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole companie and fraternitie. *Cleopatra* in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all sorts of poysons together to destroy men. Now to make proofe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it vpon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments: & in contrary maner, that suche as were more milde and gentle, had not that quick speede and force to make one dye sodainly: the afterwarde went about to proue the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied vnto men in her sight, some in one sorte, and some in an other. So when she had dayly made diuers and sundrie proofes, she found none of all them she had proued so fit, as the biting of an *Aspicke*, the which only causeth a heauines of the head, without swoounding or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe, with a litle sweet in the face, and so by litle and litle taketh away the senses and vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the pacientes feelee any paine. For they are so sorie when any bodie waketh them, and taketh them vp: as those that being taken out of a sound sleepe, are very heauy and desirous to sleepe. This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Octavius Caesar* in *ASIA*, *Cleopatra* requesting the realme of *EGYPT* for her children, and *Antonius* praying that he might be suffered to lue at *ATHENS* like a priuate man, if *Cesar* would not let him remaine in *EGYPT*. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fledde, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were inforced to sende *Euphronius* the schoolemaister of their children. For *Alexas* *LAODICIAN*, who was brought into *Antonius* houle and fauor by meanes of *Timagenes*, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other *GRACIAN*: (for that he had halway bene one of *Cleopatras* ministers to win *Antonius*, and to ouerthrow all his good determinations to vse his wife *Octauia* well) him *Antonius* had sent vnto *Herodes* king of *IVRTE*, hoping still to keepe him his friend, that he should not reuolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed *Antonius*. For where he should haue kept *Herodes* from reuolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to *Cesar*: & trusting king *Herodes*, he presumed to come in *Cesars* presence. Howbeit *Herodes* did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chaines to his owne contrie, & there by *Cesars* commandement put to death. Thus was *Alexas* in *Antonius* life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, *Cesar* would not graunt vnto *Antonius* requests: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her aunswere, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put *Antonius*

Antonius rising in Alexandria after his great losse & overthrow. Toge virile. Ansilium, the eldest sonne of Antonius by his wife Fulvia.

An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumion, meaning the former called Ammetobion. Cleopatra verie busie in prouing the force of poyson. The property of the biting of an Aspicke.

Antonius and Cleopatra send Ambassadors vnto Octavius Caesar.

Alexas presumed vnto Antonius.

to death, or driue him out of her contrie. Therewithall he sent *Thyrenus* one of his men vnto her, a verie wife and discrete man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lorde vnto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beawtie, might easely by his eloquence haue perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honor: inso much as he made *Antonius* jealous of him. Whereupon *Antonius* caused him to be taken and well fauoredly whipped, and so sent him vnto *Cesar*: and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, because he shewed him selfe proude and diddainsfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this milke thee said he, thou hast *Hipparchus* one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may breake quiettaunce. From thenceforth, *Cleopatra* to cleere her selfe of the suspition he had of her, she made more of him then euer she did. For first of all, where she did solemnise the day of her birth very meanelly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: (the now in contrary manner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence: so that the ghests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Nowe things passing thus, *Agrippa* by diuers letters sent one after an other vnto *Cesar*, prayed him to returne to *ROME*, because the affaires there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through *SYRIA* by the coast of *AFRICK*, to make warres against *Antonius*, and his other Captaines. When the cite of *PELVSIUM* was taken, there ran a rumor in the cite, that *Seleucus*, by *Cleopatras* consent, had surrendered the same. But to cleere her selfe that she did not, *Cleopatra* brought *Seleucus* wife and children vnto *Antonius*, to be reuenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many sumptuous tombes and monumentes, as well for excellencie of workemanhippe, as for height and greatnes of building, ioyning hard to the temple of *Isis*. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure & pretious things she had of the auncient kings her predeceffors: as gold, silver, emerods, pearles, ebbanie, iuorie, and sinnamon, and besides all that, a maruelous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octavius Caesar* being affrayed to loosee suche a treasure and masse of riches, and that this woman for spight would set it a fire, and burne it euery whit: he alwayes sent some one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilest he in the meane time drewe neere the cite with his armie. So *Cesar* came, and pitched his campe hard by the city, in the place where they runne and manage their horses. *Antonius* made a saly vpon him, and fought verie valiantly, so that he draue *Cesars* horsemen backe, fighting with his men euen into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boasting of this victorie, and sweetely kissed *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. *Cleopatra* to reward his manlines, gaue him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had receiued this rich gift, stole away by night, and went to *Cesar*. *Antonius* sent againe to chalenge *Cesar*, to fight with him hand to hande. *Cesar* answered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then so. Then *Antonius* seeing there was no way more honorable for him to dye, then fighting valiantly: he determined to sette vp his rest, both by sea and lande. So being at supper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and household seruantes that waited on him at his bord, that they should fill his cuppes full, and make as much of him as they could: for said he, you know not whether you shall doe so much for me to morrow or not, or whether you shall serue an other maister: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithstanding, perceiuing that his frends and men sell a weeping to heare him say so: to salue that he had spoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather safely to returne with victorie, then valiantly to dye with honor. Furthermore, the selfe came night within litle of midnight, when all the cite was quiet, full of feare, and sorrowe, thinking what would be the issue and ende of this warre: it is said that sodainly they heard a maruelous sweete harmonie of sundrie sortes of instruments of musicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had long as they vse in *Bacchus* feastes, with mouings and turnings after the

Pelusion was yielded up to Octavius Caesar.

Cleopatras monumentes set up by the temple of Isis.

Strangers neuer heard, and nothing seeme.

maner of the Satyres : & it seemed that this daunce went through the city vnto the gate that A opened to the enemies, & that all the troupe that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now, such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god vnto whom *Antonius* bare singular deuotion to counterfeite and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to set those few footemen he had in order vpon the hills adioyning vnto the citie: and there he stoode to behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed against the gallies of his enemies, and so stoode still, looking what exploit his souldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come nere vnto them, they first saluted *Cæsars* men: and then *Cæsars* men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the citie. When *Antonius* sawe that his men did forsake him, and yielded vnto *Cæsar*, and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her sake. Then she being affraied of his fury, fled into the tombe which the had caused to be made, and there locked the dores vnto her, and shut all the springes of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time sent vnto *Antonius* to tell him that she was dead. *Antonius* beleueing it, said vnto him selfe: what doest thou looke for further, *Antonius*, fith spierfull fortune hath taken from thee the only ioy thou haddest, for whom thou yet reseruedst thy life? when he had sayd these words, he went into a chamber & vnarmed him selfe, and being naked said thus: O *Cleopatra*, it grieueth me not that I haue lost thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am fory, that hauing bene so great a Captaine and Emperour, I am in deede condemned to be iudged of lesse corage and noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called *Eros*, whom he loued and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to sweare vnto him, that he should kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promise. His man drawing his sworde, list it vp as though he had ment to haue stricken his maister: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into him selfe, and fell downe dead at his maisters foote. Then said *Antonius*, O noble *Eros*, I thank thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should doe to my selfe, which thou couldest not doe for me. Therewithall he tooke his sword, and thrust it into his bellie, and so fell downe vpon a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a litle when he layed: and when he came somewhat to him selfe againe, he praied them that were about him to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out & tormenting him selfe: vntill at last there came a secretarie vnto him called *Diomedes*, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where *Cleopatra* was. When he heard that she was aliue, he verie earnestlie prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstāding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Antonius* was trussed: and *Cleopatra* her owne selfe, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monumentes, trised *Antonius* vp. They that were present to behold it, said they neuer saw for pitiefull a sight. For, they plucked vp poore *Antonius* all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pang of death, who holding vp his hands to *Cleopatra*, raised vp him selfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him vp: but *Cleopatra* stowping downe with her head, putting to all her strength to her vtermost power, did lift him vp with much a doe, and neuer let goe her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good corage, and were as forie to see her labor so, as the her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that sorte, and layed him on a bed: she rent her garments vpon him, clapping her brest, and scratching her face & stomake. Then she dried vp his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miserie and calamity, for the pitie and compassion she tooke of him. *Antonius* made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. Vn when he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her, and persuaded her, that she would seeke to saue her life, if she could possible, without reproache and dishonor: and that chiefly she should trust *Proculeius* about any man else about *Cæsar*. And as for

Antonius namque ducit eos ad eos, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem. Antonius vero uenerunt ad Cæsarem, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem. Antonius namque ducit eos ad eos, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem.

Eros Antonium struxit, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem.

Antonius dixit, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem. Antonius namque ducit eos ad eos, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem.

Antonius caruit, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem. Antonius namque ducit eos ad eos, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem.

A lamentabile spectaculum fuit, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem. Antonius namque ducit eos ad eos, et cum eis venit ad Cæsarem.

for him selfe, that she should not lament nor sorowe for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes & honors he had receiued, considering that while he liued he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Roman by an other Roman. As *Antonius* gaue the last gaspe, *Proculeius* came that was sent from *Cæsar*. For after *Antonius* had thrust his sword in him selfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his gard called *Deceus*, tooke his sword with the which he had stricken him selfe, and hidde it: then he secretly stole away, and brought *Officiarius Cæsar* the first newes of his death, & shewed him his sword that was bloodied. *Cæsar* hearing these newes, straight withdrew him selfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his frende and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploitres and battells. Then he called for all his frendes, and shewed them the letters *Antonius* had written to him, and his answeres also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: & how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all iust and reasonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this, he sent *Proculeius*, and commaunded him to doe what he could possible to get *Cleopatra* aliue, fearing least otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her aliue to Rome, the would maruelously beawtifie and sette out his triumphe. But *Cleopatra* would neuer put her selfe into *Proculeius* handes, although they spake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were very thicke & strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and so they without vnderstoode, that *Cleopatra* demanded the kingdome of *Egypt* for her sonnes: and that *Proculeius* answered her, that she should be of good cheere, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto *Cæsar*. After he had viewed the place verie well, he came and reported her answer vnto *Cæsar*. Vn who immediately sent *Gallus* to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilest *Proculeius* did set vp a ladder against that high windowe, by the which *Antonius* was trised vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* stoode to heare what *Gallus* sayd vnto her. One of her women which was shut in her monument with her, saw *Proculeius* by chauce as he came downe, and shrieked out: O, poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when she sawe *Proculeius* behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to haue stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger she ware of purpose by her side. But *Proculeius* came sodainly vpon her, and taking her by both the hands, said vnto her. *Cleopatra*, first thou shalt doe thy selfe great wrong, and secondly vnto *Cæsar*: to deprive him of the occasion and oportunitie, openly to shew his bountie and mercie, and to geue his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and merciesse man, that were not to be trusted. So euen as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her. Afterwardes *Cæsar* sent one of his infranchised men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he straightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her selfe away: and for the rest, to vser her with all the currelfe possible. And for him selfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of *Alexandria*, and as he went, talked with the Philosopher *Arrius*, and helde him by the hande, to the end that his contrie men should reuerence him the more, because they saw *Cæsar* so highly esteeme and honor him. Then he went into the show place of exercises, and so vp to his chaire of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of *Alexandria* were assembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercie. *Cæsar* bad them all stande vp, and told them openly that he forgate the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this warre. First, for the founders sake of the same citie, which was *Alexander* the great: secondly, for the beawtie of the citie, which he much esteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his verie frend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cæsar* honor *Arrius*, who craued pardon for him selfe and many others, & specially for *Philistratus*, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sodaine speech: howbeit he fallily

The death of Antonius.

Officiarius Cæsaris de morte Antonii.

Proculeius ante per Officiarium Cæsarem, ut dicitur, ad Cleopatram.

Cleopatra tenet.

Cæsar uenit in Alexandria, Cæsar uenit in Alexandria, Cæsar uenit in Alexandria.

Philistratus, the eloquentest Orator in

his time, for
present speech
upon a so-
daine.

named him selfe an Academicke Philosopher. Therefore, *Cesar* that hated his nature & conditions, would not heare his sute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed *Arrim* steppe by steppe in a long mourning gowne, still busling in his eares this Greeke verse.

*A wise man it is that he be wise in deede,
May by a wise man haue the better speede.*

Anyllus, An-
tonius eldest
sonne by Ful-
via, slaine.

Cesar vnderstanding this, not for the desire he had to deliuer *Philostatus* of his feare, as to ridde *Arrim* of malice & enuy that might haue fallen out against him: he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* sonnes, *Anyllus*, his eldest sonne by *Fulvia* was slaine, bicause his schoole-
maister *Theodorus* did betray him vnto the souldiers, who strake of his head. And the villaine tooke a pretious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sowe in his girdell, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was founde about him, and so *Cesar* trusted him vp for it. For *Cleopatra*'s children, they were verie honorable kept, with their gouernors and traine that waited on them. But for *Cesarion*, who was sayd to be *Julius Cæsars* sonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had sent him vnto the *INDIANS* through *ÆTHIOPIA*, with a great summe of money. But one of his gouernors also called *Rhodon*, euen such an other as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his contrie, & told him that *Cesar* sent for him to geue him his mothers kingdom. So, as *Cesar* was determining with him selfe what he should doe, *Arrim* layd vnto him.

This saying of
Arrim the
Philosopher.

*Too Many Cæsars is not good.
Too Many Lords doth not well.*

*Cæsars Cleopatra's sonne,
put to death.*

*Cleopatra bu-
ried Antonius.*

*Olympus Cleopatra's Phi-
sician.*

*Cesar came to
see Cleopatra.*

*Cleopatra, a
married ve-
dow, through
her owne pas-
sion and fury.*

*Selenus, one
of Cleopatra's
Treasurers.
Cleopatra
kild her trea-
surer before
Ottavius Cæ-
sar.*

*Cleopatra's
wordes vnto
Cesar.*

Therefore *Cesar* did put *Cesarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great kings and Captaines did craue *Antonius* body of *Ottavius Cesar*, to giue him honorable burial: but *Cesar* would neuer take it from *Cleopatra*, who did sumptuously and royally burie him with her owne handes, whom *Cesar* sufficed to take as much as the would to bestow vpon his funerals. Now was the altogether ouercome with sorow & passion of minde, for she had knocked her brest so pitiefully, that she had martired it, and in diuers places had raised vlters and inflammations, so that she fell into a feuer withal: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to haue good colour to abstaine from meate, and that so she might haue dyed easily without any trouble. She had a Phisician called *Olympus*, whom she made priuie of her intent, to the end he should helpe her to ridde her out of her life: as *Olympus* wryteth him selfe, who wrote a booke of all these thinges. But *Cesar* mistrusted the matter, by many coniectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, & threatened her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, *Cleopatra* for feare yielded straight, as the world haue yielded vnto strokes: and afterwards suffered her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, *Cesar* came him selfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed vpon a little low bed in poore estate, when the lawe *Cesar* came into her chamber, she sodainly rose vp, naked in her smocke, and fell downe at his feete maruelously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her heare from her head, as also for that she had martired all her face with her nailes, and besides, her voyce was small and trembling, her eyes sonke into her heade with continuall blubbering and moreouer, they might see the most parte of her stomake torne in sunder. To be short, her bodie was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelines, and the force of her beawtie was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ougly and pitiefull state of hers, yet she shewed her selfe within, by her outward looks and countenance. When *Cesar* had made her lye downe againe, and sat by her beddes side: *Cleopatra* began to cleere and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius Cesar*, in contrarie maner; reproued her in euery poynt. Then she sodainly altered her speache, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affrayed to dye, & desirous to liue. At length, she gaue him a breefe and memoriall of all the readie money & treasure she had. But by chaunce there stood *Selenus* by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme a good seruant, came straight to *Cesar* to disproue *Cleopatra*, that she had not set in al, but kept many things back of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in such a rage with him, that she flew vpon him, and tooke him by the heare of the head, and boxed him well fauoredly. *Cesar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, said she, *O Cesar*: is not this a great shame and reproche, that thou hauing vouchsafed to take the peines

As to come vnto me, and haue done me this honor, poore wretche, and caltife creature, brought into this pitiefull & miserable estate: and that mine owne seruantes should come now to accuse me, though it may be I haue refused some iuels & trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to geue some pretie presents & gifts vnto *Ottavia* and *Liuis*, that they making meanes & intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy fauor and mercie vpon me? *Cesar* was glad to heare her say so, perswading him selfe thereby that she had yet a desire to saue her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only geue her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to vlt her more honorably and bountifully then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leaue of her, supposing he had deceiued her, but in deede he was deceiued him selfe. There was a young gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæsars* very great familiars, & besides did beare no euil will vnto *Cleopatra*. He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that *Cesar* determined to take his iorney through *SVRIA*, & that within three dayes he would sende her away before with her children. When this was tolde *Cleopatra*, she requested *Cesar* that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead, vnto the soule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, & there falling downe on her knees, embracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, she began to speake in this sorte: O my deare Lord *ANTONIUS*, not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer vnto thee the funerall sprinklings and oblations, being a captiue and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing & murdering this captiue body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, onely to triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honors, offerings, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which *Cleopatra* can geue thee, sith nowe they carie her away. Whilest we liued together, nothing could feuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs change our contries. For as thou being a *ROMANA*, hast bene buried in *ÆGYPT*: euen so wretched creature I an *ÆGYPTIAN*, shall be buried in *ITALY*, which shall be all the good that I haue receiued by thy contrie. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power and authoritie, sith our gods here haue forsaken vs: suffer not thy true friend and loue to be caried away aliuie, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could lesse beare withal: then this small time, which I haue bene driue to liue alone without thee. Then hauing ended these dolefull plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and sundry nosegayes, and maruelous louingly imbraced the fame: she commaunded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously serued. Nowe whilest she was at dinner, there came a contrieman, and brought her a basket. The souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the leaues that couered the figges, and shewed them that they were figges he brought: They all of them maruelled to see so goodly figges. The contrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They beleued he told them truly, and so bad him carie them in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, she sent a certaine table written and sealed vnto *Cesar*, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women, then she shuted the dores to her. *Cesar* when he receiued this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, founde straight what the ment, and thought to haue gone thither him selfe: howbeit he sent one before in all hast that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sodaine. For those whom *Cesar* sent vnto her ran thither in all hast possible, & found the souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor vnderstanding of her death. But when they had opened the dores, they founde *Cleopatra* starke dead, layed vpon a bed of gold, attired and araid in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feete: and her other woman called *Charmion* halfe dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* wore vpon her head. One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayd vnto her: is that well done *Charmion*? Verie well sayd she againe, and meete for a Princes descended from the race of so many noble kings. She sayd no

*Cleopatra
finely deale
with Ottavi-
us Cesar, al-
though she
desired to
liue.*

*Cleopatra's
lamentation
ouer Antonius
tomb.*

*The death of
Cleopatra.*

*Cleopatra's
two waiting
women dead
with her.*

more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aspicke was brought vnto A her in the basket with figs, & that she had commaunded them to hide it vnder the figge leaues, that when she should thinke to take out the figges, the Aspicke should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would haue taken away the leaues for the figges, she perceiued it, and said, art thou here then? And so, her arme being naked, she put it to the Aspicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did prick it and thrust it with a spindell of golde, so that the Aspicke being angered withall, leapt out with great furie, and bitte her in the arme. Howbeit fewe can tell the truth. For they report also, that she had hidden poyson in a hollow raser which she caried in the heare of her head: and yet was there no marke seene of her bodie, or any signe discerned that she was poysoned, neither also did they finde this serpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were seene certeine fresh steppes or tracks where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the dores side. Some say also, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth *Cesar* him selfe gaue credit vnto, because in his triumph he caried *Cleopatras* image, with an Aspicke byting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cesar*, though he was maruelous sorie for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondered at her noble minde and corage, and therefore commaunded the should be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*: and willed also that her two women should haue honorable buriall. *Cleopatra* dyed being eight and thirtie yeare olde, after she had reigned two and twenty yeeres, and gouerned aboue foureteene of them with *Antonius*. And for *Antonius*, some say that he liued three and fiftie yeares: and others say, six and fiftie. All his statues, images, and metalls, were plucked downe and ouerthrowen, sauing those of *Cleopatra* which stode still in their places, by meanes of *Archibius* one of her frendes, who gaue *Cesar* a thousande talentes that they should not be handled, as those of *Antonius* were. *Antonius* left seuen children by three wiues, of the which *Cesar* did put *Antyllus*, the eldest sonne he had by *Fulvia*, to death. *Octavia* his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them vp with hers, and married *Cleopatra*, *Antonius* daughter, vnto king *Luba*, a maruelous courteous & goodly Prince. And *Antonius*, the sonne of *Fulvia* came to be so great, that next vnto *Agrippa*, who was in greatest estimation about *Cesar*, and next vnto the children of *Linia*, which were the second in estimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, *Octavia* hauing had two daughters by her first husband *Marcellus*, and a sonne also called *Marcellus*: *Cesar* married his daughter vnto that *Marcellus*, and so did adopt him for his sonne. And *Octavia* also married one of her daughters vnto *Agrippa*. But when *Marcellus* was deade, after he had bene married a while, *Octavia* perceiving that her brother *Cesar* was very busie to choose some one among his frends, whom he trusted best to make his sonne in law: she perswaded him, that *Agrippa* should mary his daughter. (*Marcellus* widowe) and leaue her owne daughter. *Cesar* first was contented withall, and then *Agrippa*: and so she afterwards tooke away her daughter and married her vnto *Antonius*, and *Agrippa* married *Iulia*, *Cesars* daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of *Octavia* and *Antonius*. *Domitius Aenobarbus* married the one: and the other, which was *Antonia*, so fayer and vertuous a young Ladie, was married vnto *Drusus* the sonne of *Linia*, and sonne in law of *Cesar*. Of this marriage, came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: of the which, *Clodius* afterwards came to be Emperour. And of the sonnes of *Germanicus*, the one whose name was *Caius*, came also to be Emperour: who, after he had licentiously reigned a time, was slaine, with his wife and daughter. *Agrippina* also, hauing a sonne by her first husbande *Aenobarbus* called *Lucius Domitius*: was afterwards married vnto *Clodius*, who adopted her sonne, and called him *Nero Germanicus*. This *Nero* was Emperour in our time, and slue his owne mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of *Rome*, through his madnes and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of *Rome* after *Antonius*.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aspicke.

The image of *Cleopatra*, caried in triumph as *Rome*, with an Aspicke biting of her arme. The age of *Cleopatra* and *Antonius*.

Of *Antonius* issue came Emperours.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Demetrius* with *Antonius*.



Now, siithence it falleth out, that *Demetrius* and *Antonius* were one of them much like to the other, hauing fortune a like diuers and variable vnto them: let vs therefore come to consider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that *Demetrius* power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance from his father *Antigonus*: who became the greatest and mightiest Prince of all the successors of *Alexander*, and had won the most parte of *Asia*, before *Demetrius* came of full age. *Antonius* in contrary maner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of warre, and had not left him any meane to arise to such greatnes: durst take vpon him to contend for the Empire with *Cesar*, that had no right vnto it by inheritance, but yet made him selfe successor of the power, the which the other by great paine and trauell had obteyned, and by his owne industrie became so great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole worlde being deuided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenance and power. *Antonius* being absent, oftentimes overcame the *PARTHIANS* in battell by his Lieutenants, and chased away the barbarous people dwelling about mount *Caucasus*, vnto the sea *Hyrcanium*: insomuche as the thing they most reprove him for, did most wimes his greatnes. For, *Demetrius* father made him gladly marrie *Phila*, *Antipaters* daughter, although she was too old for him: because she was of a nobler house then him selfe. *Antonius* on thother side was blamed for marrying of *Cleopatra*, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of blood, excelled all other kings in her time, but *Aspases*: and moreover made him selfe so great, that others thought him worthe of greater things, then he him selfe required. Now for the desire that moued the one and the other to conquer realmes: the desire of *Demetrius* was vnblameable & iust, desiring to raigne ouer people, which had bene gouerned at all times, & desired to be gouerned by kings. But *Antonius* desire was altogether wicked & tyrannicall: who sought to keepe the people of *Rome* in bondage and subiection, but lately before rid of *Cesars* raigne and gouernment. For the greatest and most famous exploit *Antonius* euer did in waies (to wit, the warre in the which he ouerthrew *Cassius* and *Brutus*) was begun to no other ende, but to depriue his contriemen of their libertie and freedom. *Demetrius* in contrarie maner, before fortune had ouerthrowen him, neuer left to set *GRECE* at libertie, and to driue the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bondage: and not like *Antonius*, that boasted he had slaine them that had set *Rome* at libertie. The chiefest thing they commended in *Antonius*, was his liberallie and bountie: in the which *Demetrius* excelled him so farre, that he gaue more to his enemies, then *Antonius* did to his frends: although he was maruelously well thought of, for the honorable and sumptuous funerals he gaue vnto *Brutus* bodie. Howbeit *Demetrius* caused all

The power of *Demetrius*, & *Antonius*.

Demetrius & *Antonius* ambition to gouern

The liberallie and bountie of *Demetrius* and *Antonius*.

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his enemies be buried that were slaine in battell, and returned vnto *Protolmy* all the prisoners he had taken, with great giftes and presentes he gaue them. They were both in their prosperitie, verie riotouslie and licentiouslie euens: but yet no man can cuer say, that *Demetrius* did at any time let slippe any opportunitie or occasion to followe great matters, but onelie gaue him selfe in deede to pleasure, when he had nothing else to doe. And further, to say truly, he tooke pleasure of *Lamia*, as a man woulde haue a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to doe, or is desirous to sleepe: but in deede when he was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then luey at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of Ladies closets, picked and print to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet *Euripides* saith,

The soldier of Mars, cruell, and bloodie.

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrowe or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to followe his owne pleasure: as we see in painted tables, where *Omphale* secretlie stealeth away *Hercules* clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him. Euen so *Cleopatra* oftentimes vnarmed *Antonius*, and intified him to her, making him lose matters of great importance, and verie needefull iorneyes, to come and be dandled with her, about the riuers of *Canobus*, and *Taphosiris*. In the ende, as *Paris* fledde from the battell, and went to hide him selfe in *Helens* armes: euen so did he in *Cleopatras* armes, or to speake more properly, *Paris* hidde him selfe in *Helens* closet, but *Antonius* to followe *Cleopatra*, fledde and lost the victorie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many wiues that he had married, and all at one time: the which was not disallowable or not forbidden by the kinges of *Macedon*, but had bene vsed from *Philippe* and *Alexanders* time, as also *king Lysimachus* and *Protolmy* had, and did honor all them that he married. But *Antonius* first of all married two wiues together, the which neuer *Romane* durst doe before, but him selfe. Secondly, he put away his first *Romane* wife, which he had lawfully married: for the loue of a straunge woman, he fondly fell in fancy with all, and contrarie to the lawes and ordinaunces of *Rome*. And therefore *Demetrius* mariages neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wiues: but *Antonius* contrarily was vndone by his wiues. Of all the lasciuious histories *Antonius* played, none were so abominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogges to come into the castell of *Athenes*, because of all beastes he is too busie with bitcherie: and *Demetrius*, in *Minerues* temple it selfe lay with Curtifans, and there defiled many citizens wiues. And besides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delights, is ioyned with *Demetrius* concupiscence: who suffered, (or more properly compelled) the goodliest young boy of *Athenes*, to dye a most pitiefull death, to saue him selfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinencie, did no hurte but to him selfe: and *Demetrius* did hurte vnto all others. *Demetrius* neuer hurte any of his frendes: and *Antonius* suffered his Vncle by his mothers side to be slaine, that he might haue his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardlie deserued to haue bene pardoned, though he had killed *Cicero*, to haue saued his Vncles life. Nowe where they falsified and brake their othes, the one making *Artabazus* prisoner, and the other killing of *Alexander*: *Antonius* out of doubt had best cause, and iustest colour. For *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forsaken him in *Media*. But *Demetrius* (as diuers doe reporte) deuised a false matter to accuse *Alexander*, to cloke the murder he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he him selfe had done iniurie vnto: and was not reuenged of him, that woulde doe him iniurie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* him selfe did many noble feates in warre, as we haue recited of him before: and contrarily *Antonius*, when he was not there in petion, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenantes: and they were both ouerthrowen being personallie in battell, but yet not both after one sorte. For the one was forsaken of his men being *Macedonians*, and the other contrarily forsooke his that were *Romans*: for he fled, & left them that ventred their liues for his honor. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that sought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beaustlie left them that loued him best, and were most faithfull to him. And for their deaths, a man can not praise the one: not

Demetrius & Antonius viols.

Canobus, and Taphosiris fl.

Demetrius & Antonius wiues.

Antonius the first Romane that euer married two wiues together.

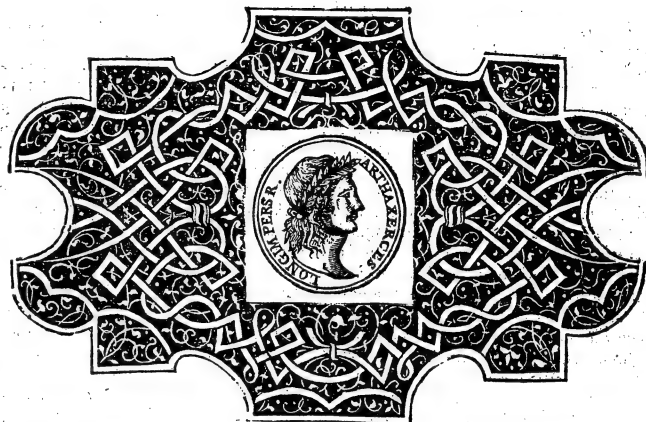
Demetrius lasciuiousnes. Dogges not suffered in Athenes castles, because of bitcherie.

The line and impietie: the faith & false-hood of Demetrius and Antonius.

Demetrius & Antonius is active in warre.

As the other; but yet *Demetrius* death the more reproachefull. For he suffered him selfe to be taken prisoner, and when he was sent away to be kept in a straunge place, he had the hart to liue yet three yeare longer, to serue his mouth and bellie, as brute beastes doe. *Antonius* on the other side flue him selfe, (to confesse a troth) cowardly, and miserably, to his great paine and grieve: and yet was it before his bodie came into his enemies hands.

THE LIFE OF Artaxerxes.



Artaxerxes, the first of this name of all the kinges of *Persia*, a noble and courteous Prince as any of all his house: was surnamed long hand, because his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the sonne of king *Xerxes*. But the seconde, whose life we presentlie intend to wryte, was surnamed *Mnemon*, as much to say, great memorie: and he was the sonne of the daughter of the first *Artaxerxes*. For king *Darius*, and his wife *Parysatis*, had foure sonnes: of the which, the eldest was this *Artaxerxes*, the seconde *Cyrus*, and two other younger, *Ostanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* from the beginning bare the name of the former auncient *Cyrus*, which in the *Persian* tongue signifieth the sunne. But *Artaxerxes* was called before *Articus*, although *Dion* wryteth, that he was called *Oarfer*. Howbeit it is vnlike that *Ctesias* (although his bookes otherwise be full of fables, and as vntrue as they are founde) should forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he serued, and continuallie followed, both him, his wife, and children. *Cyrus* from his cradell was of a hotte flurring minde, and *Artaxerxes* in contrarie manner, more mylde and gentle in all his actions and doinges. He was married to a verie fayer Ladie, by his father and mothers commandement: & afterwards kept her against their wills, being forbidden by them. For king *Darius* his father, hauing put his sonnes wiues brother to death, he woulde also haue put her to death: but her husband with teares made suche humble sute to his mother for her, that with muche a doe, he did not onely gette pardon for her life, but graunt also that she shoulde not be put from him. This notwithstanding, his mother alwayes loued *Cyrus* better then him, and praised

The portraie of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

The diuersity of names betwixt Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

Artaxerxes, furnished Artaxerxes, assigned to be king of Persia.

The manner of the consecrating of the king of Persia at Pasargades.

Cyrus accused vnto his brother Artaxerxes, Cyrus lay in wait to kill Artaxerxes, Night the flattery and dissimulation of a woman.

Artaxerxes curious, and easie to be deceived.

that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherefore *Cyrus* being in his prouinces of *ASIA* by the sea side, when he was sent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay sicke of the disease he dyed: he went thither in good hope his mother had preuailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of *PERSIA*. For his mother *Parysatis* alleged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king *Xerxes* in the like case, through *Demaratus* counsell. She said that *Artaxerxes* was borne before her husband *Darius* was king, & *Cyrus* after he was crowned king. All this could not preuaile. For her eldest sonne *Artaxerxes*, surnamed *Artaxerxes*, was assigned king of *PERSIA*, & *Cyrus* gouernor of *LYDIA*, and the kings Lieutenants generall of all the low contries of *ASIA* toward the sea side. Shortly after king *Darius* death, the new king *Artaxerxes* went vnto *Pasargades*, there to be consecrated and annoynted king, by the Priestes of the contrie of *PERSIA*. The place of this *Pasargades*, is a temple dedicated vnto *Minerva* the goddesse of battells, as I take it: where the new king must be consecrated, and when he commeth into the temple, he putteth of his gowne, and putteth on that which the old auncient *Cyrus* ware before he was king. Furthermore, he must eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figges with turpentine: and then he must drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are also certaine other secret ceremonies which they must keepe, and none doe know, but the verie Priestes them selues. Now *Artaxerxes* being readye to enter into all these ceremonies, *Tisaphernes* came vnto him, & brought him one of the Priestes that had bene *Cyrus* schoolemaister in his youth, and had taught him magick: who by reason shoulde haue bene more offended then any man else, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cause why they beleued him the better, when he accused *Cyrus*. For he layd that *Cyrus* had conspired treason against the king his brothers owne person, & that he ment traitorously to kill him in the temple, when he shoulde put of his gowne. Some doe reporte, that *Cyrus* was apprehended vpon this simple accusation by word of mouth. Others write also, that *Cyrus* came into the temple, and hiding him selfe, he was taken with the manner, and bewrayed by the Priest. So as he was going to suffer death, his mother tooke *Cyrus* in her armes, and wounde the heare of her heade about his necke, and tyed him straightly to her: and withall she wept so bitterly, and made such pitiefull mone vnto the king her sonne, that through her intercession, the king graunted him his life, & sent him againe into his contrie and gouernment. But this satisfied not *Cyrus*, neither did he so muche remember the king his brothers fauor vnto him, in granting him his lifes as he did the despite he had offered him, to be made prisoner. Insomuch that for this grudge and euill will, he euer after had a greater desire then before to be king. Some wyters alleage, that he entred into actuell rebellion against his brother by force of armes, because he had not sufficient reuenue to defray the ordinary expence of his house: howbeit it is a meere folly to say so. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might haue had of her what he would haue taken, and desired. Again, to shew that of him selfe he had abilitie enough: we neede but alleage the fouldiers and straungers he gaue pay vnto, in diuers places, as *Xenophon* wryteth. For he brought them not all together into one armie, because he desired to kepe his enterprise as secret as he could: but he had frendes and seruants that leauied them in diuers places, and vnder diuers colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleared all suspicions conceiued against him. He him selfe also on the other side, whilst he made these preparations, wrote verie humbly vnto his brother, sometime asking somewhat of him, and an other time accusing *Tisaphernes*: all to blinde the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and spite against him, besides that the king of his owne nature was somewhat dull, and slow, which the common people thought to proceede of his curtesie and good nature. At his first coming to the crowne, he followed the first *Artaxerxes* goodnes and curtesie, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more easie audience vnto suiters, he did also more honorably reward & recompence those that had deserued well: & he vsed such moderation in punishing of offenders, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious minde and desire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurte any man. Vvhen he had any thing geuen him, he tooke it as thankfully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankly also geue againe. For, how litle a thing foucer was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported that one *Romisus* on a time presented him

A maruelous fayer pomegranet. By the sunne sayd he, this man in a short time of a litle towne would make a great citie, he that would make him gouernor of it. Another time there was a poore laborer seing euery ma giue the king a present, some one thing, some another as he passed by them: he hauing nothing at hand to giue him, ranne to the riuers side, & tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offered it him. King *Artaxerxes* was so glad of it, that he sent him in a cuppe of massy gold, a thousand Darecks, which were peeces of gold so named, because the image of *Darius* was stamped vpon them. And vnto one *Euclidas* a *LACEDÆMONIAN*, that presumed to giue him bold words, it pleased him to answer him by one of his Captaines: thou mayst say what thou lyst, and I as king, may say and doe what I lyst. Another time as he was a hunting, *Tiribazus* shewed the king his gowne that was all tattered: well, sayd the king, and what wouldst thou haue me to doe? *Tiribazus* answered him, I praye your grace take another, and giue me that you haue on. The king did so, and told him: *Tiribazus*, giue thee my gowne, but I commaund thee not to weare it. *Tiribazus* tooke it, and cared not for the kings commaundement that he shoulde not weare it, nor that he was any euill disposed man, but because he was a fond light headed fellowe that cared for nothing: thereupon he straight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did besides set on many iewells of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinkets and ornaments. Therewithall euery man in the Court murmured at him, because it was a presumption, directly against the lawes and ordinaunces of *PERSIA*. Howbeit the king did but laugh at it, & tolde him: I giue thee leave *Tiribazus* to weare those womens gawdes as a woman, and the kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the manner was in *PERSIA* that no person sate at the kings bord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother sate vppermost, & his wife lowermost: *Artaxerxes* made his two brethren *Ossanes* and *Oxathres* sit at his owne bord. But yet he pleased the *PERSIANS* best of all, because he was content his wife *Statyra* should sit openly in her charret, and that she might be seene and reuerenced by the other Ladies of the contrie. And this made him singularly beloued of the people. Now, such as desired innouation and change, and that could not away with quiet life: they gaue out that the Realme of *PERSIA* required such a Prince as *Cyrus*, that was liberrall of nature, giuen to armes, & greatly rewarded his seruants, and that the greatnes of the Empire of *PERSIA* stood in neede of a king, whose mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterprises. So *Cyrus* thereupon began to make warre vpon his brother, not onely trusting vnto them that were of the lowe contries about him, but hoping of those also in the high prouinces neare vnto the king. Furthermore he wrote also vnto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, to pray them to send him men of warre, promising to giue the footemen they sent, horses: and the horsemen, coches: landed men, whole villages: and to those that had villages, to giue them cities. Besides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that should serue him in this warre, he would not pay them by accompt, but by full measure: and boasting largely of him selfe, he sayd he had a greater mind then his brother, that he could better away with hardnes then he, that he vnderstoode magick better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and eary it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was so womanlike and fearful, that when he went a hunting, he durst scarce get vp vpon his horse backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his charriot. When the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had red his letters, they sent a litle scrowle vnto *Clearchus*, commanding him to obey *Cyrus* in any thing he would commaund him. So *Cyrus* did set forward to make warre against his brother, hauing leauied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of *GRÆCIANS*, litle lesse then thirteene thousand men: sometime aduertising one cause, sometime another, why he leauied such a multitude of men. But his purpose could not be long dissembled: for *Tisaphernes* went him selfe vnto the Court, to bringe newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was straight in an vprore withall. Many men also did accuse the Queene mother, for the practise of this warre, & all her friends & seruants were vehemently suspected to be conspirators with *Cyrus*: but the greatest thing that troubled *Parysatis* most, was Queene *Statyra* her Daughter in lawe, who stormed maruelously to see this warre begon against king *Artaxerxes* her husband, and incessantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedst by othe? whereto are thy intercessions come thou

Artaxerxes liberalitie to a poore man that gaue him a litle water.

Tiribazus lightnes, and Artaxerxes liberalitie.

Statyra, king Artaxerxes wife.

Cyrus maketh warre against his brother Artaxerxes. Cyrus wonderful groundes see.

madeſt, for the pardon of his life: who now conſpyreth his brothers death? By ſaying of his A life, art not thou now the cauſe of this warre and troubles we ſee at hand? After this reproch and ſhame receiued by *Statira*, *Parſiſis*, being a cruell and malicious woman of nature, ſo hated her, that from thenceforth he fought all the wayes ſhe could to put her to death. And *Dion* the Hiſtoriographer ſayth, that during this warre, ſhe did execute her wicked purpoſe vpon her: but *Cteſias* writeth, that it was after the warre. And therefore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of *PERSIAES* Court, ſhould certainly knowe the tyme when ſhe did execute her treaſon againſt her, and alſo there is no cauſe why he ſhould rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the ſaſe was done: although in many other places he commonly vſeth to ſiten, and to write deuifes of his owne head. Therefore let vs leaue the report of this faſt to the ſelfe ſame time and place as he hath written it. Now when *Cyrus* drew neare B vnto his brothers contry, he had newes, and a rumor ranne through his campe, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him ſo ſoone: and that he ment firſt to goe further into *PERSIA*, and to tary there til he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for prooſe hereof, the king hauing caſt a great trenche of ten yardes broad, and as many high, the ſpace of ſoure hundred furlong in length: he left it without gard, and let *Cyrus* winne it, who came on further without any reſiſtance, euen to the very citie ſelfe of *BABYLON*. Howbeit in the ende, *Tiribazus* (as it is reported) was the fiſt man that durſt tell the king, that he ſhould not flie fight in that ſort, nor hide him ſelfe in the furdeſt part of *PERSIA*, leauing his enemy the Realmes of *MEDIA*, *BABYLON*, and *SUSA*: conſidering alſo that he had many moe ſouldiers in readines then his enemy, and an infinite number of Captaines more ſkilfull, and G abler to giue counſell, and to fight, then he was. Theſe words of *Tiribazus* made the king alter his mind, and to determine to giue battell as ſoone as he could. Thereupon he marched forward againſt his enemy, with nyne hundred thouſand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruclouſly aſtonied *Cyrus* men, and made them aſ- frayd at the firſt, when they ſaw them in ſo excellently good order before them: for that they were diſperſed ſtragling here and there without any order, and men vnarmed, truſting too much in them ſelues, in deſpiſing of their enemy: ſo that *Cyrus* had much a doe to let his men in battell raze, and yet was it with great noyſe and tumult. But the *GRECIANS* wondred moſt of all other, when they ſawe the kinges armye march in ſo good order of battell without any noyſe. For they thought to haue ſeene a wonderfull great diſorder and conſuſion, in ſuch D an infinite multitude of people: and ſuppoſed they would haue made ſuch a noyſe, that one of them (ſhould not haue heard another). Where in deede to the contrary, all was ſo well maſſhal, ſpecially becauſe he had placed before his battell the beſt carts he had armed with ſiethes, and drawn with the ſtrongeſt and biggeſt great horſe he had in all his armie: hoping by the fierceness and furey of their careere, to brake into the ranckes of the enemies, before they could come to ioyne with theirs. But ſith this battell is deſcribed by diuers Hiſtoriographers, but ſpecially by *Xenophon*, who hath (as a man would ſay) liuely ſet it out to the eye, & ſeteth it forth to the Reader, not as a battell already fought, but preſently a fighting, ſtirring vp their mindes as if them ſelues were in the action and inſtant danger, he hath ſo paſſingly ſet it downe: it were but a folly therefore of me to rake vpon me to make any further deſcription of it, ſauing to touch ſome ſpeciall point worthy of note, which he peraduenture hath left out. As, the place where the battell was fought, is called *COYNAXA*, ſiue hundred furlongs from *BABYLON*: and how that before the battell, *Clearchus* gaue *Cyrus* counſell to keepe behind the Squadron of the *GRECIANS*; and not to hazard his perſon among the fiſt: and that *Cyrus* answered him, what ſayeſt thou *Clearchus*? wouldſt thou haue me that ſtrives to be king, to ſhew my ſelfe vnworthy to be a king? But *Cyrus* hauing made this fault, not ſtanding vpon his ſafetie and garde, but ouer raſhly thruſting him ſelfe into great danger: *Clearchus* ſelfe alſo committed as great a fault (if it were not worſe) when he would not let his men in order directly againſt the battell of the enemies, where the kings perſon ſtoode, but went and pent them vp by the riuers ſide, being affrayd leaſt they ſhould haue bene compaſſed in behind. For if he would haue looked ſo ſtraightly to him ſelfe, and haue prouided euery way for his ſafetie, that no man might come to hurt him: he ſhould haue kept him ſelfe at home, and not

Artaxerxes
army of nyne
hundred thou
ſand fighting
men, againſt
his brother
Cyrus.

Xenophon the
Hiſtoriogra
pher excellen
ly deſcribeth
this battell
betweene *Ar
taxerxes* and
his brother
Cyrus.

Saſſanis in a
generall re
quiſite in bat
till.
Clearchus
counſelment
reproued.

A not haue ſtirred one ſoote out of the dores. But ſith he had comen ſo farre, as from the low contries of *ASIA*, vnto the place where the field was fought, and vncompelled, onely to put *Cyrus* in his fathers ſeate & imperiall crowne, to goe chooſe a place in the battell, not where he might doe his Lord beſt ſeruiſe that had hyered him, but rather where he might fight more at his eaſe, and at leſſe danger: it was euen as much, as if through cowardlines his wits had bene taken from him when he ſhould haue fought, or that through treaſon he had forſaken his enterpriſe. For, to proue that the trowpes which were about the kinges perſon, had neuer bene able to haue receiued the charge of the *GRECIANS*, and that thoſe being ouerthrowen, the king had bene ſlayne in the field, or els forced to flie, and that *Cyrus* had wonne the field, and by this victorie had bene king: the ſucceſſe of this battell doth plainly B ſhewe it. And therefore *Clearchus* ouer curious reſpect, deſerued more blame for the loſſe of this battell: then *Cyrus* ouerhardines. For if king *Artaxerxes* would haue choſen or wiſhed a place where the *GRECIANS* might haue done him leſſe hurt: he could not haue deuifed a ſitter place that was ſo farre from him, and from whence the *GRECIANS* could neither ſee nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in ſequell. For *Cyrus* was ſlayne before he could preuaile by *Clearchus* victorie, he was ſo farre from him: and furthermore, *Cyrus* there in knew before what was meeteſt to be done. For he commaunded *Clearchus* to place him ſelfe with his company in the middeſt of the battell: who answered him, he ſhould take no thought for nothing, for he would ſee all things well ordered. And when he had ſayd ſo, he marred all afterwarde: For where the *GRECIANS* were, they ouerthrew the barbarous C people that made head againſt them, & had thẽ in chaſe while they were weary of following of them. *Cyrus* being mounted vpon a whoſe ſtirring horſe, that had a hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called *Pafacas*, as *Cteſias* writeth: *Artagerſes*, the gouernor of the province of the *CADYSIANS*, ſpyed him a farre off, and when he had found him, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and came with full carriere vnto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and moſt vnfaithfull and deſperate man, thou now diſhonoreſt the name of *Cyrus* (which is the goodlieſt and moſt honorableſt name of all the *PERSIANS*) for that thou haſt brought ſo valliant *GRECIANS* hether to ſo wicked an enterpriſe, to ſpoyle the *PERSIANS* goods, in hope to deſtroy thy ſoueraigne Lord and onely brother, who hath an infinite number of ſlaues and ſeruantes ſaſe honeſter men then thou wilt be while thou liueſt, and that thou ſhalt preſently knowe by D prooſe, for thou ſhalt dye before thou ſee the king thy brothers face: and therewithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had. But *Cyrus* armor was ſo good, that it pearſed him not: yet the blowe came with ſuch good will, that it made him ſtagger on his horſe back. When *Artagerſes* had giuen him that blowe, he preſently turned his horſe. But *Cyrus* therewithall threw a dart at him ſo happily, that he flue him right in the place about the bone that ioyneth the two ſhoulders together: ſo that the head of his dart, ranne quite through his necke. Nowe, that *Cyrus* ſawe *Artagerſes* with his owne hands in the field, all the Hiſtoriographers doe agree vpon it: but for the death of *Cyrus*, becauſe *Xenophon* toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not preſent in the very place where he was ſlayne: it ſhal not be hurtfull particularly to ſet downe the manner thereof, both according to the report of *Dion*, and E alſo of *Cteſias*. Firſt, *Dion* writeth, that after *Cyrus* had ſlayne *Artagerſes*, he went with great fury, and flue in amongſt the trowpe of them which were neareſt vnto the kinges perſon, and that he came ſo neare the king, that he flue his horſe ſtarke dead vnder him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But *Tiribazus* that was hard by him, ſtraight mounted the king againe vpon another horſe, and ſayd vnto him: your grace will remember this battell another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And *Cyrus* clapping ſpurs againe to his horſe, threw an other dart at *Artaxerxes*, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king tolde them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather dye then ſuffer it: ſo therewithall he ſpur- ring his horſe to charge *Cyrus*, (who came fiercely and deſperately, hauing an infinite number of blowes with darts thrown at him on euery ſide) threw his dart at him alſo. So did all thoſe F that were about his perſon: and ſo was *Cyrus* ſlayne in this conſlict. Some ſaye, that he was ſlayne with the wounde the kinge his brother gaue him. Others ſaye, that it was a man at armes of the contry of *CARIA*, vnto whom the king for reward of his good ſeruiſe, gaue him

Pafacas by
his horſe,
Artagerſes
the gouernor
of the pro
vince of *Ca
dyſis*, ſineth
charge vpon
Cyrus.

Cyrus flue
Artagerſes.

Dion ſayeth
of *Cyrus* death

The Carians
be called
cocks, because
they were
crests on their
headpieces.
Ctesias reports
of Cyrus
death.

Artaxerxes
hurt by Cy-
rus.

Cyrus hurt.

Cyrus mis-
erable destiny.

the honor in all battels to cary before the first ranke, a cocke of gold on the toppe of a speare. A for the PERSIANS doe call the CARIANS cocks, because in the warres they vse to weare crests in the toppe of their headpieces. And this is *Dionys* reporte. But *Ctesias*, to cowche in fewe words that which *Dionys* reporteth at large, sayth: that *Cyrus* after he had slaine *Artaxerxes*, he gallopped on the spurres against the king him selfe, and the king against him, and not a worde betweene them both. *Ariamus*, one of *Cyrus* flatterers, threwe the first dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force againe threwe his dart, thinking to haue hit *Cyrus*, but he missed him, and slue *Tisaphernes*, one of the valliantest and stoutest men *Cyrus* had about him, and so fell downe dead. Then *Cyrus* hit *Artaxerxes* so fore a blowe on his breast, that he peared his armor, and entred into his flesh two fingers deepe. The king with this blowe fell downe to the ground: wherewithall the most part of his men about him were so affrayd, that they forooke him, and fled. Howbeit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were a- bout him, amongst whome *Ctesias* sayd he was one: and so recovered a litle hill not farre of, to take a litle breath. In the meane time, *Cyrus* horse that was whorke in the mouth, and hard headed as we haue told you: caried his master spyte of his hart farre from his men, amongst his enemies, and no man knew him, because it was night, and his men were very buisie in seeking for him. But *Cyrus* hoping he had wonne the victory, being of a whorke stirring nature, and valliant: he went vppe and downe in the thickest of his enemies, crying out in the PERSIAN tongue, saue your selues poore men, saue your selues. When they heard him say so, some made a lane for him to passe by them, and did him reuerence: But by euill fortune his Tiara (which is the highe royall hat after the PERSIAN manner) fell off of his head. Then a younge PERSIAN called *Mithridates*, passing by him, hit him a blowe with his dart vpon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound straight fell of a marvelous bleeding. Whereuppon, *Cyrus* staggering at it, fell to the ground in a fownd, and his horse ranne away from him: but the caparison he had vpon him fell to the ground all blouided, and his page that had hurt him, took it vp. Shortly after, *Cyrus* being come to him selfe againe, some of his Euenukes (which were men gell, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him vp, thinking to set him vpon another horse, and to get him out of the prease: but he was not able to sit on his horse. Thereuppon he proued if he could better goe a foote, & the Euenukes held him vp by the armes, & led him amazed as he was, not able to stand on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: because he heard his enemies flying. D about him cry, the gods saue king *Cyrus*, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receive them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the citie of CAVNVS, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and slaues, to doe most vile seruice. They ioined with the troupe where *Cyrus* was, supposing they had bene the kings men: but when they perceiued in the ende by the red coates they were vpon their armors, that they were enemies, for that the kings men wear white coates: there was one among the rest that valliantly strake at *Cyrus* behind with his pertsan, not knowing in deece that it was *Cyrus*. The blowe lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his sinewes so, that *Cyrus* fell withall, and falling, by misfortune fell vpon a great stone with his browe, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth *Ctesias* report it, where me thinketh he cutteth E his throate with a dull edged knife, he hath such a doe to bring *Cyrus* to his ende. Now after *Cyrus* was dead, *Artaxerxes*, one of king *Artaxerxes* Euenukes, whome they called the kings eye in the Court: passing by a horsebacke, knewe *Cyrus* Euenukes that mourned very pitifully lamenting the death of their master. So he asked the Euenuke whome *Cyrus* loued best: who is that that is dead. O *Parisacas*, that thou weepest so bitterly? *Parisacas* answered him againe, seest thou not *Artaxerxes*, that it is *Cyrus* but newly dead? *Artaxerxes* wondered much when he sawe him. So he comforted the Euenuke, and willed him in no case to goe from the body: and in the meane time he gallopped a pace to the king, who thought he had lost all, and was very ill besides, both for the great thirst he suffred, as also for his wound he had on his breast. F when the Euenuke came vnto the king, & told him with a smyling countenance the newes, how he had seene *Cyrus* dead: The king was so ioyfull at the newes, that he was desirous him selfe forthwith to goe vnto the place where he lay to see him, and commanded *Artaxerxes* to bringe

A bring him thither. But after he had considered better of it, he was counsell'd not to goe thither him selfe for feare of the GREGIANS, who they sayd wonne all, and were yet chafing at killing them in the field, that fled. But rather that he should send a good company of men thither, to bring him iust report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Vpon this his wife he stayed, and sent thither thirty men, euery man with torches in their hands: In the meane tyme, one of his Euenukes called *Satibarzanes*, ranne vp and downe to see if he could get any water for the king, that was almost dead for thirst: for there was no water about him where he was, and besides, his campe was farre from him. His Euenuke hauing sought out and downe a great way to seeke it, mette by chance with these poore slaues and porters the CAVNIANS, amongst the which one of them caried in an olde ragged gotteskinne, a skindeight glassfulls of naughty stinking water. So he presently caried the same to the king, who dranke it vp euery whit. When the king had dranke it, the Euenuke asked him, if his drinke hurt him no hurt. The king swaie by the goddesses vnto him, that he neuer dranke any water, nor sweeter water: then that was, nor that pleased him better than that which he dranke therefore, sayde he, I beseeche the goddesses if it be not my happe, to finde him that brought this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to fend him good fortune. And the king was talking thus with his Euenuke, the thirty men with their torches returned vnto him, and altogether with ioyfull countenance, confirmed the good newes: he looked not for it. And then there were come together againe a great number ofouldiers about him, and still came more one after another, that he beganne againe to be coragious. Then he came downe into the playne, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went straight to the place where his brother *Cyrus* body lay. There, following the ancient manner of the PERSIANS against their tors to the king: he caufed his head and right hand to be stricken off, and then made his head be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the beares of his head (for *Cyrus* had a head long and thicke) and did him selfe shew it vnto them that fled still, and reuerendly to reuerence them againe. They wondering to see it, did him humble reuerence, and so gathered by companies about the king, that in a smal time there were gathered together about him, threescore and tenne thousand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards his campe. In deece *Ctesias* sayth, that he had but foure hundred thousand fighting men in all but *Dionys* and *Xenophon* say more. And for the number of them that were slaine, *Ctesias* sayth that D was brought to the king, that there were not aboue nyne thousand slaine, howbeit that to fight they seemed to be no lesse then twenty thousand. But for that point he might be talked withall, in either of both. But furthermore, where he sayth that the king did fend him with *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN vnto the GREGIANS, and others with him: that is a flat lie. For *Xenophon* knew right well, that this *Ctesias* wayed vpon the king, because he speaketh of him in diuers places of his historie: and if he had bene appoynted by the king to cary report vnto the GREGIANS of so waigthy a matter, it is like enough *Xenophon* would not haue concealed it when he nameth *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN. But *Ctesias* (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, and partiall vnto the LACEDEMONIANS, but specially vnto *Clearchus*. He is glad when he can get any occasion to speake of him selfe for his glory. Of LACEDEMONIANS *E of Clearchus*. Now after this battell, king *Artaxerxes* sent goodly riches gifts vnto *Artaxerxes* sonne, whose father *Cyrus* had slaine with his owne hands, and as it is reported, did also greatly honor *Ctesias* and many others: and did not forget also to cause the poore CAVNIANS to be fought out, that had giuen him the water to be caried to him which saved his life, and when he had found him out of a poore wretch unknowne before, he made him a rich man. He severely punished those also that had offended the martiall law, as amongst others *Arbares*, one of the MEDITERRANEANS: who when the battell was ioyned, he fled first, and then when he vnderstoode he was slaine, he returned againe to the kings side. For supposing that it was rather timorousnes and cowardly nature, then for treason or trait will he beare him, he compelled him to carye a whore on his backe starke naked, all daye long about the market place. And to another, who besides he had yielded him selfe to his enemies, falsely hee had that he had slaine two: he made his tongue to be bored thorough in three severall places with a cordiners alle. Now the king being of opinion that it was him selfe that had slaine his

King Artaxerxes being a shift, drinke of water, and for to returne to the place.

The manner of the Persians against their tors to the king.

Plutarch reports that *Ctesias* was for a lyer.

How *Artaxerxes* did the good, and also punished the evil.

brother *Cyrus* with his owne hand, and being desirous that euery man should so thinke & saye he sent presents vnto *Mithridates*, that had hurt him first in the forehead, and commaunded him that caried the giftes vnto him, to tell him from the king: the king doth send thee these presents, because thou finding first the capparison of *Cyrus* horse, diddest bring it vnto the king: The *Carian* also that had cut the hamme of his legges wherewith *Cyrus* fell downe, asked his gift likewise: the which the king gaue him, and bad the Messenger tell him, the king doth giue thee this, because thou wast the second person that broughtest him the good newes. For *Artaxerxes* was the first, and thou the second, that brought him newes of the death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, albeit he was not well pleased in his mind with those wordes, he went his way, and sayd nothing then; nor made any thing a doe: but the vnfortunate *Carian* fondely fell into a foolish vaine, common vnto men. For, the sodaine ioy he felt (as it seemeth) to see such a goodly rich present before him, as the king sent him: made him to forget him selfe, that he began to aspyre, and to pretend greater things, then became his state and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings giftes, as in respect that he had brought him worde of *Cyrus* death: but began to storme, and to rage, calling the gods to witness, that it was he onely, and none other, that slue *Cyrus*, and that they did him great wronge, to take this honor from him. The king being told of it, tooke it so angrily: that he presently commaunded them to strike off his head. But *Parysatis* (the Queene mother) being present when the king gaue this commaundement, she prayed him not to put him to death in that sort: for the Villain, sayd she, let me alone, I will chastise him well enough for his presumption and rash speeche. The king was contented (he should haue him). Thereupon she sent the Sergeants to take this cursed *Carian*, and made him be hanged vpon a gibbet ten dayes together, and at the tenne dayes end caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and last of all, poored molten mettell into his eares; and so killed the Villaine with this kinde of torment. *Mithridates* also shortly after, died miserably, by a like follye. He was bidden to supper at a feast, whether came also the king and *Cyrus* mother *Euenukes*: and when they came, *Mithridates* fate downe at the bord in the kings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had supped, and that they beganne to drinke one to another, one of *Parysatis* *Euenukes* sayd vnto *Mithridates*: the king hath in deede giuen thee a goodly gowne, *Mithridates*, and goodly chaynes and carcanets of gold, and so is the sword very rich and good he gaue thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man I warrant thee but will thinke thee a happy man. *Mithridates* then, the wine fuming into his brayne, answered straight: what meanest thou by that, *Sparamixes*? I deserued a better then this, when the battell was fought. Then *Sparamixes* laughing on him, answered, I do not speak it for any hurt or euil will I beare thee, *Mithridates*: but to speake frankly among our felues, because the *Grecians* haue a common prouerbe, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valliant acte was it to take vp a capparison of a horse that fell on the ground, and to carry it to the king? which the *Euenuke* spitefully put forth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to speake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, & could not kepe his tongue, & least of all when he had dronke so wel as he had done, and so it fell out in deede. For *Mithridates* could not byte it in, but replied straight: you may talke as long as you lyst of the capparison of a horse, & such trash, but I tell you plainly, that *Cyrus* was slayne with myne owne hands, and with no mans els. For I hit him not in vaine as *Artageres* did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and strake him through and through his head againe, and so ouerthrew him, of which blow he dyed. He had no sooner spoken those words, but the rest that were at the bord, cast down their eyes, foreseeing the death of this pore & vnfortunat *Mithridates*. But then the master of the feast began to speake, and sayd vnto him: friend *Mithridates*, I pray thee let vs drinke and be mery, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king, and for the rest, let this talke goe, it is too highe for vs. When the *Euenuke* went from thence, he tolde *Parysatis* the Queene mother what *Mithridates* had sayd before them all: and she went and tolde the king of it. Who was maruelously offended withall to be so belyed, and to lose the thing that was most honorable, and best pleased him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both *Grecians* and barbarous people) should certainly beleue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt

The punishment of them that slue *Cyrus*.

Parysatis freuenges crueltie, causing the *Carian* to die.

See the perill of hastines, & rash answers.

A hurt, but yet that he slue *Cyrus* with his owne hand. So the king commaunded that *Mithridates* should suffer the paines of death in botes, the which is after this manner. They take two botes made of purpose so euery, that the one is neither broder nor longer then the other, & then lay the offender in one of the vpon his back, & so couer him with the other, & do so wth both botes together: So that the parties feete, hands, & head do come out at holes made of purpose for him, the rest of his bodye is all hidden within. Now they giue him meate as much as he will eate, & if he will not eate, they force him to it, by thrusting alles in his eyes: then when he hath eaten, they giue him hony to drinke mingled with milke, & they do not only powre it into his mouth, but also all his face ouer, turning him full into the sunne, so that his face is all couered ouer with flies: & furthermore, being driuen to do his needes in that trougle, of his excrements there ingender wormes that eate his bodye euē to the very priuities. Then, when they see the man is dead, they take of the vppermost boate, & find all his flesh deuoured with vermine ingendering of him, euē to his very intrals. So, when *Mithridates* had miserably languished in this manner, seuentene daies together: at length he died in extreme torment. Now *Parysatis* (the Queene mother) lacked no more to accomplish her wicked desire, but *Mefabates*, one of the kings *Euenukes* that had cut of *Cyrus* head and hand: & being that he was very ware & circumspect in his behauior, that she could not take him at any aduantage: in the end she deuised a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruelous wit, & amonge other things could play passingly wel at all games at dyce, & did many times play with the king her sonne before the warres: & after the warres also, when he had made peace, she did play at dyce with him as she had done before, inso much as she knew all his secret loue, and furthered him to enioy it. To be short, she would neuer be out of his sight but as little as she could, & would let his wife *Statira* haue as litle time with him as might be, that she might gouerne and rule him as she would: both because she hated her of all creatures liuing, and also for that she would beare the greatest sway and credit about him. When she saw the king one day at leysure, not knowing how to passe the time away: she incited him to play a throwfand *Darecks* at dyce, and was contented to lose them willingly, and paid the thousand *Darecks* downe, seeming notwithstanding to be angry with her losse. So she prayed him also to play one of his *Euenukes* with her: & the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betwene the that they should both name & except sue of the trustiest & chiefeft *Euenukes* they had: & then, which of them lost, should presently deliuer vnto the winner his choyce of all the other *Euenukes* he would demand. Thus they fel to play, & she employing all the cunning she had, & playing as warily as she could possible, besides that the dyce ranne of her side, her luck serued her so, that she wanne: & then she required *Mefabates* for her winnings, being none of those the king had excepted. Whē she had him deliuered her, she gaue him to the hangmen, & willed the to flea him aliue, & then that they should crucifie him, & naile him to a crosse, & hang his skin vpon an other peece of tymber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was maruelous angry withall when he knew it, & greenously offended with his mother. Howbeit she sported it out, & laughing, told him in deed it becomes thee wel to be angry for losing an old gelded Villain, where I lost a thousand *Darecks* quietly, & said neuer a word. So there came no other thing of it, sauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had plaid so fondly & was so finely mocked. But Queene *Statira* on the other side, besides that she was against her in al other things: she spared not to tel Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good & faithful seruants so cruelly to death, for *Cyrus* sake. But now, after that *Tisaphernes* (king *Artaxerxes* Lieutenant) had decieued *Clearchus*, & other captaines of *Grecs*, detestably falsifying his word he had giuen the, & that he had sent them bound vnto the king: *Ctesius* sayth, that *Clearchus* praied him to helpe him to a combe, & that hauing had one by his meanes, and also comed his head, it pleased him so wel, that to requite his good wil, he gaue him his scale of armes from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, for a witness of the great friendship that was betwene them two. He sayth also that in the stone of this ring there was grauen the daunce of the *Caryatides*. And furthermore, that the other soldiers which were prisoners with *Clearchus*, did take away the moste part of the vittells that were sent to him, and left him litle or nothing: and that he did remedye all this,

The terrible death of *Artaxerxes*, in botes as troughe, among the *Perjans*.

The miserable death of *Mithridates*.

The deuillish craft of *Parysatis*, & her great skill in cunning at dyce.

Parysatis craft and cunning.

Tisaphernes betrayeth the Captaines of *Greece*.

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procuring a greater quantitie to be sent vnto them, & that they should put *Clearchus* portion A apart, and all the other souldiers part also by them selues. This he did, as he sayth, by *Parysatis* consent & commaundement, who knowing that amongst other vittells they daily sent *Clearchus* a gammon of bacon: he tolde him one day he should doe well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, and to send it him, to tend that the life of so noble & valliant a man as he was, should not fall to the crueltie of the king. Howbeit, that he was affrayd to meddle withall, and durst not doe it: & that the king sware, & promised his mother, (who was an earnest suter to him for *Clearchus*) that he would not put him to death. This notwithstanding, the king being afterwards procured, & perfwaded to the contrary, by Queene *Statira* his wife: he put them all to death, but *Menon*. Therefore *Parysatis*, Queene mother, after that time (sayth *Ctesias*) deuised all the wayes she could to poyson Queene *Statira*, and to make B her out of the way. But me thinketh this smelleth like a lye, that *Parysatis* should entend so wicked and daungerous an acte, as to put the kinges lawfull wife to death, by whome he had sonnes that were to inherite the crowne, onely for the loue and respect of *Clearchus*: and it is too plaine that he coynd that, to honor and magnifie *Clearchus* memorie the more. But to proue it, a man may easily find it by the lyes he addeeth afterwards vnto it: saying, that after the Captaines were slayne, all the bodies of the rest were torne a peeces by dogges & fowles: and also that there came a boysterous winde, and covered all *Clearchus* body with a great hill of dust, and that out of this hill of dust shortly after there spronge vp many palme trees, which made a pretie thicke groue, that it shadowed all that place. In somuch that the king him selfe did afterwards maruelously repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honest C man, & beloued of the gods. This was not for *Clearchus* sake, but for an olde canckered malice *Parysatis* had long time borne in her hart against Queene *Statira*: because the saw wel enough, that the credit & authoritie her self had with the king, was in respect of a sonnes duty & obediēce to his mother, & in contrary maner, *Statiraes* credit & authoritie had a better ground & foundacio, because it came of the loue & good will the king did beare her. And this is the onely cause that made her to practise the death of Queene *Statira*, hauing determined that her self, or daughter in law, must nedes dye. Now Queene mother had one of the women of her chamber called *Gigis*, that was of great credit about her, & whom she onely trusted. *Dionon* writeth, that this *Gigis* did help *Parysatis* to make the poyson. But *Ctesias* writeth contrarily, & saith that the onely knew it, but otherwise that it was against her will: & that he that made the poyson, was D one *Belitaras*, but *Dionon* calleth him *Melantas*. Now, though in outward semblance and shew Queene mother & *Statira* seemed to haue forgotte all malice betwene them, & that they began again one of them to keepe company with the other, & did eate & drinke together: yet one of them mistrusted the other, & tooke great heede to them selues, both of them eating one selfe meate, & in one dishe together, and were both serued with one self officers & men. In *PERSIA* there is a litle bird, of the which all the parts of it is excellent good to eate, & is full of fat with in: so that it is thought it liueth by ayer & dewe, and in the *PERSIAN* tongue they call it *Ryntaces*. *Parysatis*, as *Ctesias* sayth, tooke one of these birdes, and cut it in the middelt with a litle knife, the which was poysoned onely on one of the sides, and gaue that halfe which was poysoned vnto *Statira*. Yet *Dionon* writeth, that it was not *Parysatis* her selfe that gaue it her, but her E caruer *Melantas*, that carued her meate, & still gaue Queene *Statira* of that meate which the side of his poisoned knife had touched. So Queene *Statira* presely fel sick of the discale where of the died, with greuous panges & gripings in her bowels, & found plainly that the was poysoned by *Parysatis* meanes: whereuppon she tolde the king as much, who was of the same opinion, & thought it was his mother, because he knew her cruel reueging mind, that neuer pardoned any, against who she conceiued any grudge. The king therefore to know the troth, when his wife *Statira* was dead, apprehended all his mothers household seruants & officers, & did put them to torments, to make them confesse the troth, faining *Gigis*, whom Queene mother kept close in her chamber a long time, & would neuer suffer the king to haue her: who earnestly requested her to deliuer her vnto him. Notwithstanding, *Gigis* her selfe at length prayed Queene mother to giue her leaue one night to go home to her house. The king vnderstanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when she was taken, he condemned

Clearchus, & other Captaines of *Grece* put to death, by king *Artaxerxes*.

Ctesias writeth

The cause of *Parysatis* hate vnto her Daughter in law, *Statira*.

Parysatis pra-
uiseth to poy-
son Queene
Statira.

Ryntaces a
bird of *Persia*
that hath no
extremities.
How *Statira*
was poysoned.

ned her to suffer the paynes of death ordeyned for poysoners, the which in *PERSIA* is execu-
ted in this manner. They make them put their head vpon a great plaine stone, and with an o-
ther stone they presse and struke it so long, till they haue dashed the braynes of the malefactor
out of their head. After this sort was *Gigis* put to death. Now for *Parysatis* his mother, the king
did her no other hurt, nor sayd no more vnto her, but confined her vnto *BABYLON* according
to her desire, & sware, that whilest she liued, he would neuer see *BABYLON*. In this state floode
the affaires of the king. But now, *Artaxerxes* hauing done the utmost he could to haue ouer-
comen the *GRÆCIANS* which came to make warre with him in the hart of his Realme, and
would haue bene as glad of that, as he was to haue overcome *Cyrus*, & to keepe his crowne &
Realme: he could neuer preuaile against them. For though they had lost *Cyrus* that gaue them
B entertainment, & all their priuate Captaines that led them: they saued them selues notwithstanding, being in the hart of his Realme, and shewed the *PERSIANS* by experience, that all
their doings was nothing but gold & siluer, curiositie, & fayer women, & otherwise, nothing
but pompe & vanity. Hereuppon all the *GRÆCIANS* became couragious, & despised the barbarous
people: in somuch that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* thought it a great shame & dishonor
vnto them, if they did not deliuer the *GRÆCIANS* that dwelt in *ASIA*, from the slavery & bō-
dage of the *PERSIANS*, & kept them from the open violence & cruelty of the barbarous people.
For they hauing at other times attempted to doe it by their Capitaine *Thimbron*, & after-
wards also by *Dercylidas*, whom they senthither with an army, & hauing done nothing worthy
memory: at length they determined to send their king *Agessilas* thither in person, who pas-
sing through *ASIA* with his shippes, began presently to make hot warre against the *PERSIANS*
C as soone as euer he had landed his army. For, at the first cōflict he ouerthrew *Tisaphernes* (the
king of *PERSIANS* Lieutenante) in battell, and made the most part of the cities of *GRECE* that
are in *ASIA*, to rebel against him. *Artaxerxes* looking into this warre, & wisely considering what
way & meanes he was to take, to make warre with the *GRÆCIANS*: he sent into *GRECE* one
Hermocrates a *RHODIAN*, (of great credit about him) with a maruelous summe of gold & siluer,
bountifully to bestow in gifts among the nobilitie & chiefe rulers of the cities of *GRECE*,
to make all the other *GRÆCIANS* to rise against the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. *Hermocrates* wisely exe-
cuted his cōmission, for he made the chiefe cities of *GRECE* to rebel against *LACEDÆMON*:
so that all *BELOPONNESVS* being vp in armes, and in great garboyle, the Ephoroi at *LACEDÆMON*
D were enforced to send for *Agessilas* home again. *Agessilas* being fory to depart out of
ASIA, said vnto his friends: that the king of *PERSIA* had driuen him out of his Realme with thirty
thousand archers: because that the *PERSIAN* coyne is staped with an archer, hauing a bow in
his hand. *Artaxerxes* also draue the *LACEDÆMONIANS* out of all their iurisdiction by sea, by
the meanes of *Conon*, general of the *ATHENIANS*, who *Pharnabazus* (one of his Lieutenants)
had wonne to take his part. For *Conon*, after he was ouerthrowen in battell at a place called the
goates riuer, kept euer after in the Ile of *CYPRVS*, not so much for the safetie of his person, as
also for that it was a mere place to stay in, vntill the wars of *GRECE* were appeased. He know-
ing that the deuise he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, & on the contrary
fide, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe iudgement to be employed: he wrote let-
ters vnto him of his deuise what he thought to doe, straightly charging him whom he deliue-
red his letters vnto, that if he could possibly, he should cause the same to be deliuered vnto the
king by *Xenon* the *CRETAN*, one of the kings dauncers, or by one *Polycritus* his Phisition, born
in the city of *MENDIS*: & in both their absences, then to giue it vnto *Ctesias*, to deliuer vnto the
king. It chaunced so that this letter came to the hands of *Ctesias*: who, as it is reported, added
moreouer vnto the cōtents of the letter, that the king should send him vnto *Conon*, because he
was a necessary man to be employed in his seruice, but specially by sea. *Ctesias* sayth not so, but
writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after *Artaxerxes*
had through the leading of *Conon* & *Pharnabazus*, won the battell by sea neare the Ile
of *GNIIDS*, & that thereby he had driuen all the *LACEDÆMONIANS* from their iurisdiction by
F sea, all *GRECE* had him in maruelous great estimation: so that he gaue vnto the *GRÆCIANS*
with such cōditions as he would, that so famous peace, called *Antalcidas* peace. This *Antalci-
das* was a citize of *SPARTA*, the sonne of one *Leon*, who fauoring king *Artaxerxes* affaires, pro-
posed

The punish-
ment for poy-
soners in *Persia*.

Agessilas
king of *Lacedæmon*, pre-
sents warre with the *Persians*.

The *Persian*
coyne, how it
is stamped.
Artaxerxes
draue the *Lacedæmonians*
from all their
iurisdiction by sea.

Gnidus Inf.

Antalcidas
peace.

*Amalcidas
Lacedæmoni-
an, greatly
offended of
Artaxerxes.*

*The persons
full of vanitie
and inuisible*

*The death of
Amalcidas
Lacedæmoni-
an.*

*Timagoras
Athenian,
brought by
king Artaxer-
xes.*

*Timagoras
was put to
death, for
king Artaxer-
xes and gifts of
Persia.
King Artaxer-
xes killed
Tisaphernes.
Artaxerxes
fell in againe
with his mo-*

cured by the treatie of this peace, that the LACEDÆMONIANS left vnto *Artaxerxes* all the ci-
ties of GREECE IN ASIA, & all the Illes contained in the same, to enioy quietly making the pay
tribute at his pleasure. This peace being cōcluded with the GREECIANS (if so to shamefull a trea-
son, reproch, & common infamy to all GREECE may be called a peace, as neuer warre sell out
more dishonorable & infamous for the vanquished) king *Artaxerxes* that otherwife hated the
LACEDÆMONIANS to the death, & that esteemed the (as *Dion* writeth) the impudentest men
liuing: did notwithstanding loue *Amalcidas* passingly wel, & entertained him very honorably,
when he came into PERSIA vnto him. It is reported that the king one day tooke a garland of
flowers, & did wet it with the most precious & sweetest oyle of perfume that was prepared for
the feast, & set the same vnto *Amalcidas* in so much as euery mā marvelled to see the king for so
much by him. In deed he was a mete man to follow the vanity & curiositie of the PERSIANS, &
& had wel deserved such a garland to be sent him: who was so bold to daunce a daunce before
the PERSIANS, mocking & counterfeiting *Leonidas* & *Callicratides*, two of the valliantest men
that euer were in GREECE. Therefore one said at that time in the presence of king *Agessilus*: O
how vnhappy is poore GREECE at this day, when the LACEDÆMONIANS come to follow the
PERSIANS? But *Agessilus* presently answered him againe, not so, said he: but rather the PERSI-
ANS followe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Notwithstanding, this wise aunswer *Agessilus* made, did
not take away the shame of the fact: & shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS lost the battell of
LEVCTRES, & therewith all the signiorie & principalltie they had kept of long time ouer all
GREECE, although they had lost their estimatiō before, for consenting to so shamefull & disho-
norable a peace. Whe *SPARTA* florished most, & was chiefe of all the other cities of GREECE
so long did *Artaxerxes* stil cōtinue to make much of *Amalcidas*, & called him his frie. But af-
ter that the LACEDÆMONIANS had lost the battell of LEVCTRES, hauing receiued to great an
ouerthrow, & wanting money: they sent *Agessilus* into EGYPT, & *Amalcidas* into PERSIA vnto
king *Artaxerxes*, to pray him to ayde and helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Howbeit the king
made to final accompt of him, & disdaind him so much, denying him, & his requests: that he
returned backe to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the
king. And there also seeing that his enemies mocked him, & fearing that the Ephori would cō-
mit him to prison: he killed him self with famine. About that time also, the THEBANS after they
had won the battell of LEVCTRES, sent *Ismenias* & *Pelopidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxer-
xes*: where *Pelopidas* did nothing vnworthy of him self. Howbeit *Ismenias* being commaunded
to kneele to the king, he let fall his ringe at his feete, and stowped to take it vp: whereby it was
thought of some that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time *Artaxerxes* liking a secret
aduertisement very wel sent him from *Timagoras* the ATHENIAN: he gaue him ten thousand
daricks by his Secretary called *Belluris*. And because he had a sickly body, & was driue to drinke
cows milke to restore him: the king therfore sent foure score mylche kyne with him to giue
milke to the paille, to haue fresh milke euery day. Furthermore, he sent him a bed thoroughly
furnished with all things necessary, & groomes of the chāber to make his bed, saying, that the
GREECIANS could not tel how to make it: & did also let him haue men to cary him vpon their
armes to the sea side, because he was sicke, & whilest he was at the Court, he entertained him
very honorably & bountifullly. So *Oflanes*, the kings brother, said one day vnto him: *Timago-
ras*, remember how honorably thou art serued at thy bord, for it is not for so small matter thou
art thus made of. This word was rather to cur him for his treason, then for any remembrance
of the benefit receiued. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condēned the same *Timagoras* to dye, be-
cause he had taken bribes & money of the king of PERSIA. But *Artaxerxes* in recompence of so
many other things that he had done, to despite the GREECIANS with, he did one thing that
pleased them maruelously: when he did put *Tisaphernes* to death, who was the dreadfulllest en-
emye the GREECIANS had. *Parysatis* the Queene mother did helpe to bringe this to passe,
aggrauating the accusations brought in against him. For the king kept not his anger longe
against his mother, but fell in againe with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an
excellent witte and noble courage to gouerne a great kingdom: and besides, that there was
nothing nowe to let them to come together as much as they would, to giue any occasion
of ielousie or malice to any person. So euer after, his mother *Parysatis* endeavored her selfe

*she Parysa-
tis, & sent for
her to come
to the Court.*

*Artaxerxes
married his el-
dest Daugh-
ter Atossa.*

*King Artaxerxes
went iorney
against the
Cadusians.
The country of
the Cadusians
very barren.*

*Great sayney
in Artaxer-
xes army.*

*Tiribazus
straggle
toward Artaxerxes,
and all
his army.*

A to feede the king her sonnes humor euery manner of way, seeming to mislike nothing that he
did: Whereby she grewe in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatsoever
she asked him. So she perceiued that the king was extremely in loue with one of his owne
Daughters, that was called *Atossa*: howbeit that he dissembled his loue the best he could, and
kept it secret, chiefly for feare of her, although some write, that in deed he had already had
her maydenhead. Nowe *Parysatis* hauing found his loue, she beganne to make more of his
Daughter then she did before, and talking with her father, sometyme she prayed her beauty,
another tyme her grace and good countenance, saying that she was like a Queene and
noble Princessse. So that at length by litle and litle she perswaded him to marrye her openly,
not passing for the lawes and opinions of the GREECIANS, considering that God had giuen
him vnto the PERSIANS, to stablishe the lawes vnto them, to decyde right from wronge, and the
good from the bad. Some Historiographers doe write, and amongst them *Heraclides* of
CYMBES: that *Artaxerxes* did not onely marie the eldest of his Daughters, but the second al-
so called *Ameftis*, of whome we will speake hereafter. Nowe when he had married the eldest,
Atossa, he loued her so entirely well, that though she fell sicke of the disease commonly called
Vittiligo, that ranne ouer all her bodie: he loued her not the worse for it, but prayed continually
for her vnto the goddesse *Iuno*, honoring no other goddesse but her onely, and fell downe
on his knees before her image, and sent by his friends and Lieuutenants to many offerings,
that all the way from his Court gates vnto the temple of *Iuno*, (which was sixteene furlong
of) was full of gold, siluer, riche purple filkes, and horse that were sent thither. He beganne to
make warre also with the EGYPTIANS, and made *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* ATHENIAN,
his Lieuutenants, who did no good, because they fell at variance thone with thother. But af-
terwards, *Artaxerxes* him selfe went in person to conquer the CADUSIANS with three-hun-
dred thousand foote men, and tenne thousand horse men. So he invaded their contry, which
was a very rude contry, alway darke and cloudy: The earth bringeth forth nothing that man
soweth, but doth onely feede the inhabitants with peares, apples, and such like fruite, and yet
the men be very stronge and valliant notwithstanding. So when he was entred farre into the
contry before he was ware, he fell into great want of vittells, and was also in great daunger.
For his souldiers found nothing in all the contry that was good to eate, and worst of all, no
vittells could come vnto them from any place, because of the hardnes and naughty wayes of
the contry: So that his campe liued onely with the fleshe of their beastes of cariage, and yet
they sold it dearly: for, an asses head was sold for three skore siluer Drachmas. To conclude,
the famyne was so great, that prouision fayled for the kings owne mouth, and there were but
fewe horse left, for all the rest were eaten. Then *Tiribazus*, that had oftentimes bene chiefe a-
bout the king, because he was a valliant man, and that through his folly was many tymes also
out of fauor, as at that present tyme, when he had no authoritie nor estimation: he deuised a
stratageam, whereby he faued the king and all his campe. In this contry of the CADUSIANS,
there were two kinges in the field with their armies, both of them camped a sonder one from
the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had spoken with king *Artaxerxes*, and had tolde him what he
ment to doe: he went vnto one of the kinges, and at the selfe same tyme also seerely sent his
sonne vnto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king had sent Ambassadors
vnto *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, vntwitting to his companion, and therefore he
counselled him if they were wise, one of them to seeke to preuent another with all the possi-
ble speede he could, and promised them both, one after another, to helpe them the best he
could. Both the one and the other of the kinges gaue credit to his wordes, either of them both
misftrusting one another: so that the one speedily sent his Ambassadors vnto king *Artaxer-
xes*, with *Tiribazus*, and the other also his Ambassadors with his sonne. But *Tiribazus* taryng
long in his iorney, king *Artaxerxes* beganne somewhat to suspect him, his enemies also did
accuse him in his absence, and the king grewe very chollye, and repented him that he had
trusted him so farre, and was willing to heare euery man that spake against him. Howbeit
F *Tiribazus* at length returned, and his sonne also, and either of them brought with them the
Ambassadors of the CADUSIANS, and so peace was taken with them both. Then was *Tiri-
bazus* aloft againe, and in greater credit then euer he was, and so departed with the king. The

These, that
fol: appear
and riches,
marketh not a
man cowardly
and effemi-
nate: but a
vile base
mind, that fol-
loweth euill
advice and
counsell.
The courage of
king Artaxer-
xes, & his
great paynes
in marching.

King Artax-
erxes curseth
to his souldi-
ers.

Darius and
Ochus, king
Artaxerxes
sonnes.

Artaxerxes
proclaimeh
his sonne Da-
rim king.

Aspasia, one
of Artax-
erxes con-
cubines.

king then shewed plainly, that cowardlines proceedeth not of pompe and curiositie, as some take it, beleuing that it doth effeminate mens hearts, but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly followeth euill, and the worst counsell. For neither the iewels of gold, the kingly robes, nor other sumptuous ornaments which the king euer ware about him, worth twelue thousand talents as it is reported, did not hinder him at that tyme to trauaile, and to take as much payne as any man in all his army. For he him selfe marched a foote the foremost man, carrying his owne trusse in a scarfe vpon his shoulders, and his target on his arme, and trauelled through high stony mountaines. So that his souldiers seeing the corage and payne the king him selfe tooke, they marched so nymbly, that it seemed they had wings: for he dayly marched aboute two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by fore trauell, came to one of his owne houses, where there were goodly arbors and parkes, with goodly trees passingly sette forth: but all the contry besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was maruelous cold. The king suffred his souldiers to hewe downe the goodly pynes and cypres trees in his parkes: and because they durst not presume to touch them, he him selfe as he was tooke an axe in his hande and begganne to hewe downe the goodliest tree there. The souldiers seeing that, fell euery man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short tyme they had prouided them felues well with wodde, and made them great fires in euery place, and so past ouer the night quietly by the fires side. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valliant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore thinking his men would mocke him, because he did fayle of his purpose: he begganne to growe mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefeft noble men he had about him: so that in a rage he put many of them to death, but much more of them remayned, whome he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud sucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more courteous, and lesse suspicious, then a valliant and hardy man. And therefore brute beastes that be neuer made tame nor mastered, are commonly cowardly, and timorous: and the other to the contrary, that are noble and coragious, are bold straight, and doe come to knowe a man, because they haue no feare, neither doe they flic from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards king Artaxerxes being grown very olde, heard that there was great sturre and contention betwene his sonnes, which of them should be heire after his death, and that this contention fell out also amonge his friends and men, of great calling. The wisest of them wished, that as he him selfe came vnto the crowne, as his fathers eldest sonne: so that he likewise should after his death leaue it vnto his eldest sonne, called Darius. But the younger, which was called Ochus, being a valliant man, and of a whol stirring nature, had some in the Court also that tooke his parte, and hoped to attayne to his purpose, by the means of his sister Astossa, whome he loued and honored, promising to marry her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers disceale. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he secretly kept her: howbeit Artaxerxes neuer vnderstoode it. Now, because he would sometimes put his sonne Ochus out of all hope to succede him in the kingdom, least this expectation might make him to goe about to practise that which Cyrus did, and that by this means his Realme should growe into faction and ciuill warres: he proclaimeh his eldest sonne Darius (being fiftye yeare olde) king after his death, and furthermore gaue him leaue from thenceforth to weare the poynt of his hat right vp. In Persia the custom is, that when any commeth to be proclaimeh successor and heire apparent to the crowne, he should require a giste of him that proclaimeh him successor. The which the other doth graunt him, whatsoeuer it be that he asketh, so it be not impossible. Darius then asked his father a concubine called Aspasia, who was first with Cyrus, & in greatest fauor with him aboue all the rest, but then was for the kings own bodye. She was borne in the contry of Ionia, of free parents: and being virtuously brought vp, she was brought one night vnto Cyrus as he was at supper with other women, who saue them downe, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were verie glad when Cyrus offered to play and be merie with them, geuing euerie one of them some pleasaunt word, and they made it not coy. But Aspasia stoode on her feet by the table, and sayd neuer a word: and notwithstanding that Cyrus called her, she woulde not come at him. Moreouer, when one of

A the groomes of his chamber would haue taken her to haue brought her to him: the first faith she, that layeth hands on me, shall repent it. Thereupon all those that were present, said she was a foolish thing, and simply brought vp, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit Cyrus being glad of it, passed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought them vnto him: doest thou not see, that of all these thou hast brought me, there is not an honest woman but she? After that, Cyrus began to make much of her, and loued her better continually then all the rest, & called her Aspasia the wife. This Aspasia was taken among the spoiles of Cyrus campe after he was ouerthrowen, and Darius as we haue told ye, did begge her of his father, who was verie angrie with it in his mind. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruelous gealous of their women, so that not onely he should be put to death, that durst but speake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in sport: but also who soeuer came nere them, or neere their coches as they trauelled. The kings daughter Astossa, whom he had married against all lawe, was yet liuing, and besides her he had also three hundred and three score passing fayer concubines: and yet when his sonne Darius asked Aspasia of him, the king answered, she was a free woman borne, and therefore if she woulde, he was content he should haue her: but if she were vnwilling to goe to him, then he would not haue him force her by no means. So Aspasia was sent for, and she was asked with whom she had rather be. She answered, with Darius: contrarie to king Artaxerxes expectation, who both by the custome, and also the law, was compelled to let him haue her. But shortly after he tooke her from him againe, saying that he woulde place her in a Nunrie of Diana, in the contrie of Ecbatane, where they call her Anitis, there to serue the goddesse, and to liue chaste all the daies of her life: supposing by this meanes to punish his sonne, not rigorously, but moderately, with griefe mixt with sporte and earnest. Howbeit his sonne tooke it not so patiently, either because he was deepe in loue with Aspasia, or else for that he saw his father mocke him in that point. Tiribazus finding this, and perceiuing that Darius tooke it verie grieuoullie: he aggravated his anger against his father, knowing the passion of loue in Darius, by his owne, vpon the like occasion. King Artaxerxes had many daughters, and had promised Pharnabazus one of them, called Artama: vnto Orontes, Rodogoune: and to Tiribazus, Amestris. The king performed the other two marriages, & did put Tiribazus by his wife. For the king him selfe married his owne daughter Amestris, and for her, he promised Tiribazus the younger, Astossa: with whom also he him selfe fell in loue, and married her. Tiribazus hereupon was in such a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not because he was any traitor or feditious man in nature, but a madde harebrained fellow. For sometime he was aloft, and in as good credit and authoritie as the best: so daingly againe he woulde playe some madde parte to anger the king, and then he was in as much disgrace, and out of countenance: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authoritie, he made euerie man hate him for his pride: and being in disgrace, he could not humble him selfe, but looke bigger then before. Nowe there was fire and brimstone met, when Tiribazus tooke parte with Darius. For he dayly blew into his eares, that it was no purpose for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires also went not rightly forward: and that he deceiued him selfe much, if he did not know that his brother (by means of the women he kept) secretly aspired to the crowne: and that his father being so vnconstant as he was, he must not trust in any sorte to succede his father in the kingdom, what proclamation soeuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrary. For, sayd he, he that for a Grecian woman hath broken and violated the holiest lawe that was in Persia: thou must not looke that he will performe that he hath promised thee. And furthermore he perswaded him, that it was not a like repulse vnto Ochus, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that euer he had gotten. For sayd he, if it please Ochus to liue like a priuate man, he may safelie doe it, and no man will trouble him: but for him selfe that was already proclaimed king, he must of necessitie make him selfe king, or else he must not liue. So the Poet Sophocles his saying most commonly proueth true:

Ill counsell easily takes place.

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleuee as he lyst, and men commonly are giuen rather to beleue the euill then the good, because most men know not what goodnes mea-

The babies
your people
can not away
with: rinalisid
in loue.

Tiribazus in-
censeh Da-
rius against
his father Ar-
taxerxes.

Tiribazus
mooueth, and
condemns.

neth. But now beside these persuasions, the greatnes of the kingdome, and the feare *Darius* stood in of his brother *Ochus*, tooke great force and effect with him: and it may be also, that *Pennis* her selfe did somewhat in the matter, for the malice and spight that *Aspasia* was taken from him. But whatsoever the cause was, thus was it handled: that *Darius* flatly conspired against his father *Artaxerxes*, together with *Tiribazus*. Now, they having gotten many conspirators to ioyne with them, one of the kings Euenukes perceiving it, ranne and told the king of it, and how they had sodainly determined to assaile him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among them selues, that they should kill him in his bedde in the night. *Artaxerxes* receiving this advertisement, thought it was not good to be carelesse of a matter of so great importance as his life: and also that it were too great lightnes in him so sodainly to beleue his Euenuke, without better prooffe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with him selfe. He commaunded the Euenuke that had geuen him this information, to keepe companie still with the conspirators, & to follow them wheresoever they went, to see their doings: and in the meane time he bet downe his wall behind his bed, and made a dore thorowe, and set vp a hanging of tapistrie before it. When the time was come, as the Euenuke had advertised the king, that the traitors ment to doe their feate: *Artaxerxes* being layed on his bedde, rose not vp till he had seene euerie traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he sawe them comming towards him with their swords drawn, he sodainly lift vp the hanging, and got in to his inner chamber, & shut the dore after him, making an outcrie, murder, murder. So the traitors being plainly seene and known by the king, fled the same way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bad *Tiribazus* save him selfe, because he was known. So they dispersed them selues, and scaped by flying. But *Tiribazus* was taken tardie, although he had slaine diuers of the kings gard, valiantly defending him selfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was stricken with a dart a good way off, which slewe him. *Darius* was also taken and apprehended, and brought prisoner with his sonnes: and the king referred him to be iudged by his peeres. For the king him selfe would not be present to geue iudgement of him, but deputed others in his placeto accuse him: howbeit he commaunded his secretaries to set downe in writing the opinion and sentence of euerie one of the Iudges and to bring it him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to dye. Then the officers layed hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of the prison, where the hangman came with a raser in his hande with the which he vied to cut mens throates so condemned to dye. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he saw it was *Darius*, he was affrayed, and came out of the chamber againe, his hart failing him, and durst not lay handes vpon the person of the king. But the Iudges that stood without the chamber, bad him goe and doe it, vnlesse he would haue his owne throate cut. So the hangman then came in, and tooke *Darius* by the heare of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and so cut his necke with his raser he had in his other hand. Others doe write, that this sentence was geuen in the presence of king *Artaxerxes* selfe, and that *Darius* seeing him selfe conuicted by manifest proofes brought in against him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and besought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angrie, rose vp, and drew out his curtelax and wounded him in so many places withall, that at length he slue him. Then returning into the Court, he worshipped the sunne, and turning him to his Lords that were about him, he sayd vnto them. My Lordes, God be with you, and be merie at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great *Oromazes* hath taken reuenge of them that practised treason against me. This was the end of *Darius* treason. Now *Darius* being dead, *Ochus* his brother stood in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, & the rather, through the meanes and frendshippe of his sister *Aspasia*: but yet of his legitimate bretheren, he feared him called *Ariaspes*, who was onely left of all the rest that were legitimate: and of his bastard bretheren, *Arfames*, not because *Ariaspes* was elder than he, but for that he was of a soft & plaine nature, the *PERSIANS* desired he might be their king. On the other side, *Arfames* was wise, and valliant: and *Ochus* sawe that his father loued him dearly. So he determined to intrappe them both. Now *Ochus* being a futtle and malicious natured man, he first shewed his crueltye vpon *Arfames*, and his malice vpon *Ariaspes* his legitimate brother. For, because he knewe he was but simple and plaine, he sent dayly some of the kings Euenukes vnto him, who brought

Darius conspires against Artaxerxes his father.

A devise of Artaxerxes how to prevent the conspirators and to save him selfe.

Tiribazus the traitor slaine.

Darius condemned to dye, and executed.

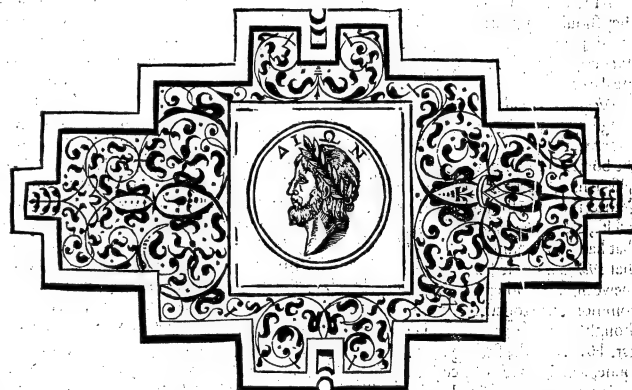
King Artaxerxes sonnes

A him threatening words and messages, as from the king: telling him that he had determined to put him to a shamefull and cruell death. So, forging these newes continually as things verie secret, they did so terrifie poore *Ariaspes*, telling him that the king was fullie bent to put some of his threats in execution out of hand: that he was put in such feare and dispaire of his life, that he prepared him selfe a poyson, and dranke it, to ridde him selfe of his life. King *Artaxerxes* understanding of his death, tooke it very heauily, & began to mistrust the cause that made him to make him selfe away: howbeit he could not seeke the prooffe of it, for his extreame age. But this chauce made him loue *Arfames* better then before, shewing plainly that he trusted him better then *Ochus*, and did make him priue to all things. *Ochus* could no longer abide to deferre his intent, and therefore entised *Harpaces*, *Tiribazus* sonne, to kill his bastard brother *Arfames*: the which he did. Now *Artaxerxes* was so extreame olde, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his sonne *Arfames* was murdered, he coulde beare it no longer, but tooke it so to his hart for sorow, that when he had liued foure score and fouretene yeares, and reigned three score and two, he dyed. When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gracious & courteous Prince, and one that loued his people and subiectes: when they saw the prooffe of his successor *Ochus*, that passed all men liuing, in crueltye and feuerity.

The death of king Artaxerxes. Artaxerxes, was 94. yeres olde at his death.

THE LIFE OF

Dion.



Like as *Simonides*, & *Sofistus Senecio*, saith that the city of *LIVIA* was not offended with the *CORINTHIANS*, for that they came to make warre with them with other *GRÆCIANS*, because *Glaucus*, whose first ancestors came from *CORINTH*, had taken armes, & ioungly fought for the same: euen so me thinks, that neither the *GRÆCIANS* nor *ROMANES* haue cause to complaine of the *Academy*, sith they be both alike praised of the same in this present booke, in the which are conteigned the liues of *Dion* and *Brutus*. Of the which the one of them hauing bene verie familiar with *Plato* him selfe, and the other from his childhoode brought vp in *Platoes* doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one selfe schoolehouse, to attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no maruell if they two were muche like in many of their doings, prouing that true which their schoolemaister

Dion & Brutus both Platonic.

Plato de virtue.
How men
after should be
famous in the
common wealth.

A wicked spirit
appeared
vnto Dion &
Brutus.

Dionysius
married Her-
mocrates
daughter.

Dionysius
wines, Da-
ride, of La-
cre: Aristo-
maché, of Sy-
racusa, Hip-
parinus
daughter, and
Dions sister.

Dions kin-
dred with
Dionysius.

Plato came
out of Italie
vnto Syracu-
sa.

Plato wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the gouernment of a common wealth, which **A** should be famous, and of credit, authoritie, and good fortune, must both meete in one selfe person, ioined with iustice and wisdom. For, as a certaine fensler called **Hippomachus** said, that he knewe his schollers farre of, if he did but see them comming from the market with meate in their handes: so it must needs follow, that men hauing bene vertuously brought vp, must nedes be wise in all their doings, and beside that it bringeth them to ciuillitie and honestly, euen so it frameth their condicions muche like one vnto another. Furthermore, their fortunes hauing alio fallen out both alike, more by chaunce then by any reason, do make their liues verie like to eache other. For, they were both of them slaine, before they could bring their enterprises to passe which they had determined. But the greatest wonder of all is this: that their deathes were forehewed vnto them both, by a wicked spirit that visiblie appeared vnto either **B** of them: albeit there be some that can not abide those opinions, and doe maintaine that these fights and euill spirits doe neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of litle children, or old women, or of some men that their wits are weakened by sickenes, and so haue a certaine imagination of such strange sightes, being of this superstitious minde, that they haue a wicked spirit, and an euill angell in them. But if **Dion** and **Brutus**, both of them graue and learned Philosphers, and verie constant men, not overcome by any so daime passion or imagination of minde, haue bene moued by such fights and spirits, and haue also tolde it vnto their frendes: I can not tell whether we shall be enforced, to graunt the most straungest and oldest opinion of this, which sayth: that there be euill spirits which enuying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly mindes, doe make them affrayed **C** with these fearefull sightes, intising them to forsake their godminyes, least that persisting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre this disputacion to some other booke, and now in this twelfth couple of these famous mens liues compared, let vs first begin to write the life of him that is the elder of these two men we speake of.

Dionysius the elder, after he had the gouernment of **SYCILIA** in his handes, he married the daughter of **Hermocrates**, a citizen of **SYRACUSA**. But yet not being throughlie settled in his tyrannie, the **SYRACUSANS** did rebell against him, & did so cruellie and abhominablie handle the bodie of his wife, that she willingly poysoned her selfe. So after he had established him selfe in his gouernment with more suretie then before, he married againe two other wiues **D** together, the one a straunger of the citie of **LOCRES**, called **Doride**: and the other of the contry it selfe, called **Aristomaché**, the daughter of **Hipparinus** the chiefeft man of all **SYRACUSA**, and that had bene companion with **Dionysius**, the first time he was chosen Generall. It was sayd that **Dionysius** married them both in one day, and that they could neuer tell which of them he knewe first: but otherwise, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly sate together with him at his table, and did either of them lye with him by turnes: though the **SYRACUSANS** would haue their owne contrywoman preferred before the straunger. Howebeit the strange woman had this good happe, to bring forth **Dionysius** his eldest sonne, which was a good countenance to defend her, being a foreiner. **Aristomaché** in contrarie manner, continued a long time with **Dionysius**, without fruite of her wombe, although he was verie desirous to haue children by her: so that he put the **LOCRIAN** womans mother to death, accusing her that she had with forceries and witchcraft, kept **Aristomaché** from being with child. **Dion** being the brother of **Aristomaché**, was had in great estimation at the first, for his sisters sake: but afterwards the tyrant finding him to be a wife man, he loued him the for his owne sake. Insomuch, that among many sundrie things & pleasures he did for him: he commaunded his Treasurers to let him haue what money he asked of them, so they made him acquainted withall the selfe same day they gaue him any. Nowe though **Dion** had euer before a noble minde in him by nature, yet muche more did that magnanimitie increase, when **Plato** by good fortune arriued in **SYCILIA**. For his comming thither surelie was no mans deuile, as I take it, but the verie prouidence of some god: who (bringing farre of the first beginning and fundacion of the libertie of the **SYRACUSANS**, and to ouerthrow the tyrannicall state) sent **Plato** out of **ITALIE** vnto the citie of **SYRACUSA**, and brought him acquainted with **Dion**, who

was

Dion, Platon
scholler.

A was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter witte to learne, and redier good-will to follow vertue, then any young man elle that followed **Plato**: as **Plato** him selfe writeth, and his owne doings also doe witnesse. For **Dion** hauing from a child bene brought vp with humble conditions vnder a tyrant, and acquainted with a leuile timorous life, with a prowde and insolent reigne, with all vanity and curiositie, as placing chiefe felicity in countenoules: neuertheless, after he had felt the sweete reasons of Philosphie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed straight with earnest desire to follow the same. And because he found that he was so easilie perswaded to loue vertue and honestie, he simple thinking (being of an honest plaine nature) that the selfe same perswasions would moue a like affection in **Dionysius**: obtained of **Dionysius**, that being at leasure, he was contented to see **Plato**, and to speake with him. **B** When **Plato** came to **Dionysius**, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefly reasoned what was fortitude: where **Plato** proued that tyrans were no valliant men. From thence passing further into iustice, he told him that the life of iust men was happy, and contrarily the life of vnjust men vnfortunate. Thus the tyrant **Dionysius** perceiuing he was overcome, durst no more abide him, and was angrie to see the standers by to make such estimation of **Plato**, and that they had such delight to heare him speake. At length he angrily asked him, what businessse he had to doe there: **Plato** answered him, he came to seeke a good man. **Dionysius** then replied againe: what, in Gods name, by thy speache then it seemeth thou hast founde none yet. Now **Dion** thought that **Dionysius** anger would proceede no further, and therefore at **Platoes** earnest request, he sent him away in a galley with three bankes of owers, the which **C** **Pollis** a **LACEDÆMONIAN** Captaine caried backe againe into **GREECE**. Howbeit **Dionysius** secretly requested **Pollis** to kill **Plato** by the way, as euer he would doe him pleasure: if not, yet that he would sell him for a slaue, howsoever he did. For said he, he shall be nothing the worse for that: because if he be a iust man, he shall be as happy to be a slaue, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this **Pollis** caried **Plato** into the Ile of **ÆGINA**, and there fold him. For the **ÆGINETES** hauing warre at that time with the **ATHENIANS**, made a decree, that all the **ATHENIANS** that were taken in their Ile, should be sold. This notwithstanding, **Dionysius** refused not to honor and trust **Dion**, as much as euer he did before, and did also sende him Ambassador in matters of great weight. As when he sent him vnto the **CARTHAGINIANS**, where he behaued him selfe so well, that he wan great reputation by his iorney: and the tyrant could well away **D** with his plaine speach. For no man but he, durst say their mindes so boldly vnto him, to speake what he thought good: as on a time he reproued him for **Gelon**. One day when they mocked **Gelons** gouernment before the tyrans face, and that **Dionysius** him selfe sayd (finely deskaning of his name, which signifieth laughter) that he was euen the verie laughing rocke him selfe of **SYCILIA**: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter passingly well. But **Dion** not being well pleased withall, sayd vnto him: for his sake, men trusted thee, whereby thou camest to be tyrant: but for thine owne sake they will neuer trust any man. For, to say truly, **Gelon** shewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as could be, to see a citie gouerned by an absolute Prince: but **Dionysius** by his gouernment on thother side, made it appeare as detestable a thing. This **Dionysius** had by his **LOCRIAN** **E** wife three children, and by **Aristomaché** foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one called **Sophrosyne**, and the other **Areté**. Of them, **Dionysius** eldest sonne married **Sophrosyne**, and **Areté** was married vnto his brother **Thearides**, after whose death **Dion** married her, being his Nece. Now when **Dionysius** her father fell sicke, not likely to escape: **Dion** would haue spoken with him for his children he had by his sister **Aristomaché**. Howbeit the Phisitions about him, to currie fauor with the next heire and successor of the tyrannie, would neuer let him haue any time or opportunitie to speake with him. For, as **Timaeus** writeth, they gaue **Dionysius** the elder (as he had commaunded them) a strong opiat drinke to cast him in a sleepe, and so thereby they tooke from him all his senses and ioyned death with his sleepe. Notwithstanding, in the first counsell and assemblee holden by his frendes, to consult about the state and affaires of the younger **Dionysius**: **Dion** moued matter so necessarie and profitable for that present time, that by his wisdom he shewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke speach, made them know that they were but slaues of the tyranny: because they beafly and cowardly

Plato and
Dionysius the
elder talke to-
gether.

Dionysius
malice vnto
Plato.

Plato sold in
the Ile of
Ægina.

Dions bold-
nes in speak-
ing, plainly
to the tyrant,
Gelon signi-
fies laugh-
tere.

Sophrosyne,
and Areté:
the daughters
of Dionysius
by Aristomaché.

Dion married
his Nece Areté:
the daughter
of Dionysius &
his sister
Aristomaché.
The death of
Dionysius the
elder.

gaue such counsell and aduise, as might best please and feede the young tyrannes humor. A But he made them most to wonder at him, when they feare about all other things, the daunger *Dionysius* state was in, by reason of *CARTAGAGE*, he did promise them, that if *Dionysius* would haue peace, he would then goe forthwith into *AFRICKA*, and finde the meanes honorable to quene the warres: or if otherwise he better liked of warre, that he would furnishe him at his owne proper costes and charges, fittie gallies readie to rowe. *Dionysius* wondered greatlie at the noble minde of *Dion*, and thanked him muche for the good will he bare vnto him, touching his estate. But all men else taking *Dions* noble offer to be a reproach of their auarice, and his credit and authoritie, and impaire vnto theirs: they presentlie vpon this libell offer tooke occasion to accuse him, not sparing any reprochefull wordes against him, to moue *Dionysius* to be offended with him. For they complayned of him, and sayd that he cunninglie practised to possesse the tyrannie, making him selfe strong by sea, going about by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the hands of the children of *Aristomache* his sister. But the chiefeft cause of all why they did malice and hate him, was his straunge manner of life: that he neither would keepe companie with them, nor lue after their manner. For they that from the beginning were crept in fauour and frendshippe with this younge euill brought vp tyranne, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleasures: studied for no other thing, but to entertaine him in loue matters, and other vaine exercisies, as to riot and banquet, to keepe light women companie, and all suche other vile vicious pastimes and recreations, by the which the tyrannie became like iron softened by fire, and seemed to be verie pleasaunt vnto the subiectes, bicause the ouergreat Maiestie and seueritie thereof was somewhat milder, not so muche by the bountie and goodnesse, as by the follie and rechelesnes of the Lorde. Thus, this lide care and regarde increasing more and more, still winning way with the younge tyrann: did at length melt and breake a sunder those strong diamond chaines, with the whiche *Dionysius* the elder made his boast that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie chained to his sonne. For sometime he would be three dayes together without intermission, still banking and being dronke: and all that time his Court gates were kept shut vnto graue and wife men, and for all honest matters, and was then full of dronkards, of common playes, dauncings, maskes, and mommeries, and full of all such tromperie and dissolute pastimes. And therefore *Dion* vndoubtedlie was muche enuied of them, bicause he gaue him selfe to no sport nor pleasure: whereupon they accused him, and misnamed his vertues, vices, being somewhat to be resembled vnto them. As in calling his grauetie, pride: his plainnes and boldnesse in his Oration, obstinacie: if he did perfwade them, that he accused them: and bicause he would not make one in their sonde pastimes: that therefore he despised them. For to say truelie, his manners by nature had a certeine hawiness of minde and seueritie, and he was a sower man to be acquainted with: whereby his companie was not onely troublesome, but also vnpleasaunt to this younge *Dionysius*, whose eares were so fine, that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, diuers of his verie frendes and familiars, that did like and commend his plaine manner of speache and noble minde: they did yet reprove his sternenes, and austere conuersation with men. For it seemed vnto them, that he spake too roughlie, and delt ouerhardlie with them that had to doe with him, and more then became a ciuill or courteous man. And for prooofe herof, *Plato* him selfe sometime wrote vnto him (as if he had prophacied what shoulde happen) that he shoulde beware of obstinacie, the companion of solitarinesse, that bringeth a man in the ende to be forsaken of euerie one. This notwithstanding, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any man else: bicause of the state and government, and for that they thought him the onely man that could best prouide for the safetie and quietnesse of the tyrannie, the which stooode then in tickle state. Now *Dion* knew well enough, that he was not so well taken and esteemed through the good will of the tyrann, as against his will, and for the necessitie of the state and time. So *Dion* supposing that ignorance, and want of knowledge in *Dionysius* was the cause: he deuised to put him into some honest trade or exercise, and to teach him the liberrall sciences, to frame him to a ciuill life, that thenceforth he shoulde no more be affrayed of vertue, and shoulde also take pleasure and delight in honest things. For *Dionysius* of his owne nature, was none of the

Flattering
Courtiers do
in: cuse *Dio-
nysius* the
younger to
hate *Dion*.

The vices of
Dionysius the
younger.

Dionys man-
ners, too grow
and seuer.

Obstinacie,
fellow and
companion
of solitarines.

A the worst sort of tyrans, but his father feare that if he came once to haue a feeling and conceite of him selfe, or that he companied with wife and learned men, he would goe neere to enter into practise, and put him out of his seate: he euer kept him locked vp in a chamber, and would suffer no man to speake with him. Then the younge *Dionysius* hauing nothing else to do, gaue himselfe to make lide chariots, candlesticks, chaires, stools, and tables of wodde. For his father *Dionysius* was so fearefull and mistrustfull of euerie bodie, that he would suffer no man with a paire of barbers sissors to polle the heares of his head, but caused an image maker of earth to come vnto him, and with a hotte burning cole to burne his goodly bush of heare rounde about. No man came into his chamber where he was, with a gowne on his backe, nor not his owne brother nor sonne, but he was driuen before he coulde come in, to put of his gowne, and the garde of his chamber to strippe him naked whatsoeuer he was: and then they gaue him an other gowne to cast vpon him, but not his owne. One day his brother *Leptines*, going about to describe vnto him the scituation of some place, he tooke a halberd from one of the garde, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a platte of the same vpon the ground. *Dionysius* was terrible offended with him, and did put the souldier to death that gaue him his halberd. He sayed he was affrayed of his frendes, yea, and of the wisest of them: bicause he knewe that they desired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaunde, then to obey. He slewe one of his Captaines called *Marsias*, whome he had preferred, and had geuen him charge of men: bicause he dreamed that he killed him: saying that he dreamed of this in the night, bicause that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now *Dionysius* C that was so timorous, and whose mind through fearefulness was still miserable occupied: he was notwithstanding maruelouslie offended with *Plato*, bicause he did not iudge him to be the noblest and valliantest man aliue. *Dion* therefore seeing (as we haue sayd) the younge *Dionysius* cleane marred, and in manner cast away for lacke of good education: perfwaded him the best he coulde to geue him selfe vnto studie, and by the greatest intreatie he coulde possible make, to pray the Prince of all Philosophers to come into *SICILE*. And then when through his intreatie he were come, that he would referre him selfe whollie vnto him, to thende that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby: (the best example that can be possible, and by whom all the whole world is ruled and gouerned, which otherwise were out of all order and confused) he shoulde first obtaine great happines to him D selfe, and consequently vnto all his citizens also, who euer after through the temperance and iustice of a father, would with good will doe those things, which they presentlie vnwillingly did for the feare of a Lorde, and in doing this, from a tyrann he shoulde come to be a king. For the chaines of a diamant to keepe a realme in safetie, were not force, and feare, as his father *Dionysius* helde opinion: neither the great multitude of young souldiers, nor the garde of ten thousand barbarous people: but in contrarie manner, that they were the loue and good will of their subiectes, which the Prince obtaineth through vertue and iustice: the which chaines though they be slacke then the other that are so hard and stiffe, yet are they stronger, and will last longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdom in safetie. And furthermore, the Prince (sayd he) is not desirous of honor, neither is a man that deserueth greatly to be praised and commended, that onely studieth to weare sumptuous apparell, and that glorieth to see his Court richelie furnished, and him selfe curiously ferued: and in the meane time doth not frame him selfe to speake better, to be wiser, and to carie a greater maiesty then any other meane or common person, not esteeming to adorne and beawtifie the Princely pallace of his minde, as becommeth the royall maiestie of a king. *Dion* oftentimes rehearsing these exhortacions vnto *Dionysius*, and otherwhile enterlacing betwene, some reasons he had learned of *Plato*: he grafed in him a wonderfull, and as it were a vehement desire to haue *Plato* in his companie, and to learne of him. So sundry letters came from *Dionysius* vnto *ATHENS*, diuers requestes from *Dion*, and great intreaty made by certaine Pythagorian Philosophers, that prayed and perfwaded *Plato* to come into *SICILE*, to bridle the light disposition of this young man, by his graue F and wise instructions: who without regard of reason, led a dissolute and licentious life. Therefore *Plato*, as him selfe reporteth, blushing to him selfe, and feareing least he shoulde geue men cause to thinke that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of him selfe he was vn-

Dionysius of a
elder, a mar-
uelous timor-
ous & super-
stitious man.

Dionysius
dreams.

Dion perswa-
des the
younger *Dio-
nysius* to fall
to studie.

The assured
gard of Prin-
ces, is the loue
of their sub-
iects.

Plato graues
into *Sicilie*, to
teach *Dionysius*
the
younger.

willing to do any worthe act: and further, hoping that doing good but vnto one man alone, A who was the only guide of all the rest, he should as it were recouer all SICILIA from her corruption and fickness: he performed their requests that sent vnto him. But *Dions* enemies fearing the change and alteration of *Dionysius*, they perswaded him to call *Philistus* the Historiographer home againe from banishment, who was a learned man, and had bene brought vp and acquainted with the tyrans facions: to thend he should serue as a counterpeace, to withstande *Plato* and his Philosophie. For this *Philistus*, from the first time that the tyrannie beganne to be established, did shew him selfe verie willing and conformable to the establishment thereof, and had of long time kept the castell: and the voyce went, that he kept the mother of *Dionysius* the elder, and as it was supposed, not altogether without the tyrans knowledge. But afterwards, *Leptines* hauing had two daughters by one woman, whom he inticed to folie being an other mans wife: he married one of these his daughters vnto *Philistus*, and made not *Dionysius* priuie to it before. The tyranne therewith was so offended, that he put *Leptines* woman in prison fast locked vp, and draue *Philistus* out of SICILIA. He being banished thus, repayed vnto some of his frendes that dwelt about the Adriaticke sea, where it seemeth he wrote the most parte of all his historie, being then at good leisure. For he was not called home againe during the life of *Dionysius* the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare vnto *Dion*, caused them to procure *Philistus* calling home againe, as we haue told you, as the man they thought would sticke slowly in defense of the tyranny. So *Philistus* no sooner returned, but he stowly began to defend the tyranny: & others in contrary maner, deuiled accusations to the tyrant against *Dion*, accusing him that he had practised with *Theodotes* and *Heraclides*, to ouerthrowe the tyrannie of *Dionysius*. For *Dion*, in my opinion, helped by *Platoes* comming to bridle and lessen a litle the ouerlicentious and imperious tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and thereby to frame *Dionysius* a wife and righteous gouernor. But on the other side, if he saw he would not follow his counsell, and that he yielded not to his wife instructions: he then determined to put him downe, & to bring the gouernment of the common wealth into the hands of the SYRACVSANS: not that he allowed of *Democrasia* (to wit, where the people gouerne) but yet certainly thinking that *Democrasia* was much better then the tyrannie, when they could not come vnto *Aristocratia*, to wit, the gouernment of a few of the nobilitie. Now things being in this state, *Plato* arriued in SICILIE, where he was maruelously receiued and honored by *Dionysius*. For when he landed on the shoare, leauing his galley that brought him: D there was readie for him one of the kings rich and sumptuous chariots to conuey him to the castell: and the tyrant made sacrifice to geue the goddess thanks for his comming, as for some wonderful great good hadde chaunced vnto his seigniorie. Furthermore, the wonderfull modestie and temperance that was begon to be obserued in feasts and bankets, the Court cleane changed, and the great goodnes and clemencie of the tyrant in all thinges, in ministring iustice to euerie man: did put the SYRACVSANS in great good hope of change, and euerie man in the Court was verie desirous to geue him selfe to learning and Philosophie. So that, as men reported, the tyrannes pallace was full of sande and dust, with the numbers of studentes that drewe plattes and figures of Geometrie. Shortlie after *Plato* was arriued, by chance the time was comen about to doe a solemne sacrifice within the castell, at which sacrifice the Heraulde (as the manner was) proclaimed alowde the solemne prayer accustomed to be done, that it would please the goddess long to preferue the state of the tyrannie: and that *Dionysius* being harde by him, sayd vnto him, what, wilt thou not leaue to curse me? This worde grieved *Philistus* and his companions to the harte, thinking that with time, by litle and litle, *Plato* would winne suche estimation and greate authoritie with *Dionysius*, that afterwards they shoulde not be able to resist him: considering that in so short a time as he had bene with *Dionysius*, he had so altered his minde and courage. And therefore they nowe beganne, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mouth together to accuse *Dion*: and sayd, that it was easie to be seene, howe he charmed and inchaunted *Dionysius* through *Platoes* eloquence, to make him willing to resigne his gouernment, because he would transference it to the hands of the children of his sister *Aristomachi*. Others seemed to be offended, for that the A THENIANS hauing comen before into

SICILIA

A SICILIA with a great armie, both by sea and land, they were all lost and cast away, and could not win the city of SYRACUSA: & that now by one only Sopliaster, they vtterly destroyed and ouerthrowe the Empire of *Dionysius*, perswading him to discharge the ten thousand souldiers he had about him for his garde, to forsake the foure hundred galleies, the ten thousand horsemen, and as many moe footemen, to goe to the Academy to seeke an vnknown happines neuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, resigning his present happines and felicitie to be a great Lord, to haue money at will, and to liue pleasauntlie, vnto *Dion* and his Neewes. By such like accusations and wicked tongues, *Dionysius* began first to mistrust *Dion*, and afterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frowne vpon him. In the meane time they brought letters *Dion* wrote secretlie vnto the Gouernors of the cite of CARTHAGE, willing them that when they would make peace with *Dionysius*, they shoulde not talke with him vnlesse he stood by: assuring them that he would helpe them to set things in quietnes, & that all should be well againe. When *Dionysius* had red these letters with *Philistus*, & had taken his aduise & counsell what he should do, as *Timaeus* said: he deceived *Dion* vnder pretence of reconciliation, making as though he ment him no hurt, & saying that he would become frends again with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the sea side vnder his castell, and shewed him these letters, burdening him to haue practised with the CARTHAGINIANS against him. And as *Dion* went about to make him answer, to cleere himself: *Dionysius* would not heare him, but caused him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnase, & commaunded the mariners to fet him a lande vpon the coast of ITALIE. After this was done, and that it was known abroad in the cite, euerie man thought it a cruell parte of *Dionysius*: insomuche that the tyrans pallace was in a maruelous pecke of troubles, for the great sorowe the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreouer, the cite selfe of SYRACUSA began to looke about them, looking for some sodaine great change & inuouation, for the tumult & vprore that would happen by meanes of *Dions* banishment, and for the mistrust also that all men would haue of *Dionysius*. *Dionysius* considering this, and being affrayed of some misfortune, he gaue his frendes and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not banished him, but was contented that he should absent him selfe for a time: being affrayed, that in his sodaine angry moodde he might peraduenture be compelled to do him some worse turne if he remained, because of his obstinacie and selfewill. Furthermore, he gaue vnto *Dions* frends two shippes, to carrie as D much goodes, money, and as many of *Dions* seruantes as they would, and to conuey them vnto him vnto PELOPONNESVS. *Dion* was a maruelous rich man, & for the pompe of his seruice, and sumptuous moueables of his house, they were like vnto the perion of a tyrant. All these riches *Dions* frendes brought aboard vpon those shippes, and caried them vnto him: besides many other rich gifts, which the women and his frends sent vnto him. So that by meanes of his great riches, *Dion* was marueloullie esteemed among the GRACIANS: who by the riches of a banished citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyranne might be. But now concerning *Plato*: when *Dion* was exiled, *Dionysius* caused him to be lodged in his castell, and by this meanes crassilie placed, vnder cloke of frendshippe, an honorable garde about him: because he shoulde not returne into GRACE to seeke *Dion*, to tell him of the iniurie he had done E vnto him. Howbeit *Dionysius* often frequenting his companie, (as a wilde beast is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke so well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue. For he would haue *Plato* to loue none but him, and that he shoulde esteeme him about all men liuing, being readie to put the whole realme into his handes, and all his forces: so that he would thinke better of him, then of *Dion*. Thus was this passionate affection of *Dionysius* grievous vnto *Plato*. For he was so drowned with the loue of him, as men extreamelie jealous of the women they loue: that in a moment he would suddenly fall out with him, and straight againe become frendes, and pray him to pardon him. And to say truelie, he had a maruelous desire to heare *Platoes* Philosophie: but on the other side, he reuerenced them that did disswade him from it, and told him that he would spoyle him selfe, if he entred ouer deeplie into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereupon he sent *Plato* againe away, promising him that the next spring he would sende for *Dion* home. But he brake promise therein, and yet sent him his reuenues: and prayed *Plato* to pardon him,

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Philistus the Historiographer.

Philistus the Historiographer banished out of Sicilia by Dionysius the elder.

Democratie: the gouernment of the people. Dion allowed not popular state. Aristocratie: the gouernment of a few of the nobilitie.

Plato came into Sicilia, vnto Dionysius the younger. The change of Dionysius, vpon Platoes coming.

Philistus accusations against Dion.

Dions letters vnto Carthage.

Dion sent away by Dionysius into Italie.

Dions wealth.

Dionysius the tyrant fall in loue with Plato.

Dionysius sent Plato from him.

*Dions life in
Grace.*

though he had not kept promise at his time appointed. For he alleaged the warre was the A
cause, and that so soone as he had ended his warre, he woulde sende for *Dion*: whome in the
meane time he prayed to haue patience and not to attempt any sturre or alteration against
him, nor to speake euill of him among the *Græcians*. This *Plato* sought to bring to passe,
and brought *Dion* to studie Philosophie, and kept him in the Academy at *Athenes*. *Dion* lay
in the cite of *Athenes* with one *Callippus*, whome he had knowne of long time, howbeit he
bought him a house in the contrie, to lye there sometime for his pleasure, the which he gaue
afterwards (at his returne into *Sicilia*) vnto *Speusippus* that kept him company, and was con-
tinually with him, more then with any other friend he had in *Athenes*, through *Platoes* coun-
sell: who to soften and recreate *Dions* manners, gaue him the company of some pleasant con-
ceited man, knowing that this *Speusippus* coulde modellie oblerue time and place to be plea-
sant and merie: for which respect, *Timon* in his Satyricall ieafts, calleth *Speusippus* a good iea-
ster. Nowe *Plato* him selfe hauing vnderaken to defray the charges of common playes in the
dauncings of young children: *Dion* tooke these paynes to teache and exercise them, and more-
ouer was him selfe at the whole charge of these playes, *Plato* suffering him to bestowe that
liberality and curtesie vpon the *Athenians*: the which wanne *Dion* a great deale more good
will, then *Plato* honor. *Dion* kept not still at *Athenes*, but went also to see the other good ci-
ties of *Græce*, passing his time away. He being at common feastes and assemblies with the
chiefest men, and bestlearned in matters of estate and gouernment, & neuer shewing any light
partes, nor signe of tyrannicall pride in his manner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought
vp with all pompe and pleasure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well studied in Philoso-
phie, whereby he grew to be generallie beloued and esteemed of all men: the cities graunted
him publike honors, and sent him decrees of his glorie, made in their counsellis & assemblies.
Furthermore, the *Lacedæmonians* made him a *Spartan* & burges of the city, not passing
for *Dionysius* displeasure, though at that time he had geuen them great aide, in the warre they
made against the *Thebans*. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Ptolemy* Ma-
garian, to come and see him at his house: and *Dion* went thither. This *Ptolemy* was a ma-
rueulous great rich man, & therefore *Dion* seeing a great number of people standing at his gates,
and that it was a hard thing to come and speake with him he had such great busines: he turned
vnto his friends that did accompanie him, who were angrie they made him tarie so long at the
gate, and sayd vnto them: what cause haue we to thinke euill of him, sith we did the like when
we were at *Syracusa*? But *Dionysius* being incensed with enuie against him, and fearing the
good will the *Græcians* bare him: he kept backe his reueneue, and would no more sende it
him, and seafed all his goodes, the which he gaue to his receiuers to keepe. Furthermore, bi-
cause he woulde cleere him selfe of the infamie he had gotten amongst the Philosophers for
Platoes sake, he sent for diuers wife and learned men, and vainly coueting to excell them all in
wisedom, he was driuen improperly, and out of time, to alleage many wise sayings he had
learned of *Plato*. Thereuppon he beganne againe to wish for him, and to condemne him selfe,
for that he had no wit to vse him well when he had him at his commaundement, and that he
had not heard so muche as he should haue done of him: and like a tyranne as he was, madlie
caried away with light desires, and easilie chaunging minde from time to time, a foudaine ve-
hement desire tooke him in the heade, to haue *Plato* againe. So he fought all the meanes and
waies he coulde deuise, to pray *Archytas* the Pythagorian Philosopher to tel him, that he might
boldly come, and to be his surety vnto him for that he woulde promise him: for first of all, they
were acquainted together by his meanes. Therefore *Archytas* sent thither *Archidamus* the Phi-
losopher. *Dionysius* also sent certeine gallies, and some of his frendes thither, to pray *Plato* to
come to him: and he him selfe wrote speciallie, and plainly, that it should not goe well with
Dion, if *Plato* came not into *Sicilia*: but if he woulde be perfwaded to come, that then he
would doe what he would haue him. Many letters and requests came vnto *Dion* from his wife
and sister, insomuche as *Dion* vsed the matter, that *Plato* obeyed *Dionysius*, without making
any excuse at all. So *Plato* wryteth him selfe, that he was driuen to come againe the third time
into the straight of *Sicilia*:

To trie if once againe he could Charibdis dangers passe.

*Platoes third
journey into
Sicilia.*

*Archytas a
Pythagorian
Philosopher.
Dionysius
sendeth a
galle for
Plato to come
into Sicilia.*

A Nowe *Plato* being arriued in *Sicilia*, he made *Dionysius* a great ioyfull man, and filled all
Sicilia againe with great good hope: for they were all verie desirous, and did what they
could, to make *Plato* overcome *Philistus* and the tyrannie, with his Philosophie. The women
of *Dionysius* Court did entertaine *Plato* the best they could: but aboute all, *Dionysius* seemed to
haue a marueous trust and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his frendes. For
he suffered *Plato* to come to him without searching of him, and oftentimes offered to geue him
a great summe of money: but *Plato* would take none of it. Therefore *Aristippus* *Cyrenian*
being at that time in the tyrannes Court in *Sicilia*, sayd that *Dionysius* bestowd his libera-
lie iurelie. For, to vs that aske much he geueth litle, and much vnto *Plato* that requieth no-
thing. After *Dionysius* had geuen *Plato* his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of *Dion*,
on the other side, at the first did vse him with fine delays, but afterwards he shewed
him selfe angrie in deede: and at length fell out with *Plato*, but yet so couertlie, that others
saw it not. For *Dionysius* dissembled that, and otherwise in all other things he did him as much
honor as he coulde deuise, practising thereby to make him to forsake *Dions* frendshippe. Now
Plato found him at the first, that there was no trust to be geuen to his wordes, and that all were
but lyes and deuises he either sayd or did: howbeit he kept it to him selfe, and euer patiently
bare all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he beleued him. They two thus fine-
lie dissembling with eache other, thinking to deceiue all men, and that none shoulde vnder-
stande their secrets: *Helycon* *Cyzicenean*, one of *Platoes* frendes, did prognosticate the e-
clipse of the funne. The same falling out as he had prognosticated, the tyrant esteemed mar-
uelously of him, and gaue him a siluer talent for his labor. Then *Aristippus* sporting with other
Philosophers, sayd he coulde tell them of a straunger thing to happen then that. So when they
prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognosticate, sayd he, that *Plato* and *Dionysius* will
be enemies ere it be long. In thend it came to passe, that *Dionysius* made parte sale of all *Dions*
goodes, and kept the money to him selfe, and lodged *Plato* that before lay the next Court to
his pallace, among the fouldiers of his gard, whom he knewe maliced him of long time, and
fought to kill him: because he did perfwade *Dionysius* to leaue his tyranny and to lue without
his gard. *Plato* being in this instant danger, *Archytas* sent Ambassadors forthwith vnto *Dio-
nysius*, in a galley of thirtie owers, to demand *Plato* againe: declaring that *Plato* came againe
to *Syracusa*, vpon his worde and caution. *Dionysius* to excuse him selfe, and to shewe that
he was not angrie with him at his departure from him: he made him all the great cheere and
feastes he coulde, and so sent him home with great shewes of good will. One day among the
rest, he sayd vnto *Plato*: I am affrayd *Plato*, sayd he, that thou wilt speake euill of me, when
thou art among thy frendes and companions in the Academy. Then *Plato* smiling, aunsw-
ered him againe: the goddes forbidde that they shoulde haue suche scarcetie of matter in the
Academy, as that they must needs talke of thee. Thus was *Platoes* returne, as it is reported,
although that which he him selfe wryteth agreeth not much with this reporte. These things
went to *Dions* harte, so that shortly after he shewed him selfe an open enemy vnto *Dionysius*,
but specially when he heard how he had handled his wife, *Plato* vnder couert wordes, sent *Dio-
nysius* worde of it by his letters. And thus it was. After *Dion* was exiled *Dionysius* returning
E *Plato* backe againe, he willed him secretlie to seele *Dions* minde, whether he woulde not be
angrie that his wife should be married to an other man: because there ranne a rumor abroade
(whether it were true, or inuented by *Dions* enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and
could not lue quietlie with his wife. Therefore when *Plato* was at *Athenes*, and had tolde
Dion of all things, he wrote a letter vnto *Dionysius* the tyranne, and did sette all other
things downe so plainelie, that euerie man might vnderstande him, but this one thing only
so darkelie, that he alone, and none other coulde vnderstande him, but him to whom he had
wrytten: declaring vnto him, that he had spoken with *Dion* about the matter he wrote of, and
that he did lette him vnderstande he woulde be marueous angrie, if *Dionysius* did it. So at
that time, because there was great hope of reconciliation betwene them, the tyranne did no-
thing larelie touching his sister, but suffered her still to remaine with *Dions* sonne. But when
they were so farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in fauour againe, and that
he had also sent home *Plato* in disgrace and displeasure: then he married his sister *Arete*

*Aristippus
saying of
Dionysius.*

*Helycon a
Mathemati-
cian.*

*Aristippus
dissimulation.*

*Archytas re-
quithes Pla-
to of Dionysius.*

*Dionysius
married Dions
wife to an o-
ther man.*

Now

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(Dions wife) against her will, vnto one of his friends called *Timocrates*, not following therein his fathers iustice and lenitie. For *Polyxenus* that had married his fathers sister *Thesia*, being also become his enemy: he fled out of *SICILIA*. *Dionysius* the elder sent for his sister *Thesia*, and tooke her vp verie sharply, for that she knowing her husbande would flee, she did not come and tell him of it. *Thesia* noble answered him againe, and neuer was affrayed nor abashed: why, *Dionysius*, dost thou thinke me a woman so faint hearted and beasliffe, that if I had known my husband would haue gone his way, and left me: that I would not haue taken the fea with him, and both haue runne one fortune together? Truly I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honor to haue bene called the wife of the banished *Polyxenus*, then the sister of thee a tyrant. *Dionysius* marvelled to heare his sister speake thus boldly, and the *SYRACVSANS* wondred at her noble courage: inso much that when the tyrant *B* was utterly destroyed, they did not refuse to doe her all the honor they could deuise, as vnto a Queene. And when she was deade also, all the citizens of *SYRACUSA* by a common decree, did accompanie her bodie at her buriall. This litle digression from our historie, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now againe to our matter. *Dion* from thenceforth disposed him selfe altogether vnto warre, against *Platoes* counsell and aduise: who did his best endeavour to dissuade him from it, both for the respect of *Dionysius* good entertainment he had geuen him, as also for that *Dion* was of great yeares. Howbeit on the other side, *Speusippus*, and his other frendes did prouoke him vnto it, and did perswade him to deliuer *SICILIA* from the slauerie and bondage of the tyrant, the which helde vp her handes vnto him, and would receiue him with great loue and good will. For whilest *Plato* lay at *SYRACUSA*, *Speusippus* keeping the citizens companie more then *Plato* did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first they were affrayed to open them selues vnto him, and franklie to speake what they thought, mistrusting he was a spie vnto the tyrant, sent amongst them to feele their mindes: but within a short time they beganne to trust him, and were all of one minde, for they prayed and perswaded *Dion* to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of shippes, souldiers, nor horses with him, but onely to hyre a shippe, and to lend the *SICILIANS* his bodie and name against *Dionysius*. *Speusippus* reporting these newes vnto *Dion*, did put him in good hart againe: whereupon he began secretly to leaue men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers doe set forward *Dions* warres. Many citizens dealing in the affaires of the common wealth did aide him, and diuers of them also that onely gaue their mindes to the studie of Philosophie: and among them, *Eudemus* *CYPRIAN* (on whose death *Aristotle* wrote his dialogue of the soule) and *Timonides* *LEVCIAN* went with him. Furthermore, there ioyned also with him *Miltas* *THESSALIAN*, a Soothsayer, and that had bene his companion in studie in the Academy. Nowe of all them whom the tyrant had banished, (which were no lesse then a thousand persons) there were but onely fise and twentie that durst accompanie him in this warre. For all the other were suche dastardes, that they forooke him, and durst not goe with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of *ZACYNTH*, where they leauied all their souldiers, that were not aboute eight hundred in all, but all of them braue souldiers, and valliant men, and excellentie well trained in warres: and to conclude, such lustie men, as would incorporate all the armie *Dion* hoped of at his arriual in *SICILIA*, to fight like valliant men with them. These hyered souldiers, the first time that they vnderstoode it was to go into *SICILIA*, to make warre with *Dionysius*: they were amazed at the first, and misliked the iorney, because it was vndertaken rather of malice and spite that *Dion* had to be reuenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrell, who hauing no better hope, tooke vpon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the souldiers were offended with their Captaines that had pressed them, because they had not told them of this warre before. But after that *Dion* by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies haue euill fundacions, & are subiect vnto ruine, & that he led them not into *SICILIA* so much for souldiers, as he did to make the Captaines of the *SYRACVSANS*, & the other *SICILIANS*, who of long time desired nothing more then occasion to rise. And, when after him also *Alcimenus* (a companion with him in this warre, and the chiefeest man of all the *ACHAIANS*, both for nobility & estimation) did speake vnto them in like maner, then they were all contented to goe whether they would lead

Dionysius married *Thesia*, his father *Dionysius* sister. The noble answer of *Thesia*, vnto her brother *Dionysius* the elder.

Dion begins to make warre against *Dionysius*.

The Philosophers aduanced *Dions* warre. *Aristotle* dialogue de anima.

Dions army.

A lead them. It was then in the hart of sommer, and the wind blew called the *GRÆCIAN* wind, the Moone being at the full, and *Dion* hauing prepared to make a sumptuous sacrifice vnto the god *Apollo*, he led all his men armed with white corselets in procession into the temple and after the sacrifice done, he made them a feast in the parke or shewe place of the *ZACYNTHIANS*. There the tables were layed, and the souldiers wondred to see the great state & magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and siluer, and such other furniture and preparation, as passed a priuate mans wealth: then they thought with them selues, that a man being so olde, and Lord of so great a good, would not attempt things of such danger, without good ground, and great assurance of his friends ayde & helpe. But after his oblations of wine, and common prayers made to the gods at feasts: sodainly the Moone eclipsed. *Dion* thought B it not strange to see an eclipse, considering the reuolutions of the eclipses, and knowing verie well it is a shadowe that falleth vpon the body of the Moone, because of the direct interposition of the earth betwixt her and the Sunne. But because the souldiers that were affrayd and astonied withall, stood in neede of some comfort and encouragement: *Miltas* the Soothsayer standing vp in the middelt amongst them, sayd vnto them. My fellowe souldiers, be of good cheere, and assure your selues that we shall prosper: for God doth forefheue vs by this sight we see, that some one of the chiefeest things nowe in highest place and dignitie shall be eclipsed. And at this present time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, than the tyranny of *Dionysius*? Therefore you must thinke, that so soone as you arriue in *SICILIA*, your selues shall put out his light and glory. This interpretation of the eclipse of the Moone, did C *Miltas* the Soothsayer make, before all the whole companie. But touching the swarme of bees that lighted on the poope of *Dions* shippe, he told him, and his friends priuately: that he was affrayd his acts which should fall out famous and glorious, should last but a while, & flourishing a few dayes, would straight cōsume away. It is reported also, that *Dionysius* in like manner had many strange signes and wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came an Eagle that snatched the partisan out of the souldiers handes, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the sea. The sea also beating against the walls of the castell, was as sweete to drinke a whole day together, as any condute or running water: as thole that tasted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a fowe farrowed pygges that lacked no parts of the body, but onely their eares. This the Soothsayers sayd did signifie rebellion, and disobedience of his subiects: & that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the sweetenes of the salt water prognosticated to the *SYRACVSANS*, chatig of cruell and euill time, vnto good and ciuill gouernment: and that the Eagle, *Supiters* minister, and the partisan, the marke and token of the kingdom and Empire, did betoken that *Supiter* the chiefe of all gods had determined to destroy and put downe the tyranny. *Theopompus* reporteth this matter thus. So *Dions* souldiers were imbarcked into two great shippes of burden, and another third shippe that was not very great, and two pynnales with thirrye owers followed them. For their armor and weapon, beside those the souldiers had: he caried two thousand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pykes, and plenty of vittells: that they should lacke nothing all the time they were vpon the sea, considering that their iorney stood altogether at the curreisie of the windes and sea, and for that they were affrayd to lande, vnderstanding that *Philistus* roade at anker in the coast of *APVLOTA*, with a flecte of shippes that lay in wayte for their comming. So hauing a pleasant gale of wind, they sayled the space of twelue dayes together, and the thirteenth day they came to the foreland of *SICILIA* called *Pachynus*. There the Pilot thought it best they should land presently: for if they willingly loosed into the sea, and lost that poynt, they were sure they should lose also many nights and dayes in vaine in the middelt of the sea, being then sommer time, and the wind at the South. But *Dion* being affrayd to land to neare his enemies, he was desirous to goe further, and so past by the foreland of *Pachynus*. Then the Northwind rose so bigge and great, that with great violence it drane backe their ships from the coast of *SICILIA*. Furthermore, F lightning and thunder mingled withall (because it was at that time when the starre *Arcturus* begetteth to shewe) it made so terrible a tempest, and powred downe such a sore shower of rayne vpon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whether the wind

Dions sumptuous feast in the temple.

The eclipse of the Moone, and cause of the eclipse.

YVanders observed vnto *Dion*.

YVanders appearing vnto *Dionysius*.

Dions preparation.

Pachynus, the foreland of *Sicilia*.

A tempest on the sea against *Dion*.

would drine them: till that fodainly they saw the storme had cast them vpon the Ile of CYCYNA, (which is on the coast of LYBYA) and specially where it is most dangerous to arrive for the rocks, for their shippes were like to haue runne vpon them, and to haue made shipwrecke. But with much a doe they bare of the shippes with their great longe poles, and wandered vp and downe the sea, not knowing whether they went, vntill the storme ceased. Then they met a shippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Marriners call the heads of the great Syrt. Thus they wandering vp and downe, being marcelous angry that the sea was calme, there rose a litle South wind from the land, although they least looked for any such wind at that time, and litle thinking it would so haue chaunged: but seeing the wind rise bigger and bigger, they packed on all the sayles they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods they crossed the sea, and sayled from the coast of LYBYA, directly vnto SYCYLYE, and had the winde so lucky, that at the fift daye they were neare vnto a litle village of SYCYLYE, called

Synalus, Cap-
taine of Mi-
na for the
Carthaginians

Dion wanne,
Mina.

Dion goeth to
Syracusa.

A strange
chance hap-
pened vnto
the Messen-
ger, sent to
Diomyssus.

A woulfe car-
ried away the
Messen-
ger, sent to
Diomyssus.

MINOA, the which was subiect to the CYRTHAGYNIANS, *Synalus* CYRTHAGYNIAN, being at that time Captaine and gouernor of the towne of MINOA, and *Dions* friende, was there by chance at that present, who being ignorant of his enterprise & comming, did what he could to keepe *Dions* souldiers from landing. But they notwithstanding sodainly leapt a land armed, but slue no man. For *Dion* had commaunded them the contrary, for the friendship he bare the Captaine: and they following the townes men hard that fled before them, entered the towne, hand ouer head amongst them, and so wanne the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had ipoken together, *Dion* redeliuered the towne into *Synalus* hands again, without any hurt or violence offered him. *Synalus* on the other side did indeour him selfe all he could to make much of the souldiers, and holpe *Dion* to provide him of all things necessary. But this did most of all encorage the souldiers, because *Diomyssus* at their arriual, was not then in SYCYLYE: for it chaunced so, that not many dayes before he went into ITALY, with foure score sayle. Therefore when *Dion* willed them to remayne there a fewe dayes to refresh them selues, because they had bene so fore sea beaten a long time together: they them selues would not, they were so glad to imbrace the occasion offered them, and prayed *Dion* to leade them forthwith to SYRACVSA. *Dion* leauing all his superfluous armor and prouision in the hands of *Synalus*, and praying him to sende them to him when time serued: he tooke his way towardes SYRACVSA. So by the way, two hundred horsemen of the AGRIGENTINES, which dwell in that part called ECNOMVS, came first to ioyne with him, and after them, the GELOIANS. The rumor of their comming ranne straight to SYRACVSA. There vpon *Timocrates* that had married *Aretè*, *Dions* wife, and *Diomyssus* the fathers sister, and vnto whom *Diomyssus* the yonger had left the charge and gouernment of all his men and friends in the citie: he presently dispatched a post with letters, to aduertise *Diomyssus* of *Dions* comming. He him selfe also in the meane time had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebell: but because they were vncertaine whether this rumor was true or false, being affrayd, euery man was quiet. Now there chaunced a strange misfortune vnto the Messenger, that carried the letters vnto *Diomyssus*. For after he had passed the straight, and that he was arriued in the citie of RHEGGIO of ITALYES side, making haste to come to the citie of CYAVLONIA, where *Diomyssus* was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that carried a mutton but newly sacrificed. This good fellow gaue him a peece of it, and the Messenger spurred away with all the speede he could possible. But when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so weary and drowfie for lacke of sleepe, that he was driuen to lye downe. So he lay downe vpon the ground, in a wodde hard by the high way. The fauor of this fieshe brought a woulfe to him, that carried away the fieshe and the portmantew it was wrapt in, and in the which also were his letters of aduertisement, which he carried vnto *Diomyssus*. When he awoke out of his sleepe, and saw that his portmantew was gone: he enquired for it, and went wandering vpe and downe a long time to seeke it: howbeit all in vaine, for he could neuer find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to goe to the tyranne without his letters, but rather to flie into some vnknown place where no body knew him. Thus *F*ouerlate receiued *Diomyssus* aduertisement by others of this warre, which *Dion* made in SYCYLYE. In the meane time, the CAMARINIANS came and ioyned with *Dions* army, in the highe way

A way towards SYRACVSA: and still there came vnto him also a great number of the SYRACVSANS that were vpe in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other side, certaine CAMPANIANS and LEONTINES, which were gotten into the castell of EPIPOLES with *Timocrates*, of purpose to keepe it: Vpon a false rumor *Dion* gaue out (and which came vnto them) that he would first goe against their townes: they forooke *Timocrates*, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. *Dion* vnderstanding that, being lodged with his armie in a place called MACRE: he presently remoued his campe being darke night, and marched forward till he came vnto the riuer of ANAPUS, which is not from the citie about tenne furlongs off: and there staying a while, he sacrificed vnto the riuer, and made his prayer, and withorhipped the rising of the Sunne. At the selfe same instant also, the SOOTHSAYERS came and told him, that the gods did promise him assured victorie. And the souldiers also seeing *Dion* wear a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremonie of the sacrifice: all of them with one selfe good will, tooke euery man one of them, (being no lesse then fise thousande men that were gathered together by the way, and but slenderly armed with such things as came first to hand, howbeit supplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when *Dion* commaunded them to marche, for ioy they ranne, and incorage one another with great cries, to shew them selues valliant for recouery of their libertie. Nowe for them that were within the citie self of SYRACVSA, the noble men & chief Citizens went to receiue them at the gates in their best gownes. The common people on the other side ranne and let vpon them that tooke part with the tyranne, and spoyled them that were called the PROSAGOGIDES (as much to say, the common Promoters of men) the detestable villaines, hateful to the gods and men. For they like SYCOPHANTS and busie tale bearers, would iet vp and downe the citie, and mingle amonge the Citizens, hauing an oer in euery mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and buse headed, to know what euery man sayd and did, and then to goe cary it to the tyranne. These men were they that had their payment first of all, for they killed them with dry blowes, beating them to death with staues. When *Timocrates* could not enter into the castell with them that kept it, he tooke his horse backe, and fled out of the citie, and flying made all men affrayd and amafed where he came, enlarging *Dions* power by his report, because it should not seeme that for feare of a trifle, he had forsaken the citie. In the meane time, *Dion* came on towards the citie with his men, and was come so neare, that they might see him plainly from the citie, marching foremost of all, armed with a fayer bright white corselet, hauing his brother *Megacles* on his right hande of him, & *Callippus* ATHENIAN on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him also there followed a hundred souldiers that were straungers, chosen for his gard about him, and the rest came marching after in good order of batell, being led by their Captaines. The SYRACVSANS saw him comming, and went out and receiued him as a holy and blessed procession, that brought them their libertie & popular state againe, the which they had lost the space of eight and fortye years. When *Dion* was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he caused his trompeter sownd to appease the rumor and tumult of the people. Then he commaunded a Herawld to proclayme a lowd, that *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to put downe the tyranny, did set all the SYRACVSANS at libertie, and all the other SYCYLYENIANS also, from the bondage and subiection of the tyranne: and because *Dion* him selfe was desirous to speake vnto the people, he went to the vpper part of the towne called ACRADINA. The SYRACVSANS all the freeres thorough as he passed by, had on either hand of him prepared sacrifices, and fet vp tables, and cuppes vpon them: and as he passed by their houses, they cast flowers and frutes on him, and made prayers vnto him, as if he had bene a god. Now vnder the castell there was a place called Pentapyla, a clocke to know by the Sunne how the day went, the which *Diomyssus* had caused to be made, and it was of a good pretty height. *Dion* got vp vpon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perswading his contry men to doe their endeour to recouer their libertie againe, and to mainteyne it. They being in a marcelous ioy withall, and desirous to please *Dion*: did choofe him and his brother *Megacles* their Lieutenants generall, with absolute power and authoritie. Afterwards also, by the consent of *Dion* him selfe and his brother, and at their requestes in like manner, they chose

Anapus fl.

Diomyssus
picks banquet
paynes.

Dion recei-
ued into Sy-
racusa.

Dion restor-
eth the Sy-
racusans to
libertie.

Diomyssus
clocke.

The prediction
of the
Soothsayes.

Dionysius first
Ambassadors
unto Dion.

Dion fighteth
with Dionysius.

Dion lieth.

twenty other Capitaines, of the which the most part of them had bene banished by the tyrant, and were returned againe with *Dion*. The Soothsayes and Prognosticators liked it well, and sayd it was a good signe for *Dion*, that he trooth that sumptuous building and workmanship of the tyrant vnder his feete, when he made his oration: but bicause the hande of the diall did shewe the course of the Sunne, which neuer leaueh going, vpon the which he got vppe when he was chosen Lieutenent generall with absolute power and authoritie: they were affrayd againe, that it was a signe *Dions* affaires should haue a sodaine change of fortune. After this, *Dion* hauing taken the castell of *Epipoles*, he set all the Citizens at libertie which were kept there as prisoners in captiuitie by the tyrant, and enuyroned the castell round about with a wall. Within seuen dayes after, *Dionysius* returned by sea to the castell of *Syracusa*, and therewithall also came the carts laden with armor and weapon to *Syracusa*, the which *Dion* had left with *Synalus*: the which *Dion* caused to be distributed amonge the Citizens of *Syracusa* that had none. Others did furnishe them selues as well as they could, and shewed that they had corage and good will to fight for the maintenance and defence of their libertie. In the meane time, *Dionysius* sent Ambassadors, first vnto *Dion* priuately, to see if he would yeld to any composition. But *Dion* would not heare them, but bad them tell the *Syracvsans* openly what they had to say, being men that were free, and enioyed libertie. Then the Ambassadors spake in the behalfe of the tyrant, vnto the people of *Syracusa*, promising them with mild and gentle wordes, that they should paye no more subsidies and taxes, but very litle, and should be no more troubled with warres, other then such as they them selues should like of. The *Syracvsans* made a mockery at those offers, and *Dion* also answered the Ambassadors, and willed *Dionysius* to send no more to the *Syracvsans*, before he had dispossessed him selfe of his tyranny: & so that he would leaue it, he would be his meane to obtayne all things iust and reasonable of the people. *Dionysius* liked very well of this good offer, and therefore sent his Ambassadors againe to praye the *Syracvsans* that they would appoynte some amongest them to come to the castell, to talke with him for the benefit and commoditie of the common wealth, that he might heare what they would alleage, and they also what answer he would make. *Dion* chose certaine whome he sent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the citie amonge the *Syracvsans*, which came from the castell: that *Dionysius* would willingly of him selfe, rather then by reason of *Dions* comming, depose him selfe of the tyrannie. But this was but a false alarom, and crafty fetch of *Dionysius*, to intrap the *Syracvsans* by. For those that were sent him from the citie, he kept them prisoners euery man of them: and one morning hauing made his souldiers drinke wine lustely, which he kept in pay to gard his person, he sent them with great furie to assault the wall the *Syracvsans* had built against the castell. Nowe, bicause the *Syracvsans* looked for nothing lesse then for the sodaine assault, and for that these barbarous people with a wonderfull corage & great tumult ouerthrew the wal, and others of them also did set vpon the *Syracvsans*: there was not a man of them that durst make head to fight with them, sauing the souldiers that were strangers, whome *Dion* had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noyse, ranne straight to repulse them, and yet they them selues could not well tell what they should doe vpon that sodaine. For they could heare nothing, for the great noyse and hurly burley of the *Syracvsans* which fled with great disorder, and came and mingled them selues amongest them. Til at length, *Dion* perceiuing he could not be heard, to shew them by deede what they should doe: he went first him selfe against these barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloody fight. For his enemies knewe him as well as his owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cries. Now for *Dion* him selfe, in deede bicause of his age, he was heauier then was requisite for one that should away with the paynes of such battells: but he had such a valliant corage in him, that he went thorough withall lustely, and slue them that did assaile him. Yet he had his hand also thrust thorough with a pyke, and very hardly did his curaces holde out the blowes of the darts and thrusts by hande which he receiued on them, they were so mangled and hacked with such a number of darts and pykes passed thorough his shield and broken on him, that in the ende he was beaten downe: howbeit his souldiers rescued him straight. Then he made *Timonides* their Capitaine, and he him selfe tooke his horse backe,

A backe, and went vp and downe the citie, slaying and quieting the flying of the *Syracvsans*. Then he sent for his souldiers the strangers, which he had put in garrison in that part of the citie called the *Acradine* to keepe it, and brought them being freshe, against the barbarous people of the castell that were wearied, and almost all of them discouraged to attempt any further enterprife. For they had made this false out, in hope to haue taken all the citie at the first onset, onely running vp and downe: but when contrary to their expectation, they met these valliant souldiers and freshe supply, they then beganne to retyre againe vnto the castell. And the *Grecian* souldiers on the other side, perceiuing they gaue backe, they came the faster vpon them, so that they were compelled to turne their backs, and were driuen within their walls, after they had slayne three score and foureteene of *Dions* men, and lost a great number of their owne. This was a noble victorie and therefore the *Syracvsans* gaue the souldiers that were strangers, an hundred silver Minas, in reward for their good seruice: & they gaue *Dion* their generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to *Dion* by a trompet from the castell, written from the women of his house: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed: to my father: the which *Hipparimus* wrote vnto him. For that was *Dions* sonnes name, though *Timaeus* writeth he was called *Aretes*, after his mothers name *Aretia*. But in such matters, me thinkes *Timonides* is better to be credited, bicause he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were sent, were openly red before the assembly of the *Syracvsans*, and did only concerne requests of these women vnto *Dion*. The *Syracvsans* would not haue the supposed letter of his sonne to be openly red: but *Dion* against their mindes opened it, and found that it was *Dionysius* letter, who by wordes, made the direction of it vnto *Dion*, but in effect, he spake vnto the *Syracvsans*. For in sight, it seemed a manner of request and iustification of him selfe: but in truth, it was written of purpose to acule *Dion*. First of all he remembered him of the things he had done before, for the establishing and preferuation of the tyrannie: and afterwards of cruell threats against those whome he should loue best, as his wife, his sonne and sister: and last of all, full of most humble requests and intreaties with sorowe and lamentation. But that which most moued *Dion* of all other was, that he required him not to destroye the tyrannie, but rather to take it for him selfe, and not to set them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the mischiefe he had done vnto them: & that he would him selfe take vpon him to be Lord, sauing by that meane the liues of his parents and friends. When these letters had bene red before the whole assembly of the people, the *Syracvsans* thought not how to reuerence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible constancy and magnanimitie of *Dion*, that stood firme and fast for iustice and vertue, against such vehement intreatie and perswasion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be affrayd, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessitie should be forced to pardon the tyrant, for the great pledges and hostages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to choose them new gouernors, and the rather, bicause they heard that *Heraclides* was comming vnto them, whome they loued singularly well. This *Heraclides* was one of them that had bene banished, a good souldier and Capitaine, and well esteemed of for the charge and office he bare vnder the tyrannes: howbeit a very vnconstant man in euery thing. E & would not continue long in a mind, & least constant in warres, where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with *Dion* in *Peloponnesus*, wherefore he determined to come with a power by him selfe, and with his owne fleet against the tyrant. So he arrived at length at *Syracusa*, with seuen gallies, and three other shippes, where he found *Dionysius* againe shut vp into his castell with a wall, and the *Syracvsans* also to haue the better hand of him. Then he began to curry fauor with the common people all the wayes he could possibly deuise, hauing by nature a certaine pleasing manner to winne the common people, which seeke nothing els but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to winne them, bicause the people did already mislike *Dions* seueritie, as a man too seuer and cruell to gouerne a common wealth. For they had now their will so much, and were growen so strong headed, bicause they sawe them selues the stronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they onely be Lordes, and doe rule) before they were fully set at libertie. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authoritie,

Dions villany
of Dionysius.

Hipparimus,
Dions iunior.

Dionysius
craft vnto
Dion.

Heraclides
what he was.

Heraclides
returneth to
Syracusa.

The Syracu-
sans do choose
Heraclides
Admirall, so
spight Dion.

Heraclides,
dissimblers,
practising to
make the
people to re-
bell against
Dion.

Sofis a wicked
man, moueth
sedition a-
gainst Dion.

Dion clea-
reth Sofis ac-
cusation a-
gainst him.

of the gouernors: they all ranne in a furey, of their owne light heads, vnto the place of com-
mon assemblies, and there chose *Heraclides* Admirall. Then *Dion* vnderstanding this, came to
complane of the iniurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to giue this power
now vnto *Heraclides*, was to take that away which they had first giuen vnto him: bicause he
should no more be generall, if they chose any other Admirall by sea then him selfe. The *SY-
RACVSANS* then, as it were against their willes, did reuoke the power they had giuen vnto *He-
raclides*: but afterwards *Dion* sent for *Heraclides*, to pray him to come home to him. When he
came, he rebuked him a litle, and tolde him that it was not honestly, nor profitably done of
him, to sue to the people, & to contend for honor against him in so dangerous a tyme, when
the least occasion in the world was enough to haue marred all. Afterwards *Dion* him selfe cal-
led an assembly againe of the citie, and established *Heraclides* Admirall: and perfwaded the
Citizens to giue him souldiers, as he had in deede. *Heraclides* outwardly seemed to honor *Di-
on*, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound vnto him, and was alway at his heeles ve-
ry lowly, being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, secretly he inticed the
common people to rebell, & to stirre vp those whom he knew meete men to like of change.
Whereby he procured *Dion* such trouble, and brought him into such perplexitie, that he
knew not well what way to take. For if he gaue them aduise to let *Dionysius* quietly come out
of the castell: then they accused him, and sayd he did it to faue his life. If on the other side, bi-
cause he would not trouble them, he continued seeger still, and did establish nothing: then they
thought he did it of purpose to draw out the warres in length, bicause he might the leng-
ger time remaine their chiefeitaine generall, and so to keepe the Citizens longer in feare. At
that time there was one *Sofis* in *SYRACVS*, a man of no name, but noted amongst the *SYRAC-
VSANS* for his villany and wickednes, esteeming that full and ample libertie, when he might
vnchecked licentiously speake what he would, as in deede he did. For he seeking to doe *Dion*
a displeasure: first of all one day at a common counsell he stode vp on his feete, and called the
SYRACVSANS beastes, (amongest many other vile wordes he gaue them) if they did not per-
ceiue, that being come from a fond and droncken tyrannie, they had nowe receiued a sober
master, and a wife and ware tyranne. So when he had thus openly shewed him selfe an enemy
vnto *Dion*, he came no more that daye into the market place: but the next morning he was
seene ronning vp and downe the citie naked, his head and face all of a gore bloud, as if he had
bene followed by men to haue slayne him. Thus *Sofis* comming in this manner into the mid-
dest of the market place, cryed out, that *Dions* straungers had lye in wayte for him, and had
handled him in this sort, shewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this mat-
ter very grieuouly, and cried out vpon *Dion*, and sayd it was vilely and tyrannically done of
him: by feare of murder and daunger, to take away the libertie from the Citizens to speake.
Nowe though the whole assembly hercupon fell into an vpror withall, *Dion* notwithstanding
came thither to cleare him selfe of these accusations, and made them presently see, that
this *Sofis* was brother to one of *Dionysius* gard: who had put into his head, in this sort to put the
citie of *SYRACVS* in an vpror, bicause *Dionysius* had no other hope nor meanes to escape,
but by stirring vp faction and sedition amongst them, to make one of them fall out with ano-
ther. The Surgiens were sent for forthwith to searche the wounde of this *Sofis*: who founde
that it was rather a litle scratche, then any violent wound giuen him. For the woundes or cuts
of a sword, are euer deepest in the middelt: and *Sofis* cut was but very litle, and not deepe, ha-
uing had many beginnings, and giuen him (as it seemed) at sundry times, that for very paine,
the party that cut him was driuen to leaue of, & so came to cut him at diuers times. Further-
more, there came certaine of his friends in the meane time, that brought a raser before the
assembly, and reported that as they came, they met *Sofis* by the way all bloudied: who sayd,
that he fled from *Dions* souldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they present-
ly followed them, but found no man, and onely they saw a raser, which some bodye had cast
vpon a hollow stone thereabout, where they first saw him comming vnto them. Thus *Sofis* de-
uise had but euill successe. For beside all these proofes and tokens, *Dions* household seruants
came to be a witness against him: that very earely in the morning he went abroad alone with
a raser in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuse *Dion*, knewe not what to say

Sofis condemn-
ed to death.

Philistius slain

Timaeus, and
Ephorus the
Historiogra-
phers, repro-
ued.

Dionysius fly-
eth from Sy-
racusa.
Apollocrates
the eldest
sonne of
Dionysius the
younger.

A the matter, but shroncke away: whereupon the people condēning *Sofis* to death, they were
quiet againe with *Dion*. Yet were they alwaies afraid of these souldiers that were straungers,
specially when they saw the greatest conflicts they had with the tyranne, was by sea, after that
Philistius was come from the coast of *AVGVLIA* with a great number of gallies to ayde the ty-
ranne. For then they thought, that these souldiers the straungers being armed at all partes to
fight by land, they would do them no more seruice by sea: bicause the Citizens them selues
were they that kept them in safetie, for that they were men practised to fight by sea, and were
also the stronger by meanes of their ships. But beside all this, the onely thing that made them
to be coragious againe, was the good fortune they had at the battel by sea, in the which when
they had ouercome *Philistius*, they cruelly and barbarously vled him. Truly *Ephorus* saith, that
Philistius slue him selfe, when he sawe his galley taken. Howbeit *Timonides* (who was alway
with *Dion* from the first beginning of this warre) writing vnto *Speusippus* the Philosopher, saith
that *Philistius* was taken aliue, bicause his galley ranne a land: and that the *SYRACVSANS* first
tooke of his curaces, and stripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villanie and
spight they could, they cut of his head, and gaue his body vnto boyes, commaunding them to
dragge it into that part of the citie called *ACRADINE*, and then to cast it into the common
priue. *Timaeus* also to spight him the more, sayth that the boyes tyed the deade bodye by his
lame legge, and so dragged him vp and downe the citie, where all the *SYRACVSANS* did what
villanie to it they could, being glad to see him dragged by the legge, that had sayd *Dionysius*
should not flie from the tyranny vpon a light horse, but that they should pull him out by the
legge against his will. Now *Philistius* reporteth this matter thus, not as spoken to *Dionysius* by
him selfe, but by some other. But *Timaeus* taking a iust occasion and culler to speake euil of the
good will, fidelitie, and care that *Philistius* had alwayes seemed to shew in the confirmation &
defence of the tyrannie: doth liberally bestow iniurious wordes on him in this place. Nowe
for them whome he had in deede offended, if they of malice and spight to be reuenged, did
offer him crueltie, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed: but for them that since
his death haue written the icafts, who were neuer offended by him in his life time, and who
ought to shewe them selues discrete in their writing, me thinks that if they had regarded
their owne credit and estimation, they should not so fondly and outrageously haue reproved
the aduersities and misfortunes, which by fortune may as well chaunce to the honestest man,
as vnto him. Thus fondely doth *Ephorus* prayse *Philistius*, who though he haue an excellent
fine wit to counterfeite goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and dishonest partes,
and eloquently to deuise by honest words to defend an euill cause: yet can not he with all the
fine wits he hath excuse him selfe, that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath
most fauored tyrannes, and that hath euer loued, and specially desired power, wealth, and al-
liance with tyrannes. But he in my opinion taketh the right course of an Historiographer,
that neither doth commend *Philistius* doings, nor yet casteth his aduersities in his teeth to his
reproche. After *Philistius* death, *Dionysius* sent vnto *Dion*, to make him an offer to deliuer him
the castell, armor, munition, and souldiers that were in it, with money also to paye them for
five monethes space. For him selfe, he prayed that he might be suffered to goe safely into *TRA-
E LY*, and to lye there, to take the pleasure of the fruites of the contry called *GYRTA*, which was
within the territorie of *SYRACVS*, and lyeth out from the sea towards the mayne land. *Dion*
refused this offer, and answered the Ambassadors that they must moue the *SYRACVSANS* sin-
ce they supposing they should easily take *Dionysius* aliue, would not heare the Ambassadors
speake, but turned them away. *Dionysius* seeing no other remedie, left the castell in the handes
of his eldest sonne *Apollocrates*, and hauing a lusty gale of winde, he secretly imbarcked cer-
taine of his men he loued best, with the richest thinges he had, and so hoysed sayle, vnto
to *Heraclides*, the Admirall of *SYRACVS*. The people were maruelously offended with *He-
raclides* for it, and beganne to murine against him. But *Heraclides*, to pacifie this tumult of the
people, suborned one *Hippion* an Orator, who preferred the lawe *Agraria* vnto the people, for
the diuision of all the lland amongst them: and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie,
and of bondage pouertie, vnto them that had no landes. *Heraclides* giuing his consent to this
decree, and stirring the common people to sedition against *Dion*, that with stode it: perfw-

ded the SYRACVSANS not onely to confirme the lawe *Hippon* had propounded, but also to discharge the hyered strangers, to chooſe other Captaines and gouernors, and to rid them ſclues of *Dions* leuere gouernement. But they ſuppoſing ſtraight to haue bene rid from the tyranny as from a long and grievous ſicknes, ouerhaſty taking vpon them like people that of long time had bene at libertie, they vterly vndid them ſclues, and ouerthrew *Dions* purpoſe: who like a good Phiſition was carefull to ſee the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when they were aſſembled to chooſe new officers in the middeſt of ſommer, there fel ſuch horrible thunders, and other terrible ſtormes, & vnfortunate ſignes in the element, that for the ſpace of fiſteene dayes together, the people were ſtil ſcattered and diſperſed when they were aſſembled: in ſomuch, that being affraide of theſe ſignes about, they durſt not at that time create any new Captaines. Certaine dayes after, as the Orators had choſen a fayer time to proceede to the election of officers: an ox drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with euery ſight and noyſe) ſodainly without any occaſion offered, fell into a madnes againſt the carter that draue him, and breaking his yoke aſonder, ranne ſtraight to the Theater, and there made the people runne into euery corner, to flye and ſaue them ſclues: and then ſinging, and bearing all downe before him that ſtoode in his way, he ranne through as much of the citie, as the enemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithstanding, the SYRACVSANS making light account of all theſe ſignes, they choſe ſiue and twenty Captaines, of the which *Heraclides* was one: and ſecretly they ſent to feele the hired ſouldiers, to ſee if they could entice them from *Dion*, to cauſe them to take their part, and made them large promiſes to make them free men, as them ſclues of SYRACVSA. The ſouldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully & louingly tooke *Dion* amongſt them with their armor and weapon, and putting him in the middeſt of them, led him in this manner out of the citie, and did no man hurt, but reprobuing their vnthankfulnes and villanie vnto all thoſe they met by the way. Then the SYRACVSANS deſpiſing them for their ſmal number, & becauſe they did not firſt ſer vpon them, but truſting on the other ſide to them ſclues for that they were the greater number: they came to aſſaile them, ſuppoſing that they ſhould eaſily ouercome them in the citie, & kil euery man of them. *Dion* being thus at a ſtraight, that of neceſſitie he muſt fight againſt his owne contry men, or els be ſlaine him ſelfe with his ſouldiers: he held vp his hands to the SYRACVSANS & very earneſtly praied them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the caſtell that was full of their enemies, which ſhewed them ſclues vpon the wals, & ſaw what they did. In the ende, when he ſaw that he could not pacifie their furie & tumult, and that all the citie was in an vprore with the prittle prattle of theſe ſeditious people, who like the ſea were caried with the wind: he did yet forbid his ſouldiers to giue any charge vpon them, who notwithstanding made a countenance with great cryes, and rating of their harmes, as if they had ment to runne on them. Then the SYRACVSANS durſt not abide by it, but ranne away like ſheepe through the ſtreets, & no man chafed them. So *Dion* called backe his men againe, & led them directly into the cōtry of the LEONTINES. The new officers & gouernors of SYRACVSA, perceiuing that the women laughed them to ſcorne: becauſe they would recouer the ſhame they had loſt, they armed their men a new againe, & did marche after *Dion* to fight with him, whome they out-tooke at a riuier, as he was ready to paſſe ouer. Then began their horſemen a litle to ſkirmiſh with *Dions* company. But when they ſaw he did no more beare with their faults for contries ſake, but frowned in deede vpon them, & did ſet his men in battel ray againſt them: then they turned their backs againe, with more ſhame and reproache then before, and ſo fled vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, & had not many of their men ſlaine. The LEONTINES receiued *Dion* very honorably, tooke the ſtrangers his ſouldiers, and gaue them pay, & made them free Citizens with them: & ſent Ambaſſadors alſo vnto the SYRACVSANS, to wil them to let the ſtrangers haue their pay. The SYRACVSANS on their ſide alſo, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the LEONTINES to accuſe *Dion*. So all their confederats were aſſembled in the citie of the LEONTINES, & in that aſſembly, after both parties had bene heard, to heare what they would ſay: it was iudged that the SYRACVSANS were to blame. Howbeit they would not ſtand to the iudgement of their confederats, for they were now growen proud & careleſe, becauſe they were gouerned by no man, but had Captaines that ſtudied to pleaſe them, & were affraid alſo to diſpleaſe them.

After

A After that, there arrived certain gallies of *Dionysius*, at SYRACVSA, of the which, *Nypſius* Napolitan was captaine: which brought vittels & money, to help the that were beleiged with in the caſtel. Theſe gallies were fought with, & the SYRACVSANS obtained victorie, and tooke foure of the tyrannes gallies with three bankes of owes a peece: howbeit they fondly abuſed their victorie. For they hauing no body to command nor rule them, employed all their ioy, in ryoting and banquetting, and in fond and diſſolute meetings, taking ſo litle care and regard to their buſines, that now when they thought the caſtel was ſure their owne, they almoſt loſt their citie. For *Nypſius* perceiuing that euery part of the citie was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, but bybbe and drinke drunke, dauncing after their pytes and howboyes, and that the gouernors them ſclues were very glad alſo to ſee ſuch feaſting, or els for that they diſsembled it, and durſt not command and compell them that were droncke: he wiſely tooke the occaſion offered him, and ſcaled the wall which had ſhut vp the caſtell, and wanne it, and ouerthrew it. Then he ſent the barbarous ſouldiers into the citie, and commanded them to doe with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACVSANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue preſent remedie, they were ſo amazed and ſodainly ſet on: for in deede they made a right ſacke of the citie. Here men were killed, there they ouerthrew the wall, in another place they caried away women and litle children priſoners into the caſtel, weeping and crying out: and laſtly, they made the Captaines at their wits ende, who could giue no preſent order, nor haue their men to ſerue them againſt their enemies, that came hand ouer head on euery ſide amongſt them. The citie being thus miſerably in garboyle, and the ACRAIDINE alſo in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to riſe againe: euery man thought then with him ſelfe that *Dion* muſt be ſent for, but yet no man moued it notwithstanding, being aſhamed of their vnthankfulnes and ouergreat folly they had committed, in driuing him away. Yet neceſſitie enforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horſemen and of their confederats that cryed, they muſt ſend for *Dion*, and the PELOPONNESIANS his ſouldiers, which were with him in the territorie of the LEONTINES. Aſſoone as the firſt worde was heard, and that one had the hart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACVSANS cryed out, there was the poynt: and they were ſo glad of it, that the water ſtoode in their eyes for ioy, and beſought the gods it would pleaſe them to bringe him vnto them, they were ſo deſirous to haue him againe. For they called to minde howe valliant and reſolute he was in daunger, and how that he was neuer affrayde, but did encourage them with his manhood in ſuch ſort, that being led by him, they were not affrayd to ſet vpon their enemies. So the confederats for them, ſent preſently *Archonides* and *Teleſides* vnto him: and the noble men that ſerued on horſebacke, they ſent him alſo ſiue amongſt them, beſide *Hellanicus*. Who tooke their horſes, and poſted for life, ſo that they came to the citie of the LEONTINES about Sunne ſet, and lighting from their horſes, they went firſt of all and kneeled downe at *Dions* ſeate, and weeping, tolde him the miſerable ſtate of the SYRACVSANS. Straight there came diuers of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN ſouldiers vnto *Dion*, miſtruſting then that there was ſome newes in hand, to ſee the earneſt and humble ſure the Ambaſſadors of SYRACVSA made vnto him. Wherefore *Dion* tooke them preſently with him, and brought them him ſelfe vnto the Theater, where the common counſells and aſſemblies of the citie were holden. Thither ranne euery man to heare what the matter was. Then *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* brought in by *Dion*, tolde openly before the whole aſſembly, the greates of their miſerie, and requelled the hyered ſouldiers to come and ayde the SYRACVSANS, forgetting the iniurie they had receiued: conſidering that they had more dearely payd for their follye, then they them ſclues whome they had ſo iniured, would haue made them to haue ſuffered. When they had ſayd their mindes, there was a great ſilence through all the Theater: and then *Dion* roſe vp, and beganne to ſpeake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not ſuffer him to ſpeake: wherefore the hyered ſouldiers being for to ſee him weepe, prayed him not to trouble him ſelfe, but to be of good corage. Then *Dion* letting goe the ſorowe and griefe he had conceiued, he beganne to ſpeake vnto them in this manner. My Lordes of PELOPONNESVS, and you alſo the confederats: I haue called you

TTTT ij

Signe appearing to the SYRACVSANS.

Dion departing out of SYRACVSA.

The confederates of the SYRACVSANS.

The LEONTINES receive Dion.

The negligence and troubles of the SYRACVSANS.

The SYRACVSANS doe ſend for Dion againe.

Dion creates vnto him ſouldiers.

*diuers persons
dining them to
ayde the Sy-
racusans.*

together to consult with you, what you should doe. For my selfe, it were no honestly for me to consult what I should do now, when the city of SYRACUSA standeth in perill of destruction: & therefore if I can not saue it from destruction, yet at the least I will bury my selfe in the fire and ruine of my contry. But for you, if it please you once more to helpe vs, vnaduised & more vnfortunate people: you shal by your meanes let the poore distressed city of SYRACUSA againe a foote, which is your deede. Or if it be so, that remembreing the iniuries the SYRACUSANS haue offered you, you wil suffer it to be destroyed: yet I beseech the gods that at the least they will requite your valliantnes, fidelity, & good loue you haue borne me vntill this present, beseeching you to remeber *Dion*, who nether forsooke you at any time when you haue bene iniured, nor his cōtry men, when they were in trouble. So, going on stil with his tale, the mercenary strangers stepped forth with great noise, & praised him to leade them to ayde SYRACUSA. Then the Ambassadors also that were sent from the SYRACUSANS, saluted & embraced them, & prayed the gods to blesse *Dion* & them, with al the good hap that might be. So when al was whist & quiet, *Dion* willed them forthwith to goe & prepare them selues, & that they should be there ready armed after supper, determining the very same night to go to aide SYRACUSA. But now at SYRACUSA, while day light lasted, *Dionysius* souldiers & captaines did al the mischief & villany they could in the city: & when night came, they retired againe into their castel, hauing lost very few of their men. Then the seditious gouernours of the SYRACUSANS tooke hart againe vnto them, hoping that the enemies would be contented with that they had done: & therefore began a new to perswade the citizens to let *Dion* alone, & not to receiue him with his mercenary souldiers if they came to aide him, saying, that they them selues were honest men then the Ambassadors were sent againe vnto *Dion*, some from the captaines & gouernours of the city, to stay them that they should not come: & others also from the horsemen, & noble Citizens his friends to haste his iorney. Whereupp by reason of this variance, *Dion* marched very softly at his ease. Now by night, *Dions* enemies within the city got to the gates, & kept thē that *Dion* should not come in. *Nyffius* on the other side made a sally out of the castel with his mercenary souldiers, being better appointed, & a greater nūber of thē then before: & with thē he straight plucked downe all the wal which they had built before the castel, & ran & sacked the city. At this sally out of the castel, they did not only kill the men they met, but women & litle children also, & staid no more to spoile, but to destroy & put all to hauock. For, because *Dionysius* saw that he was brought to a straight & desperat case, he bare such mortal malice against the SYRACUSANS, that sith there was no remedy but that he must needs forgo his tyranny: he determined to burye it, with the vter destruction & desolation of their citie. And therefore, to preuent *Dion*:s ayde, & to make a quick dispatch to destroy all: they came with burning torches in their hands, & did set fire of all things they could come to: & further of, they fiered their darts & arrowes, & bestowed them in euery place of the city. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withall, & slayne in the streetes by the souldiers, and others also that ranne into their houses, were driuen out againe by force of fire. For there were a number of houses that were afire, and fel downe vpon them that went and came. This misery was the chiefeft cause why all the SYRACUSANS agreed together, to set open the gates vnto *Dion*. For when *Dion* heard by the way, that *Dionysius* souldiers were gone againe into the castell, he made no great haste to marche forward: but when day was broken, there came certaine horsemen from SYRACUSA vnto *Dion*, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the city. Then also came other of his enemies vnto him, and prayed him to make haste. Now their miserie increasing still, and they being brought into hard state: *Heraclides* first sent his brother vnto *Dion*, and then *Theodotes* his Vncle, to pray him to come quickly, & helpe them. For now there was no man left to resist the enemies, because he him selfe was hurt, and the citie also was in manner cleane burnt & destroyed. VVhen these newes came to *Dion*, he was yet about three score surlong from the towne. So he told his mercenary souldiers the danger the towne was in, & hauing encouraged them, he led them no more fayer & softly, but running towards the city, & meeting Messengers one of anothers neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the possible speede he could. By this meanes, the souldiers marching with wonderful speede & good will

*The inconsu-
mancy of the
Syracusans.*

*Syracusans
a fire by Di-
onysius souldiers.*

toget-

A together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called *HECATOMPEDON*. First of all, he sent the lightest armed he had, against the enemies, to thende that the SYRACUSANS seeing them, they might take a good hart againe to them: whilest he himself in the meane time did let al the other heavy armed souldiers and Citizens that came to ioyne with him, in battell raye, & did cast them into diuers squadrons, of greater length then breadth, & appointed them that should haue the leading of them, to thend that letting vpon the enemies in diuers places together, they should put them in the greater feare & terror. VVhen he had let all things in this order, & had made his prayers vnto the gods, & that they saw him marching through the citie against their enemies: then there rose such a common noyse & reioicing, & great shrowre of the souldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, and perswasions of all the SYRACUSANS: that they called *Dion* their god & sauior, & the mercenary souldiers their brethren & fellow Citizens. Furthermore, there was not a SYRACUSAN that so much regarded his owne life & person, but he seemed to be more affraid of the losse of *Dion* only, then of all the rest. For they saw him the foremost man running through the dainger of the fire, treading in blood, & vpon dead bodies that lay slaine in the midst of the streets. Now, in deede to charge the enemies, it was a maruelous dangerous enterprise: for they were like mad beasts, & stood beside in battell ray alongst the wal which they had ouerthrowen, in a very dangerous place, & hard to win. Howbeit the daunger of the fire did most of all trouble & amaze the straungers, & did stoppe their way. For, on which side soeuer they turned them, the houses round about them were all of a fire, and they were driuen to marche ouer the burnt timber of the houses, and to runne in great daunger of the walls of the house sides that fell on them, & to passe through the thicke smoke mingled with dust, & beside, to keepe their ranks with great difficultie. And whē they came to assaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, because of the straightnes of the place: howbeit the SYRACUSANS with force of cries & shoutes did so animat, & encourage their men, that at length they draue *Nyffius* & his men to forsake the place. The most part of them gor into the castell, being very neare vnto them the other that could not get in in time, fled itraglingly vp and downe, whom the *GRÆCIAN* souldiers slue, chasing of them. The extremitie of the time did not presently suffer the Conquerors to reape the frute of their victory, neither the ioyes & embracing meete for so great an exployte. For the SYRACUSANS went euery man home to his owne house, to quench the fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night. VVhen daye brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tary in the citie, but cōdemning them selues, they fled to take their fortune. *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* came together of their owne good wills to yeld them selues vnto *Dion*, confessing that they had done him wronge, and humbly praying him to shew him selfe better vnto them, then they had shewed them selues vnto him: & that it was more honorable for him, being euery way vnmatchable for his vertues, to shew him selfe more noble to conquer his anger, then his vnthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confesse themselves to be farre inferior vnto him. This was the summe & effect of *Heraclides* & *Theodotes* submission vnto *Dion*. But his friends did perswade him not to pardon two such wicked men, who did malice & enuy his honor: and as he would doe the straungers his souldiers any pleasure, that he should put *Heraclides* into their hands, to roote out of the common wealth of SYRACUSA, his vile manner to flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as dangerous and great a plague to a citie, as the tyranny. *Dion* pacifying them, answered, Other generals of armies, said he, do imploy al their wits in marshall exercise & warres: but for him selfe, that he had of long time studied, & learned in the schole of the Academy, to ouercome anger, enuy, & all malice & contention. The noble prooffe whereof is most seene, not in vsing honest men and his friends moderately, but shewing mercy also vnto his enemies, & forgetting his anger against them that haue offended him: and that for his part, he had rather ouercome *Heraclides*, not in riches and wisdom, but in clemency & iustice, for therein chiefly consisted excellencie, sith no man els in warres can challenge power & government, but fortune, that ruleth most. And though *Heraclides* sayd he, through enuy hath done like a wicked man: must *Dion* therefore through anger bleamish his vertue? In deede by mans law it is thought meeter, to reuenge an iniurie offered, then to

*Dions fight in
the citie of
Syracusa.*

*Dionysius com-
pelled by Di-
on to sit into
the castell.*

*Dions mercy
to his enemies
& the great
profit he took
by study, in
the Academy
as Aristotle.*

*He will should
be angry, by
an others
wickednes.*

" doe an iniurie: but nature sheweth, that they both proceede of one selfe imperfection. Now, A
 " though it be a hard thing to chaunge and alter the euill disposition of a man, after he is once
 " nuseled in villany: yet is not man of so wild & brutish a nature, that his wickednes may not be
 " ouercome with often pleasures, when he seeth that they are continually shewed him. *Dion* an-
 " swering his friends thus, he forgave *Heraclides*, & beginning againe to shut vp the castell with
 a wall round about, he commaunded the SYRACVSANS euery man of them to cut downe a stake,
 & to bringe it thither. So, when night was come, setting his souldiers the straungers in hand
 withall, whilest the SYRACVSANS slept & tooke their ease: by morning he had compassed the
 castell round about with a pale. The next day, they that saw the greatnes & sodaine expediti-
 on of this worke, wondred much at it, as wel the enemies, as also the Citizens: & when he had
 buried the dead bodies, & redeemed them that were taken prisoners, (which were not much B
 lesse then two thousand persons) he called a common counsell of the citie, in the which *Hera-
 clides* made a motion, that *Dion* should be chosen general of SYRACVSA, with absolute power
 & authoritie, both by sea & land. The chiefeest men of the citie liked very well of it, and would
 haue had the people to haue past it. But the rabble of these mariners, and other mechanical
 people liuing by their labor, would not suffer *Heraclides* to be put from his Admirallship, but
 tel to mutinie, thinking that though *Heraclides* did them no pleasure els, yet he would euer be
 a more popular man then *Dion*, & please the common people better. *Dion* gaunted their de-
 sire, & made *Heraclides* Admirall againe of the sea: howbeit he did anger them as much an o-
 ther way, whē he did not only reiect the earnest sute they made to haue the law Agraria passe
 for diuision of lands in equalitie amongst them, but did also cancel & reuoke all that had been
 done before. Wherefore *Heraclides* remaining at MESSINA, began thenceforth to enter into
 new practises againe, & to flatter the souldiers & sea fairing men he had brought thither with
 him, & to stirre them vp to rebel against *Dion*, saying, that he would make him selfe tyrannicall: &
 him selfe in the meane time secretly practised with *Dionysius*, by meanes of a SPARTAN called
Pharax. The noblest men of the SYRACVSANS mistrusted it, & thereupon there fell out great
 mutinie in their campe, whereby also followed great famine in SYRACVSA: so that *Dion* was
 at such a straight, that he could not tell what to say to it, & was reproued of all his friends for
 that he had againe preferred to great authoritie against him selfe, so vntractable a man, & so
 malicious & wicked a person as *Heraclides* was. Now, when *Pharax* laye in campe with an ar-
 my neare vnto the citie of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES: *Dion* did bringe D
 the army of the SYRACVSANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him till a-
 nother time. But through *Heraclides*, & the sea mens crying out, that said he would not try this
 warre by bartell, but would draw it out in length bicause he would be still generall: he was for-
 ced to giue bartell, and lost it. Howbeit the ouerthrow was not great, and happened rather bi-
 cause his men were at a iarre among them selues, by reason of their faction and diuision, then
 otherwise. *Dion* therefore prepared to fight another bartell, and gathered his men together a-
 gaine, incoring them, when euen at twilight word was brought him that *Heraclides* with all
 his flecte was vnder saile towards SYRACVSA, meaning to take the citie, & to shut *Dion* & his
 army out of it. Wherefore he presently tooke with him the chiefeest men of authoritie in
 the citie, and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such haste, that they were E
 at the gates of SYRACVSA the next morning by nyne of the clocke, hauing ridden feuen hun-
 dred furlong. *Heraclides* that had sayled with all the possible speede he could to prevent him
 with his shippes, perceiuing that he came short, he turned saile, and taking seas at all aduen-
 ture, by chance he met with *Gefilus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who tolde him he was sent from LA-
 CEDÆMON, to be general to the SICILIANS in this warre, as *Gylippus* was sent at other times
 before. He was glad he had met with him, to haue such a remedy and defence against *Dion*, &
 boasted of it vnto the friends & confederats of SYRACVSA, and sent a Herald before vnto the
 SYRACVSANS, sumoning them to receiue *Gefilus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who was sent to be their
 general. *Dion* made answer, that the SYRACVSANS had gouernors enow, & though that their
 assayres did of necessitie require a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine, yet that him selfe was he, for F
 that he was made free in SPARTA. The *Gefilus* perceiuing he could not obtaine to be general,
 he went vnto SYRACVSA, & came to *Dion*, & there made *Heraclides* & him friends againe, by
 the

The forward-
ness of the Sy-
racusians a-
gainst Dion.

Heraclides
againe stir-
reth up the
Syracusians to
rebell against
Dion.

Gefilus La-
cedæmonian
commeth to
Syracus, to
be general of
the Syracu-
sans.

Gefilus ma-
keth Dion &
Heraclides
friends againe.

A the great and solemne othes he made: & bicause *Gefilus* also sware, that he him selfe would be
 reuenged of him for *Dions* sake, & punishe *Heraclides*, if euer after he did once more conspire
 against him. After that, the SYRACVSANS brake vp their army by sea, bicause it did them then
 no seruice, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, and further did also breede sedition and
 trouble amongst their gouernors: and so went to lay straighter siege to the castell then euer
 they did, and built vp the wall againe, which the enemies had ouerthrowen. Then *Dionysius*
 sonne seeing no aide to come to him from any parte, and that vittels failed them, and further,
 that the souldiers began to mutine, being vnable to keepe them: he fel to a composition with
Dion, and deliuered vp the castell into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it: and so
 tooke his mother & his sisters of *Dion*, and put them aboard vpon fūe galleies, with the which
 B he went vnto his father, through the safe conduit of *Dion*. There was not a man at that time
 in all SYRACVSA, but was there to see this sight, or if by chance there were any absent, the
 other that were there called them thither as lowde as they could crie, saying, that they did not
 see the goodliest day and sunne shine, which the citie of SYRACVSA might see then at her
 rising, the same being now restored againe to her former libertie. If vntill this present day they
 doe reckon the flying of *Dionysius*, for one of the rarest examples of fortunes change, as one
 of the greatest & notablest thing that euer was: what ioi thinke we had they that draue him
 out, & what pleasure had they with them selues, that with the least meane that could be pos-
 sible, did destroy the greatest tyrannie in the world? So, when *Apollocrates* *Dionysius* sonne was
 imbarcked, and that *Dion* was entred into the castell: the women within the castell would not
 C tary till he came into the house, but went to meete him at the gates, *Aristomaché* leading *Dions*
 sonne in her hand, and *Areta* following her weeping, being verie fearefull how she should call
 and salute her husband, hauing lyen with an other man. *Dion* first spake to his sister, and af-
 terwards to his sonne: and then *Aristomaché* offering him *Areta*, said vnto him. Since thy banish-
 ment, O *Dion*, we haue led a miserable and captiue life: but now that thou art returned home
 with victorie, thou hast ridde vs out of care and thralldom, and hast also made vs againe bolde
 to lift vp our heads, fairing her here, whom I wretched creature haue by force (thy selfe aliue)
 seene married vnto an other man. Now then, fith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what
 iudgement giuest thou of this compulsion? Howe wilt thou haue her to salute thee, as her
 Vncle, or husbände? As *Aristomaché* spake these wordes, the water stood in *Dions* eyes: so,
 D he gently and louingly taking his wife *Areta* by the hand, he gaue her his sonne, and willed her
 to goe home to his house where he then remained, and so deliuered the castell to the SYR-
 ACVSANS. He hauing this prosperous successe and victorie, would not reape any present bene-
 fite or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed him selfe thankfull to his friends, geuen great
 gifts also vnto the confederats of SYRACVSA, and speciallie, before he had geuen euerie one
 of his friends in the citie, and his mercenarie souldiers the straungers, some honorable reward
 according to their deserts, exceeding his abilitie with magnanimitie of minde: when he him
 selfe liued soberly, and kept a moderate dyet, contenting him with any thing that came first
 to hand. Euery man that heard of it, wondered at him, considering that not only all SICILIA
 and CARTHAGE, but generallie all GRÆCE looked vpon his great prosperitie and good for-
 tune, thinking no man liuing greater then him selfe, nor that any Captaine euer attained to
 such fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come vnto. This notwithstanding, *Dion* liued as
 temperately and modestly in his apparell, and also in his number of seruantes, and seruice at
 his bord, as if he had liued with *Plato* in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not bene conuer-
 sant amongst souldiers and Captaines, which haue no other comfort nor pleasure for all the
 paines and daungers they suffer continuallie, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their
 pleasure all day long. *Plato* wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But *Dion*,
 in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one citie (to wit, the Academy) and
 would haue no other Iudges nor lookers into his doings, but the schollers of the same: who
 neither wondered at his great employtes, valliantnes, nor victorie, but only considered if he
 F did wiselie and modestly vse this fortune he had, and could so keepe him selfe within modest
 boundes, hauing done so great things. Furthermore, touching the graetie he had when he
 spake to any bodie, and his inflexible feueritie which he vsed towards the people, he determi-

The castell of
Syracusanus
rendered vnto
Dion.

The words of
Aristomaché
vnto Dion, at
his entry into
the castell of
Syracus.

Dion taketh
his wife Areta
againe,
which had
forcibly bene
married vnto
an other man.

Dions tempe-
rance and
modestie.

ned neuer to alter or chaunge it: notwithstanding that his affaires required him to shew cunctie and lenitie, and that *Plato* also reprov'd him for it, and wrote, that feueritie and obstinacie (as we sayd before) was the companion of solitarie. But it seemeth to me that *Dion* did vie it for two respects. The first, because nature had not framed him courteous and affable to winne men: secondly, he did what he could to drawe the SYRACUSANS to the contrarie, who were ouerlicentious, & spoyleth with too much flattery: for *Heraclides* began againe to be busie with him. First of all, *Dion* sending for him to come to counsell, he sent him word he would not come: and that being a priuate citizen, he would be at the common counsell amongst others when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not ouerthrowen and raised the castell: and also because he would not suffer the people to breake open the tombe of *Dionysius* the elder, to cast out his bodie: & because he sent for counsellors to CORINTH, and disdained to make the citizens his companions in the gouernment of the common wealth. In deede to confesse a troth, *Dion* had sent for certaine CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to stablish the forme of a common wealth, which he had in his minde, when they were come. For his minde was vtterly to breake the gouernment of *Democratie*, (to wit, the absolute gouernment and authoritie of the people in a cite, not being as it was a common wealth, but rather a fayre and market where things are solde, as *Plato* sayth) and to stablish the LACONIAN or CRETAN common wealth, mingled with a Princely, and popular gouernment: & that should be, *Aristocratie*, to wit, the number of a fewe noble men that shoulde gouerne and direct the chiefeest and weightiest matters of state. And for that purpose, he thought the CORINTHIANS the meetest men to help him to frame this comon wealth, considering that they gouerned their affaires more by choosing a few number of the nobilitie, then otherwise, and that they did not refferre many things to the voyce of the people. And because he was assured that *Heraclides* would be against him in all that he could, and that otherwise he knewe he was a seditious, a troublefome, and light headed fellow: he then suffered them to kill him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, & so they went home to his house, and slue him there. The murder of *Heraclides* was much misliked of the SYRACUSANS: shewbeit *Dion* caused him to be honorable buried, and brought his bodie to the grounde, followed with all his armie. Then he made an Oration him selfe to the people, and told them, that it was impossible to auoyde sedition and trouble in the cite, so long as *Dion* and *Heraclides* did both gouerne together. At that time there was one *Callippus* an ATHENIAN, a familiar of *Dions*, who (as *Plato* sayth) came not acquainted with *Dion* through the occasion of his studie in Philosophie: but because he had bene his guide to bring him to see the secret misteries and ceremonies of the sacrifices, and for such other like common talke and companie. This notwithstanding, *Callippus* did accompanie him in all this warre, and was verie much honored of him, and was one of the first of all his frendes that entred into SYRACUSA with him, and did valliantlie behaue him selfe in all the battells and conflicts that were fought. This *Callippus* seeing that *Dions* best & chiefeest frends were all slaine in this warre, & that *Heraclides* also was dead, that the people of SYRACUSA had no more any heade, and besides, that the souldiers which were with *Dion* did loue him better than any other man: he became the vnfaithfullest man and the veriest villan of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend *Dion*, he should vndoubtedly come to haue the whole gouernment of all SICILIA, and as some doe reporte, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twentie talentes for his labor to commit this murder. So he began to practise, to bribe, and to subborne certaine of the mercenarie souldiers against *Dion*, and that by a maruelous craftie and furtle fetch. For, vsing commonly to report vnto *Dion* certaine seditious wordes, spoken peraduenture by the souldiers in deede, or else deuised of his owne head: he wan such a libertie and boldnes by the trust *Dion* had in him, that he might safely say what he would to any of the souldiers, and boldly speake euill of *Dion* by his owne commaundement: to tend he might thereby vnderstand the better whether any of the souldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this pollicie, *Callippus* straight found out those that bare *Dion* grudge, & that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conspiracy. And if any man vnwilling to geue care vnto him, went and told *Dion*, that *Callippus* would haue inticed him to conspire against him: *Dion* was not angrie with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had

Heraclides
confesseth
a-gainst
Dion.

Dion sent
to the
Corinthians
to stablish
a common
wealth to the
Syracusans.
Dion went
to abolish
Democratie,
and
to aduance
Aristocratie.
The authori-
tie of the peo-
ple, resembled
by *Plato* to a
fayre, or mar-
ket.
The common
wealth of the
Corinthians.
The murder
of *Heraclides*.

Callippus A-
thenian, con-
spireth against
Dion.

These the
seditious
of tale
breeds.

A commaunded him to doe. Now as this treason was practising against *Dion*, there appeared a great and monstrous ghost or spirit vnto him. By chance sitting late one euening all alone, in a gallerie he had, and being in a deepe thought with him selfe, suddenly he heard a noyse: and therewith casting his eye to thend of his gallery, (being yet day light) he saw a monstrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies shewed in plays, and saw her sweeping of the house with a broome. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his frends, and told them what a sight he had seene: and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were a man beside him selfe, fearing least the spirit would come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithstanding he neuer heard more afterwards. Howbeit shortly after, his sonne being growen to mans state, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he cast him selfe hedlong downe from the toppes of the house, and so was slaine. *Dion* being in this state, *Callippus* went on still with his treason, and spread a rumor abroad among the SYRACUSANS, that *Dion* seeing him selfe nowe destitute of children, was determined to send for *Apollocrates*, *Dionysius* sonne, to make him his heire and successor, being cousin germaine to his wife, and his sisters daughters sonne. Then began *Dion*, his wife, and sister to mistrust *Callippus* practises, and they were told of it by diuers fundrie and manifest proofes. But *Dion* being forie (as I suppose) for *Heraclides* death, and inwardlie taking that murder in very euill part, as a fowle blot to his life and doings: he sayd he had rather dye a thousand deaths, and to offer his throat to be cut to any that would, rather then he would lue in that miserie, to be compelled to take heede as well of his frends, as of his enemies. *Callippus* then seeing the women so busie and inquisitiue of his doings, & fearing least he should be beyrayed: he came weeping vnto them, and told them it was nothing, and that he was ready to assure them of it by any maner of way they would deuise. The women then willed him to sweare by the great othe, which was in this maner. He that must take this othe, cometh into the temple of the goddesses *Thesmophores*, which are, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. And after certaine sacrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddesse *Proserpina*, holding a burning torch in his hand and sweareth in this maner. *Callippus* hauing done all these ceremonies, and made the oth in forme as I haue told you: he made fo light accompt of the goddesses, that he taried no longer to do the murder he had determined, but till the very feast day of the goddesse should come, by whom he had sworne: and slue him on the day of the feast of *Proserpina*. Nowe, I doe not thinke that he chose that day of sette purpose, knowing right well that he did alwayes sinne against her, what time foueuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes speciallie admitted to the societie and brotherhoode with him, of the fraternity and misteries of *Ceres* & *Proserpina*. Of this conspiracie there were diuers. For as *Dion* was set in his chamber talking with his frends where there were many beddes to sit on: some compassed the house round about, others came to the dores and windowes of his chamber, and they that should doe the deede to dispatch him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN souldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any sword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the dores after them, and locked them in, least any man shoulde come out: and they that were within, fell vpon *Dion*, and thought to haue strangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a sword. Neuer a man that was within, durst open the dores, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought euery man to saue their owne liues, by suffering him to be killed, and therefore durst not come to helpe him. So the murderers taried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one *Lycan* a SYRACUSAN, that gaue one of these ZACYNTHIAN souldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut *Dions* throat, as a weather they had holden a long time in their handes, euen dead for feare. The murder being executed, they cast his sister, and wife, great with childe, into prison, and there the poore Ladie was pitiefullie brought to bedde of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwise to doe any thing with the childe. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, because *Callippus* began then a litle to grow to some trouble. For at the first, after he had slaine *Dion*, he bare all the whole sway for a time, and kept the cite of SYRACUSA in his hands: & wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immortal goddess he was most affrayed of, hauing defiled his handes in so damnable a treason. And

*A spirit ap-
peared vnto
Dion*.

*The lament-
able death of
Dions sonne*.

*Apollocrates
Dionysius
sonne*.

*The great oth
of the Syra-
cusians*.

*Dion slaine
by Callippus
Athenian*.

*Dions wife
brought to
bed of a sonne
in prison*.

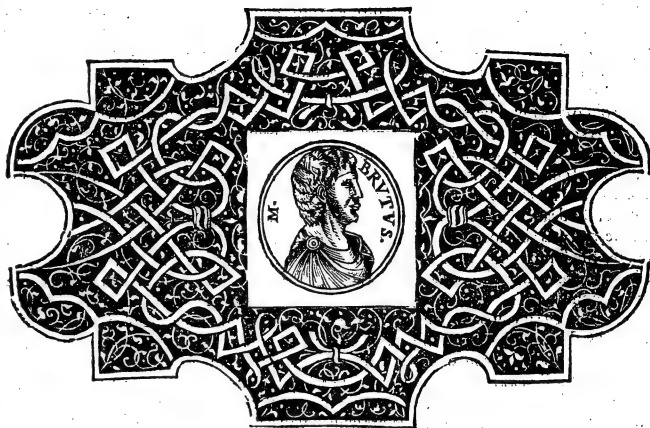
The punishment of Calippus.

* Kardra in corrupt speech signifies a knife to escape or cut cheese, which is another called Kardra. Iulius Pollux lib. 10 cap. 24. Calippus slaine with the same dagger that slue Dion.

The cruelty of the Syracusans vnto Dion and his posterity.

therefore, in my opinion, it was not euill spoken, that **ATHENS** is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the best men when they geue them selues to goodnes, & the wickedest people also, when they doe dispose them selues to euill: as their contrie also bringeth forth the best honnie that is, and hemlocke in like maner that quickly dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not suffer this treason and wicked man to raigne long, hauing comen to the gouernment of a realme by so damnable a murder: but shortly after they gaue him his payment he had deserued. For **Callippus** going to take a litle towne called **CATANA**, he lost the citie of **SYRACUSA**: whereupon he sayd that he had lost a citie, and got a cheefe-knife. Afterwards he went to assaile the **MESSENIANS**, and there he lost a great number of his men, and amongst them were slaine those that killed **Dion**. Now **Callippus** finding no citie in all **SICILIA**, that woulde receiue him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of **RHEGIO** in **ITALIE**. There being in great distresse and neede of all thinges, and not able to maintaine his souldiers: he was slaine by **Leptines**, and **Polysperchon**, with the selfe same dagger wherewith **Dion** before was slaine: the which was knownen by the facion, being short after the **LACONIAN** daggers, and also by the workmanship vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of **Callippus**. Now for **Aristomaché** and **Areta**, they were taken out of prison: and **Ietes** **SYRACUSAN**, that somtimes had bene one of **Dions** frends, tooke them home to his owne house, and vsed them verie well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwards was wonne and corrupted by **Dions** enemies. So he caused a shippe to be provided for them, and bare them in hande that he would sende them into **PELOPONNESVS**: but he gaue them charge that caried them away to kill them as they went, and to throw them ouer bord into the sea. Some say, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were cast aliuie into the sea. But this reward of the finfull act that he committed, returned againe vpon him selfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by **Timoleon** that put him to death: and besides, the **SYRACUSANS** did also kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulness he had shewed vnto **Dion**.

THE LIFE OF Marcus Brutus.



MARCUS BRUTUS came of that **Iunius Brutus**, for whome the auncient **ROMANS** made his statue of brasste to be set vp in the Capitoll, with the images of the kings, holding a naked sword in his hand: bicause he had valliantly put downe the **TARQUINES** from their kingdom of **ROME**. But that **Iunius Brutus** being of a softer stearne nature, not softned by reason, being like vnto sword blades of too hard a temper: was so subiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrannes, that for their sakes he caused his owne sonnes to be executed. But this **Marcus Brutus** in contrarie maner, whose life we presently wryte, hauing framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue and studie of Philosophie, and hauing employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things: me thinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his verie enemies which wish him most hurt, bicause of his conspiracy against **Iulius Caesar**: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracie, they refferre it whollie vnto **Brutus**, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto **Cassius**, who was **Brutus** familiar friend, but not so well geuen, and conditioned as he. His mother **Servilia**, it is thought came of the blood of **Servilius Hala**, who, when **Spurius Melius** went about to make him selfe king, and to bring it to passe had entised the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger and hid it close vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had somewhat to say vnto him, and pressed as neere him as he could: wherefore **Melius** stowping downe with his head, to heare what he would say, **Brutus** stabbed him in with his dagger, and slue him. Thus muche all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, some for the euil wil & malice they bare vnto **Brutus**, bicause of the death of **Iulius Caesar**, doe maintaine that he came not of **Iunius Brutus** that draue out the **TARQUINES**: for there were none left of his race, considering that his two sonnes were executed for conspiracie with the **TARQUINES**: and that **Marcus Brutus** came of a meane house, the which was raised to honor and office in the common wealth, but of late time. **Polidonius** the Philosopher wryteth the contrarie, that **Iunius Brutus** in deede slue two of his sonnes which

The partinge of Brutus.

Brutus meditates.

Servilia M. Brutus mother.

Brutus persecuted by his father.

were men grown, as the histories doe declare: howbeit that there was a third sonne, being A but a litle child at that time, from whom the house and family afterwards was deriued: and furthermore, that there were in his time certeine famous men of that familie, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of *Imitius Brutus*. And thus much for this matter. *Marcus Cato* the Philosopher was brother vnto *Serullia M. Brutus* mother: whom *Brutus* studied most to follow of all the other *ROMANES*, because he was his Vncle, and afterwards he married his daughter. Now touching the *GRÆCIAN* Philosophers, there was no sect nor Philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but aboute all the rest, he loued *Platoes* sect best, & did not much geue him selfe to the new nor meane Academy as they call it, but altogether to the old Academy. Therefore he did euer greatly esteeme the Philosopher *Antiochus*, of the citie of *ASCALON*: but he was more familiar with his brother *Ariston*, who for learning and B knowledge was inferior to many other Philosophers, but for wisdom & curtesie, equal with the best and chiefeft. Touching *Empylus*, whom *Marcus Brutus* him selfe doth mention in his Epistells, and his friends also in many places: he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of *Imitius Caesar*, and titled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latine tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it, beside that he could also plead verie well in Latine. But for the *GRÆKE* tongue, they do note in some of his Epistells, that he counterfeited that briefe compendious maner of speech of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. As when the warre was begonne, he wrote vnto the *PARGAMENIANS* in this sorte. I vnderstand you haue geuen *Dolabella* money: if you haue done it willingly, you confesse you haue offended me: if against your wills, shew it then by geuing me willingly. An other time againe vnto the *SAMIANS*: C Your counsels be long, your doings be slowe, consider the ende. And in an other Epistell he wrote vnto the *PATARIANS*: The *XANTHIANS* despising my good will, haue made their contrie a graue of dispaire: and the *PATARIANS* that put them selues into my protection, haue lost noior of their libertie. And therefore whilst you haue libertie, either choose the iudgement of the *PATARIANS*, or the fortune of the *XANTHIANS*. These were *Brutus* manner of letters which were honored for their briefenes. So *Brutus* being but a young stripling went into *CYPRVS* with his Vncle *Cato*, who was sent against *Ptolomy* king of *ÆGYPT*, who hauing flaine him selfe, *Cato* staying for certaine necessarie busines he had in the Ile of *RHODES*, had already sent * *Caninius*, one of his friends before, to keepe his treasure and goods. But *Cato* fearing he would be light fingered, wrote vnto *Brutus* forthwith to come out of *PAMPHYLIA*, D (where he was but newlie recovered of a sickenesse) into *CYPRVS*, the which he did. The which iorney he was forie to take vpon him, both for respect of *Caninius* shame, whom *Cato* as he thought wrongfullie flandered: as also because he thought this office too meane and vnmeet for him, being a young man, and geuen to his booke. This notwithstanding, he bebaued him selfe so honestlie and carefullie, that *Cato* did greatly commend him: and after all the goodes were sold and conuerted into readie money, he tooke the most parte of it, and returned withall to *ROME*. Afterwards when the Empire of *ROME* was deuicid into factions, and that *Caesar* and *Pompey* both were in armes one against the other, and that all the Empire of *ROME* was in garboyle and vpror: it was thought then that *Brutus* would take parte with *Caesar*, because *Pompey* not long before had put his father vnto death. But *Brutus* preferring the respect of his contrie and common wealth, before priuate affection, and perswading himselfe E that *Pompey* had iuster cause to enter into armes then *Caesar*: he then tooke parte with *Pompey*, though oftentimes meeting him before, he thought scorne to speake to him, thinking it a great sinne and offence in him, to speake to the murderer of his father. But then submitting him selfe vnto *Pompey*, as vnto the head of the common wealth: he failed into *SICILIA*, Lieutenant vnder *Sestius* that was Gouvernor of that prouince. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploits, and that *Caesar* & *Pompey* were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of him selfe vnseen for into *MACEDON*, to be partaker of the daunger. It is reported that *Pompey* being glad, and wondering at his coming when he saw him come to him: he rose out of his chaire, and went and embraced him before them all, and F fled him as honorably, as he could haue done the noblest man that tooke his parte. *Brutus* being in *Pompeys* campe, did nothing but studie all day long, except he were with *Pompey*, & not only the

Serullia *Ca-*
toes sister.

Brutus studies

Brutus followed the old Academy.

Empylus an Orator, wrote a booke of *Caesars* death, and intituled it, *Brutus*. *Brutus* manner of writing his Epistells in *Græke*. A briefe letter to the *Sami-*
ans.

Brutus followed *Cato* into *Cyprus*.

* Or *Can-*
dinus.

Brutus took part with *Pompey*.

Brutus exercised in *Pompeys* campe.

A the dayes before, but the selfe same day also before the great battell was fought in the fieldes of *PHARSALIA*, where *Pompey* was ouerthrowen. It was in the middelt of sommer, and the sunne was verie hotte, besides that the campe was lodged neere vnto marishes, and they that carried his tent, taried long before they came: whereuppon, being verie wearie with trauell, scant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morrowe after: he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long till night, writing a breuiarie of *Polybius*. It is reported that *Caesar* did not forgette him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they shoulde beware they killed not *Brutus* in fight, and if he yeelded willinglie vnto them, that then they shoulde bring him vnto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, then that they shoulde lette him goe, B and doe him no hurte. Some saye he did this for *Serullias* sake, *Brutus* mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with *Serullia*, who was extreame in loue with him. And bicaule *Brutus* was borne in that time when their loue was hottest, he perswaded him selfe that he began him. For prooffe hereof the reporte goeth, that when the waightiest matters were in hande in the Senate, about the conspiracie of *Catiline*, which was likelie to haue vndone the citie of *ROME*, *Caesar* and *Cato* fate neere together, and were both of contrarie mindes to eache other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered *Caesar* a letter. *Caesar* tooke it, and red it softlie to him selfe: but *Cato* cried out vpon *Caesar*, and sayd he did not well to receiue aduertisements from enemies. Whereuppon the whole Senate beganne to murmure at it. Then *Caesar* gaue *Cato* the letter as it was sent him, who red C it, and founde that it was a loue letter sent from his sister *Serullia*: thereuppon he cast it againe to *Caesar*, and sayde vnto him, holde, drunken soppe. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintayned his opinion as he did before: so commonlie was the loue of *Serullia* knownen which the bare vnto *Caesar*. So, after *Pompeys* ouerthrowe at the battell of *PHARSALIA*, and that he fledde to the sea: when *Caesar* came to beseege his campe, *Brutus* went out of the campe gates vnseene of any man, and leapt into a marishe full of water and reedes. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of *LARIS-*
SAR: from whence he wrote vnto *Caesar*, who was verie glad that he had scaped, & sent for him to come vnto him. When *Brutus* was come, he did not onelie pardon him, but also kept him alwayes about him, and did as muche honor and esteeme him, any man he had in D his companie. Nowe no man coule tell whether *Pompey* was fledde, and all were maruelous desirous to knowe it: wherefore *Caesar* walking a good waye alone with *Brutus*, he did aske him which way he thought *Pompey* tooke. *Caesar* perceiuing by his talke that *Brutus* gesfed certainlie whether *Pompey* shoulde be fledde: he left all other wayes, and tooke his iorney directlie towards *ÆGYPT*. *Pompey*, as *Brutus* had coniectured, was in deede fledde into *ÆGYPT*, but there he was villanoully slayne. Furthermore, *Brutus* obteyned pardon of *Caesar* for *Caesars*: and defending also the king * of *LYBIAES* cause, he was ouerlaid with a worlde of accusacions against him, howbeit intreating for him, he saued him the best parte of his realme and kingdom. They say also that *Caesar* sayd, when he hearde *Brutus* pleade: I knowe not, sayd he, what this young man woulde, but what he woulde, he willett it vhe- E mentlie. For as *Brutus* granetie and constant minde would not graunt all men their requests that sued vnto him, but being moued with reason and discretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honest: euen so when it was moued to followe any matter, he vsed a kinde of forcible and vehement perswasion that calmed not, till he had obteyned his desire. For by flattering of him, a man coule neuer obteyne any thing at his handes, nor make him to doe that which was vnjust. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and estimation, to yeelde vnto the requestes and intreaties of a shamelesse and importunate flatterer, requesting thinges vnmeet: the which notwithstanding, some men doe for shame, because they dare deny nothing. And therefore he was wont to say, that he thought them euill brought vp in their youth, that could deny nothing. Nowe when *Caesar* tooke sea to goe F into *AFRICKE*, against *Cato* and *Scipio*, he left *Brutus* Gouvernor of *GAYLE* in *ITALIE*, on this side of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that prouince. For where others were spoyled and polled by the insolencie and couetousnesse of the Gouvernours, as if it had

Brutus studied in *Pompeys* campe. *Imitius Caesar* carefull of *Brutus* safetye.

Imitius Caesar loved *Serullia*, *Brutus* mother.

Brutus saved by *Imitius Caesar* after the battell of *Pharsalia*.

* This king was *Imitius* howbeit it is true also, that *Brutus* made intercession for *Decimus king of Galatia*: who was depreied not withstanding of the most parte of his contrie, by *Caesar* and *Caesar* and therefore this place were best to be vnderstanded, by *Decimus*. *Caesar* made *Brutus* Gouvernor of *Gayle* on this side the mountains.

bene a contrie conquered: *Brutus* was a comfote and rest vnto their former troubles and miseries they susteyned. But he referred it whollie vnto *Caesars* grace and goodnesse. For, when *Caesar* returned out of *Africke*, and progressed vp and downe *Italye*: the things that pleased him best to see, were the cities vnder *Brutus* charge and government, and *Brutus* him selfe: who honored *Caesar* in person, and whose companie also *Caesar* greatly esteemed. Now there were diuers sortes of Prætorshippes at *Rome*, and it was looked for, that *Brutus* or *Cassius* would make sute for the chieftest Prætorshippe, which they called the Prætorshippe of the citie: because he that had that office, was as a Iudge to minister iustice vnto the citizens. Therefore they stroue one against the other, though some say that there was some little grudge betweene them for other matters before, and that this contention did sette them further out, though they were allyed together. For *Cassius* had married *Iunia*, *Brutus* sister. Others say, that this contention betwixt them came by *Caesar* himselfe, who secretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauour. So their sute for the Prætorshippe was so followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put an other in sute of lawe. *Brutus* with his vertue and good name contended against many noble employes in armes, which *Cassius* had done against the *Parthians*. So *Caesar* after he had heard both their obiections, he told his frendes with whom he consulted about this matter: *Cassius* cause is the iustest, sayd he, but *Brutus* must be first preferred. Thus *Brutus* had the first Prætorshippe, and *Cassius* the second: who thanked not *Caesar* so much for the Prætorshippe he had, as he was angrie with him for that he had lost. But *Brutus* in many other things tasted of the benefite of *Caesars* fauour in anything he requested. For if he had listed, he might haue bene one of *Caesars* chieftest frendes, and of greatest authoritie and credit about him. Howebeit *Cassius* frendes did disswade him from it (for *Cassius* and he were not yet reconciled together sithence their first contention and strife for the Prætorshipp) and prayed him to beware of *Caesars* sweete intisements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauours: the which they sayd *Caesar* gaue him, not to honor his vertue, but to weaken his constant minde, framing it to the bent of his bowe. Now *Caesar* on the other side did not trust him ouermuch, nor was not without tales brought vnto him against him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority, & frends. Yet on the other side also, he trusted his good nature, & fayer condicions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that *Antonius* and *Dolabella* did conspire against him: he answered, that these far long heard men made him not affrayed, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that, by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. At an other time also when one accused *Brutus* vnto him, and bad him beware of him: VVhat, sayd he againe, clapping his hand on his brest, thinke ye that *Brutus* will not tarie till this bodie dye? Meaning that none but *Brutus* after him was meete to haue suche power as he had. And surelie, in my opinion, I am perswaded that *Brutus* might in dede haue come to haue bene the chieftest man of *Rome*, if he could haue contented him selfe for a time to haue bene next vnto *Caesar*, & to haue suffred his glorie and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to consume with time. But *Cassius* being a chollericke man, and hating *Caesar* priuatie, more then he did the tyrannicall openlie: he incensed *Brutus* against him. It is also reported, that *Brutus* coulde euill away with the tyrannicall, and that *Cassius* hated the tyrannicall: making many complainies for the iniuries he had done him, and amongst others, for that he had taken away his Lyons from him. *Cassius* had prouided them for his sportes, when he should be *Ædilis*, and they were found in the citie of *Megara*, when it was wonne by *Calepus*, and *Caesar* kept them. The rumor went, that these Lyons did marcelous great hurt to the *Magarians*. For when the citie was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied vp, and turned them loose, thinking they would haue done great mischief to the enemies, and haue kept them from setting vpon them: but the Lyons contrarie to expectation, turned vpon them selues that fled vnarmed, & did so cruelly tare some in peces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause, as some do report, that made *Cassius* conspire against *Caesar*. But this holdeth no water. For *Cassius* euen fro his cradell could not abide any manner of tyrans, as it appeared when he was but a boy, & went vnto the same schoole that *Fausus*, the sonne of *Sylla* did. And *Fausus* bragging amongst other boyes, highly boasted of his fathers kingdom: *Cassius* rose vp on his seete, and gaue him two good whirrs on the eare. *Fausus* gouernors would haue put this matter in sute against *Cassius*: But

Brutus and Cassius contend for the Prætorshipp of the citie. Cassius married Iunia, Brutus sister.

The first cause of Cassius maide a-against Caesar.

Caesar suspected Brutus.

Caesar saying of Brutus.

Cassius incensed Brutus against Caesar.

Cassius Lyons at Megara.

Cassius an enemy of tyrants.

A But *Pompey* would not suffer them, but caused the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them howe the matter came to passe. Then *Cassius*, as it is wrytten of him, sayd vnto the other: goe to *Fausus*, speake againe and thou darrest, before this noble man here, the same wordes that made me angrie with thee, that my filtes may walke once againe about thine eares. Suche was *Cassius* hott stirring nature. But for *Brutus*, his frendes and contrie did openlie call and procure him to doe that he did. For, vnder the image of his auncester *Iunius Brutus*, that draue the kinges out of *Rome*, they wrote: O, that it pleased the goddes thou wert nowe aliuie, *Brutus*: and againe, that thou wert here amonge vs nowe. His tribunall (or chaire) where he gaue audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of suche billes: *Brutus*, thou art a sleeper, and art not *Brutus* in dede. And of all this, *Caesars* flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and vnspeakeable honors they dayly deuised for him, in the night time they did put *Diademes* vpon the heades of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him kinge, in steade of Dictator. Howebeit it turned to the contrarie, as we haue wrytten more at large in *Iulius Caesars* life. Nowe when *Cassius* felt his frendes, and did stirre them vp against *Caesar*: they all agreed and promised to take parte with him, so *Brutus* were the chiefe of their conspircie. For they told him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so muche require men of manhoode, and courage to drawe their swordes: as it stoode them vpon to haue a man of suche estimation as *Brutus*, to make euerie man boldlie thinke, that by his onelie presence the fact were holie, and iust. If he tooke not this course, then that they shoulde goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they shoulde be more fearefull: because euerie man would thinke that *Brutus* would not haue refused to haue made one with them, if the cause had bene good and honest. Therefore *Cassius* considering this matter with him selfe, did first of all speake to *Brutus*, since they grewe strange together for the sute they had for the Prætorshippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had imbraced one another: *Cassius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house, the first day of the moneth of Marche, because he heard say that *Caesars* frendes shoulde moue the counsell that day, that *Caesar* shoulde be called king by the Senate. *Brutus* answered him, he would not be there. But if we be sent for sayd *Cassius*: howe then? For my selfe then sayd *Brutus*, I meane D not to holde my peace, but to withstande it, and rather dye then lose my libertie. *Cassius* being bolde, and taking holde of this worde: why, & he, what *Romane* is he aliuie that will suffer thee to dye for the libertie? VVhat, knowest thou not that thou art *Brutus*? I thinkest thou that they be cobblers, tapsters, or suche like base mechanically people, that wryte these billes and scrowles which are founde dayly in thy Prætors chaire, and not the noblest men and best citizens that doe it? No, be thou well assured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common distribucions amongst the people, and for common playes, and to see sencers fight at the sharpe, to shew the people pastime: but at thy handes, they specially require (as a due det vnto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake. So that thou wilt shew thy selfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. E Thereupon he kissed *Brutus*, and imbraced him: and so each taking leaue of other, they went both to speake with their frendes about it. Nowe amongst *Pompeys* frendes, there was one called *Caius Ligarius*, who had bene accused vnto *Caesar* for taking parte with *Pompey*, and *Caesar* discharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Caesar* so muche for his discharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his heart he was alway his mortal enemy, and was besides verie familiar with *Brutus*, who went to see him beinge sicke in his bedde, and sayd vnto him: O *Ligarius*, in what a time art thou sicke? *Ligarius* risinge vpe in his bedde, and taking him by the right hande, sayd vnto him: *Brutus*, sayd he, if thou hast any great enterprise in hande worthe of thy selfe, I am whole. After that time they beganne to feele all their acquaintance whome they trusted, and layed their heades together consultinge vpon it, and did not onelie picke out their frendes, but all those also whome they thought stowt enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not affrayed to loose their liues,

How Brutus was incensed against Caesar.

Cassius plainly Brutus first, to helpe him to put downe this tyrant.

In an other place they call him Quinatus. Brutus makes Ligarius one of the conspiracie.

They do hide
the conspiracie
against Caesar,
from Cicero.

Cicill were
worse then ty-
rannicall go-
uernment.

The wonder-
full faith and
secrecie of the
Conspirators
of Caesar
deceit.

Porcia, Ca-
sars daughter,
wife vnto
Brutus.
Bibulus booke
of Brutus
alies.
Porcia, flou-
red in Philo-
sophie.
The courage
of Porcia.

Great diffi-
rence betwix
a wife and a
harlot.
Porciates
words vnto
her husband
Brutus.

For this cause they durst not acquaint *Cicero* with their conspiracie, although he was a man **A** whome they loued dearelie, and trusted best: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age also hauing increased his feare, he woulde quite turne and alter all their purpose, and quenche the heate of their enterprife, the which speciallie required hotte and earnest execution, seeking by perswasion to bring all thinges to suche safetie, as there should be no perill. *Brutus* also did let other of his frendes alone, as *Statilius Epicurius*, and *Faonius*, that made profession to followe *Marcus Cato*. Bicaufe that hauing cast out wordes a sarre of, disputing together in Philosophie to feele their mindes: *Faonius* answered, that ciuill warre was worse then tyrannicall gouernment vsurped against the lawe. And *Statilius* tolde him also, that it were an vnwise parte of him, to put his life in danger, for a sight of ignoraunt fooles and asses. *Labeo* was present at this talke, and maintayned the contrarie against them both. But *Brutus* helde his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a harde thing to haue decided. But afterwards, being out of their companie, he made *Labeo* priuie to his intent: who verie readilie offered him selfe to make one. And they thought good also to bring in an other *Brutus* to ioyne with him, surnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his handes him selfe, but bicaufe he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaues, and sencers at the sharpe, whome he kept to shewe the people pastime with their fighting, besides also that *Caesar* had some trust in him. *Cassius* and *Labeo* tolde *Brutus* *Albinus* of it at the first, but he made them no answer. But when he had spoken with *Brutus* him selfe alone, and that *Brutus* had tolde him he was the chiefe ringleader of all this conspiracie: then he willinglie promised him the best aide he coulde. Furthermore, the onlie name and great calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the most of them to geue consent to this conspiracie. **C** Who hauing neuer taken othes together, nor taken or geuen any caution or assurance, nor binding them selues one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter so secret to them selues, and coulde so cunninglie handle it, that notwithstanding the goddes did reueale it by manifest signes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of sacrifices: yet all this woulde not be beleued. Nowe *Brutus*, who knewe verie well that for his sake all the noblest, valliantest, and most courageous men of *Rome* did venter their liues, waying with him selfe the greatesse of the danger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and facion his countenance and lookes, that no man coulde discerne he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne house, then he was cleane chaunged. For, either care did wake him against his will when he woulde haue slept, or else oftentimes of him selfe he fell into suche deepe thoughtes of this enterprife, casting in his minde all the dangers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there was some maruelous great matter that troubled his minde, not beinge wont to be in that taking, and that he coulde not well determine with him selfe. His wife *Porcia* (as we haue tolde you before) was the daughter of *Cato*, whome *Brutus* married being his cousin, not a maiden, but a youngewidow after the death of her first husbando *Bibulus*, by whome the had also a yongue sonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwards wrote a booke of the actes and ieaftes of *Brutus*, extant at this present day. This young Ladie being excellentlie well scene in Philosophie, louing her husbando well, and being of a noble courage, as she **E** was also wise: bicaufe she woulde not aske her husbando what he ayled before she had made some prooffe by her selfe, she tooke a litle rasor suche as barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and causinge all her maydes and women to goe out of her chamber, gaue her selfe a greate gashe withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a goare bloodie, and incontinentlie after, a vehement feuer tooke her, by reason of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiuing her husbando was maruelouslie out of quiet, and that he coulde take no rest: euen in her greatest payne of all, she spake in this sorte vnto him. I being, O *Brutus*, (sayed she) the daughter of *Cato*, was married vnto thee, not to be thy beddefellowe and companion in bedde and at borde onelie, like a harlot: but to be partaker also with thee, of thy good and euill fortune. Nowe for thy selfe, I can finde no cause of faulte in thee touching our matche: but for my parte, howe may I shewe my dutie towards thee, and howe muche I woulde doe for thy sake, if I can not constantlie beare a secret mischaunce

or

A or grieue with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity? I confesse, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a secret safely: but yet, *Brutus*, good education, and the companie of vertuous men, haue some power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my selfe, I haue this benefit moreouer: that I am the daughter of *Cato*, & wife of *Brutus*. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before: vntill that now I haue found by experience, that no paine nor grieue whatsoeuer can ouercome me. With those wordes she shewed him her wounde on her thigh, and tolde him what she had done to proue her selfe. *Brutus* was amazed to heare what she sayd vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, he besought the goddes to geue him the grace he might bring his enterprife to so good passe, that he might be founde a husband, worthie of so noble a wife as *Porcia*: so he then did comfort her the best **B** he coulde. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Caesar* woulde not faile to come: the conspirators determined then to put their enterprife in execution, bicaufe they might meete safelie at that time without suspition, and the rather, for that all the noblest and chieftest men of the citie woulde be there. Who when they should see suche a great matter executed, woulde euerie man then fet to their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the counsell shoulde be kept, was chosen of purpose by diuine prouidence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of seates for men to sit in, where also was set vp the image of *Pompey*, which the citie had made and consecrated in honor of him: when he did beawtifie that parte of the citie with the Theater he built, with diuers porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, iust on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the *Romanes* call, *Idus Martias*: so that it seemed some god of purpose had brought *Caesar* thither to be slaine, for reuenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his house with a dagger by his side vnder his long gowne, that no bodie sawe nor knewe, but his wife onelie. The other conspirators were all assembled at *Cassius* house, to bring his sonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called *Toga Virilis*: and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto *Pompeys* porche, looking that *Caesar* woulde straight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull assured constancie of these conspirators, in so dangerous and waigtie an enterprife as they had vnderaken. For many of them being *Prætors*, by reason of their office, whose dutie it is to minister iustice to euerie bodie: they did not onelie with great quietnesse and curtesie heare them that spake vnto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentie eare, as if they had had no other matter in their heades: but moreouer, they gaue iust sentence, and carefullie dispatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine summe of money, refused to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale vnto *Caesar*. Then *Brutus* casting his eyes vpon the conspirators, sayd, *Caesar* shall not lette me to see the lawe executed. Notwithstanding this, by chaunce there fell out many misfortunes vnto them, which was enough to haue marred the enterprife. The first and chieftest was, *Caesars* long tarrying, who came verie late to the Senate: for bicaufe the signes of the sacrifices appeared **E** vnluckie, his wife *Calpurnia* kept him at home, and the Soothlayers bad him beware he went not abroad. The seconde cause was, when one came vnto *Caesa* being a conspirator, and taking him by the hande, sayd vnto him: O *Caesa*, thou keptest it close from me, but *Brutus* hath tolde me all. *Caesa* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and sayd: why, howe nowe, howe commeth it to passe thou art thus riche, that thou doest lue to be *Ædilis*? Thus *Caesa* being deceiued by the others doubtfull wordes, he tolde them it was a thowland to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracie. An other Senator called *Popilius Læna*, after he had saluted *Brutus* and *Cassius* more frendlie then he was wont to doe: he rounded softlie in their eares, and told them, I pray the goddes you may goe through with that you haue taken in hande, but withall, dispatche I reade you, for your enterprife is bewrayed. When he had **F** sayd, he presentlie departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conspiracie woulde out. Nowe in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men post hast vnto him, and tolde him his wife was a dying. For *Porcia* being verie carefull and pensive for that which

The wonder-
full constancie
of the conspir-
ators, in his-
ling of Caesar.

Sundrie mis-
fortunes so
haue broken
of the enter-
prife.

VVVV iij

The weak-
ness of Brutus,
notwithstanding
his former
courage.

was to come, and being too weake to away with so great and inward griefe of minde: the A
could hardlie keepe within, but was fighred with euerie litle noyfe and crie the hearde, as
those that are taken and posselt with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking euery man that came
from the market place, what Brutus did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to knowe
what newes. At length, *Casars* coming being prolonged as you haue heard, *Fortiaes* weak-
nesse was not able to holde out any lenger, and thereupon the sodainlie fwoounded, that she
had no leasure to goe to her chamber, but was taken in the middelt of her house, where her
speache and fences failed her. Howbeit the soone came to her selfe againe, and so was layed
in her bedde, and tended by her women. When Brutus heard these newes, it grieved him,
as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not of the care of his contrie and common wealth, nei-
ther went home to his house for any newes he heard. Nowe, it was reported that *Cesar* was
comming in his litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he
was affrayed of the vnluckie signes of the sacrifices) but to adorne matters of importance
vnto the next session and counsell holden, faining him selfe not to be well at ease. When *Ce-
sar* came out of his litter: *Popilius Lena*, that had talked before with Brutus and *Cassius*, and
had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterprise to passe: went vnto *Cesar*, and kept
him a long time with a talke. *Cesar* gaue good care vnto him. Wherefore the conspirators
(if so they should be called) not hearing what he sayd to *Cesar*, but coniecturing by that he
had tolde them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie discouerie of their
conspiracie: they were affrayed euerie man of them, and one looking in an others face, it
was easie to see that they all were of a minde, that it was no tarying for them till they were
apprehended, but rather that they should kill them selues with their owne hands. And when
Cassius and certaine other clapped their hands on their swordes vnder their gownes to draw
them: Brutus marking the countenance and gesture of *Lena*, and considering that he did
vie him selfe rather like an humble and earnest suer, then like an accuser: he sayd nothing to
his companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracie)
but with a pleasant countenance encouraged *Cassius*. And immediatly after, *Lena* went
from *Cesar*, and kissed his hande: which shewed plainlie that it was for some matter con-
cerning him selfe, that he had held him so long in talke. Nowe all the Senators being entred first
into this place or chapter house where the counsell should be kept: all the other conspirators
straight stode about *Casars* chaire, as if they had had some thing to haue sayd vnto him. And
some say, that *Cassius* calling his eyes vpon *Pompeys* image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had
bene aliuie. * *Trebonius* on thother side, drew *Antonius* asofide, as he came into the house
where the Senate sate, and helde him with a long talke without. When *Cesar* was come into
the house, all the Senate rose to honor him at his comming in. So when he was set, the con-
spirators stoked about him, & amongst them they presented one * *Tullius Cimber*, who made
humble sute for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They all made as
though they were intercessors for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kissed his head and
brest. *Cesar* at the first, simplie refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwards, percei-
uing they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his
hands plucked *Casars* gowne ouer his shoulders, and *Casca* that stode behinde him, drew his
dagger first, and strake *Cesar* vpon the shoulder, but gaue him no great wound. *Cesar* feeling
him selfe hurt, tooke him straight by the hande he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin:
O traitor, *Casca*, what dost thou? *Casca* on thother side cried in Grake, and called his bro-
ther to helpe him. So diuers running on a heape together to flie vpon *Cesar*, he looking a-
bout him to haue fledde, sawe Brutus with a sword drawn in his hande readie to strike at
him: then he let *Cascaes* hande goe, and casting his gowne ouer his face, suffered euerie man
to strike at him that would. Then the conspirators thronging one vpon an other because
euerie man was desirous to haue a cut at him, so many swordes and daggers lighting vpon one
bodie, one of them hurte an other, and amongst them Brutus caught a blowe on his hande,
because he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were euery man of them
bloudied. *Cesar* being slaine in this manner, Brutus standing in the middelt of the house, would
haue spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracie, to haue tolde
them

Brutus with
his counte-
nance enco-
uraged his
fearfull con-
spirator.

* In *Casars*
life it is sayd,
it was Decius
Brutus Albi-
nus, that kept
Antonius
with a talke
without.

* In *Casars*
life he is cal-
led *Murellus*
Cimber.
The number
of *Casars*.
Casca, the first
that wounded
him.

A them the reason why they had done this acte. But they as men both affrayd and amazed,
fled one vpon anothers necke in haste to get out at the dore, and no man followed them. For
it was set downe, and agreed betwene them, that they should kill no man but *Cesar* onely, and
should intreate all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspirators, but Brutus,
determining vpon this matter, thought it good also to kill *Antonius*, because he was a wicked
man, and that in nature fauored tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with
souldiers, hauing bene conuerfant of long time amongst them: and specially, hauing a mind
bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Consul with *Ce-
sar*. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he sayd it was not honest: secondly, because
he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that *Antonius* be-
ing a noble minded and coragious man (when he should knowe that *Cesar* was dead) would
willingly helpe his contry to recouer her libertie, hauing them an example vnto him, to fol-
low their corage and vertue. So Brutus by this meanes faued *Antonius* life, who at that present
time disguised him selfe, and staid away. But Brutus & his consorts, hauing their swordes bloudy
in their handes, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the ROMANES as they went, to
take their libertie againe. Now, at the first time when the murder was newly done, there were
sodaine outcries of people that ranne vp & downe the cite, the which in deede did the more
increase the feare and tumult. But when they saw they slue no man, nether did spoyle or make
hauck of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, & many of the people inbolnding them
selues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being assembled toge-
ther one after another: Brutus made an oration vnto them to winne the fauor of the people,
and to iustifie that they had done. All those that were by, sayd they had done well, and cryed
vnto them that they should boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereupon, Brutus and
his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in trowpe, but
Brutus went formost, very honorably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the
cite, which brought him from the Capitoll, thorough the market place, to the pulpit for o-
rations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehells
of all sortes, and had a good will to make some sturre: yet being ashamed to doe it for the
reuerence they bare vnto Brutus, they kept silence, to heare what he would say. When Brutus be-
gan to speake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they shewed that
they were not all contented with the murder. For when another called *Cinna* would haue
spoken, and began to accuse *Cesar*: they fell into a great vprore among them, and maruelou-
sly reuiled him. In somuch that the conspirators returned againe into the Capitoll. There Bru-
tus being affrayd to be beseeged, sent back againe the noble men that came thither with him,
thinking into reason, that they which were no partakers of the murder, should be partakers
of the danger. Then the next morning the Senate being assembled, and holden within the
temple of the goddesse *Tellus*, to wete the earth: and *Antonius*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero*, hauing made
a motion to the Senate in that assembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget
all that was past, and to stablishe friendship and peace againe: it was decreed, that they should
not onely be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should referre it to the Senate what honors
E should be appointed vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and *Antonius*
the Consul, to put them in hart that were in the Capitoll, sent them his sonne for a pledge.
Vpon this assurance, Brutus and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where eu-
ery man saluted and embraced eche other, among the which, *Antonius* him selfe did bid *Cassius*
to supper to him: and *Lepidus* also bad Brutus, and so one bad another, as they had friendship
and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to coun-
sell, did first of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the begin-
ning of a ciuill warre: then they also gaue Brutus and his consorts great prayes, and lastly they
appointed them severall governments of prouinces. For vnto Brutus, they appointed CRE-
TA: AFRICK, vnto *Cassius*: ASIA, vnto *Trebonius*: BITHYNIA, vnto *Cimber*: and vnto the o-
F ther Decius Brutus Albinus, GAULE on this side the Alpes. When this was done, they came
to talke of *Casars* will and testamēt, and of his funerals and tombe. Then *Antonius* thinking
good his testamēt should be red openly, and also that his body should be honorably buried,

Why *Anto-
nius* was not
slayne with
Cesar.

Brutus with
his consorts
went vnto
the Capitoll.

Honors de-
creed for the
murderers of
Cesar.

and not in hugger mugger, least the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise: *Cassius* slowly spake against it. But *Brutus* went with the motion, & agreed vnto it: wherein it seemeth he committed a second fault. For the first fault he did was, when he would not consent to his fellow conspirators, that *Antonius* should be slayne: And therefore he was iustly accused, that thereby he had faued and strengthened a stronge & grieuous enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed that *Casars* funeralls should be as *Antonius* would haue them: the which in deede marred all. For first of all, when *Casars* testament was openly red amongst them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery Citizen of *ROME*, 75. Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbors vnto the people, which he had on this side of the riuer of *Tyber*, in the place where now the temple of *Fortune* is built: the people then loued him, and were maruelous sory for him. B Afterwards when *Casars* body was brought into the market place, *Antonius* making his funerall oration in praise of the dead, according to the auncient custom of *ROME*, and perceiuing that his wordes moued the common people to compassion: he framed his eloquence to make their hartes yerne the more, and taking *Casars* gowne all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the sight of them all, shewing that a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. There-withall the people fell presently into such a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cryed out, kill the murderers: others plucked vp formes, tables, and stalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funeralls of *Clodius*, and hauing layed them all on a heape together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the bodye of *Cesar*, and burnt it in the midst of the most holy places. C And furthermore, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, some here, some there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murderers houses that had killed him, to set them a fire. Howbeit the conspirators foreseeing the danger before, had wisely provided for their selues, and fled. But there was a Poet called *Cinna*, who had bene no partaker of the conspiracy, but was alway one of *Casars* chiefe friends: he dreamed the night before, that *Cesar* had him to supper with him, and that he refusing to goe, *Cesar* was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruelously affrayd, he was driuen to follow him in spite of his hart. This dreame put him all night into a feuer, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried *Casars* body to buriall, being ashamed not to accompany his funeralls: D he went out of his house, and thrust him self into the preale of the common people that were in a great vpror. And because some one called him by his name, *Cinna*: the people thinking he had bene that *Cinna*, who in an oration he made had spoken very euill of *Cesar*, they falling vpon him in their rage, slue him outright in the market place. This made *Brutus* and his companions more affrayd, then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of *Antonius*. Wherefore they got them out of *ROME*, and kept at the first in the citie of *ANTIVM*, hoping to returne againe to *ROME*, when the furie of the people were a litle asswaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, considering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconstant multitude, easie to be caried, and that the Senate stood for them: who notwithstanding made no enquiry of them that had torne poore *Cinna* the Poet in peeces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended, that went with fire brands to set fire of the conspirators houses. The people growing weary now of *Antonius* pride and infoleny, who ruled all things in manner with absolute power: they desired that *Brutus* might returne againe, and it was also looked for, that *Brutus* would come him selfe in person to playe the playes which were due to the people, by reason of his office of *Prætorship*. But *Brutus* vnderstanding that many of *Casars* souldiers which serued vnder him in the warres, and that also had lands and houses giuen them in the cities where they lay, did lye in wayte for him to kill him, and that they dayly by small companies came by one and by one into *ROME*: he durst no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleasure and pastyme in his absence, to see the games and sportes he made them, which were sumptuouslie set forth and furnished with all thinges necessarie, F sparing for no cost. For he had bought a great number of straunge beastes, of the which he would not geue one of them to any frende he had, but that they should all be employed in his

Brutus committed two great faults after Casars death.

Antonius funeral oration for Cesar.

The strange dreame of Cinna the Poet.

The murder of Cinna the Poet, being mistaken for an enemy of that name. Brutus and his confederates did flye from Rome.

Brutus playes and sportes at Rome in his absence.

A his games: and went him selfe as farre as *BYZANTIUM*, to speake to some players of comedies and Mofitions that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one *Cannius* an excellent player, that whatsoeuer they did, they should intreate him to play in these playes: For, sayd he, it is no reason to compell any *GREEKIAN*, vnles he will come of his owne good will. Moreover, he wrote also vnto *Cicero*, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these playes. Now the state of *ROME* standing in these termes, there fell out an other chaunge and alteration, when the young man *Octavius Cesar* came to *ROME*. He was the sonne of *Iulius Cesar* Nece, whome he had adopted for his sonne, and made his heire, by his last will and testament. But when *Iulius Cesar* his adopted father was slayne, he was in the citie of *APOLLONIA*, where he studied tarying for him, because he was determined to makewarre with the *PARTHIANS*: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to *ROME*, where to begin to curry fauor with the common people, he first of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, & made distribution amongst them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled *Antonius* sorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers souldiers together, that had serued in the warres with him. And *Cicero* him selfe, for the great malice he bare *Antonius*, did fauor his proceedings. But *Brutus* maruelously reprobued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sory to haue a Maister, but only to be affrayd to haue one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the common wealth did witness, that he chose to be subiect to a milde and curteous bondage, sith by his words and writings he did commend this young man *Octavius Cesar*, to be a good and gentle Lorde. For our predecessours sayde he, would neuer abyde to be subiect to any Maisters, how gentle or mild soeuer they were: and for his owne part that he had neuer resolutely determined with him selfe to make warre, or peace, but otherwise, that he was certainly minded neuer to be slaued nor subiect. And therefore he wondred much at him, how *Cicero* could be affrayd of the danger of ciuill warres, and would not be affrayd of a shameful peace: and that to thrust *Antonius* out of the vsurped tyranny, in recompence he went about to stablish the younge *Octavius Cesar* tyranne. These were the contents of *Brutus* first letters he wrote vnto *Cicero*. Now, the citie of *ROME* being deuided in two factions, some taking part with *Antonius*, other also leaning vnto *Octavius Cesar*, and the souldiers making port pale of their seruice to him that would giue most: *Brutus* seeing the state of *ROME* would be vtterly ouerthrowen, he determined to goe out of *ITALY*, and went a foote through the contry of *LVKE*, vnto the citie of *ELEA*, standing by the sea. There *Porcia* being ready to depart from her husband *Brutus*, and to returne to *ROME*, did what she could to dissemble the griefe and sorow she felt at her hart: But a certaine paynted table bewrayed her in the ende, although vntill that time she alwayes shewed a constant and patient mind. The deuisse of the table was taken out of the Greeke stories, howe *Andromache* accompanied her husband *Hector*, when he went out of the citie of *TROY* to goe to the warres, and how *Hector* deliuered her his litle sonne, and how her eyes were neuer of him. *Porcia* seeing this picture, and likening her selfe to be in the same case, (she fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. *Acilius* one of *Brutus* friendes perceiuing that, rehearsed the verses *Andromache* speaketh to this purpose in *Homer*:

E Thou *Hector* art my father, and my mother, and my brother,
And husband eke, and in all: I mind not any other.

Then *Brutus* smyling, answered againe: but yet (sayd he) I can not for my part, say vnto *Porcia*, as *Hector* answered *Andromache* in the same place of the Poet:

Tush, meddle thou with veyeing deuoly ouer
Thy mayds their task, and pricking on a clorut.

For in deede, the weake constitution of her body, doth not suffer her to performe in shew, the valliant acts that we are able to doe: but for corage and constant minde, she shewed her selfe as stowt in the defence of her contry, as any of vs. *Bibulus*, the sonne of *Porcia*, reporteth F this story thus. Now *Brutus* imbarcking at *ELEA* in *LVKE*, he sayled directly towards *ATHENS*. When he arriued there, the people of *ATHENS* receiued him with common ioyes of reioycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whome he went

Octavius Cesar coming to Rome.

Brutus reprobed Cicero, for taking part with Octavius Cesar.

Porcia's successful returne to Rome for the absence of her husband Brutus. The story of Hector and Andromache set forth in painted tables.

How Brutus bestowed his time at Athens.

daily to heare the lectures of *Theonemius* ACADEMICK Philosopher, and of *Cratippus* the P^{er}ipateticke, and so would talke with them in Philosophie, that it seemed he left all other matters, and gaue him selfe onely vnto studie: howbeit secretly notwithstanding, he made preparation for warre. For he sent *Herophilus* into MACEDON, to winne the Capitaines and souldiers that were vpon those marches, & he did also entertheye all the younge gentlemen of the ROMANES, whome he founde in ATHENS studying Philosophie: amongst them he found *Cicero*s sonne, whome he highly prayded and commended, saying, that whether he waked or slept, he found him of a noble mind and disposition, he did in nature so much hate tyrannes. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertised that there came out of ASIA a certaine flecte of ROMANESHIPS that had good store of money in them, and that the Capitaine of those shippes (who was an honest man, and his familiar friende) came towards ATHENS: he went to meete him as farre as the Ile of CARYSTOS, and hauing spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leaue his shippes in his hands. Whereuppon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his birth day. When the feast day came, & that they began to drinke lustely one to another: the ghefts dranke to the victorie of *Brutus*, and the libertie of the ROMANES. *Brutus* therefore to encourage them further, called for a bigger cuppe, & holding it in his hand, before he dranke spake thus alowd:

*My destiny and Phœbus are agreede,
To bring me to my finall end with speede.*

And for prooofe hereof, it is reported, that the same day he fought his last battell by the citie of PHILIPPS, as he came out of his tent, he gaue his men for the word and signall of battell, *Phœbus*: so that it was thought euer since, that this his Iodaine crying out at the feast, was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, *Antistius* gaue him of the money he caried into ITALY, so *Myriades*. Furthermore, all *Pompey*s souldiers that stragled vp and downe THESALY, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from *Cinna* also, fūe hundred horsemen, which he caried into ASIA, vnto *Dolabella*. After that, he went by sea vnto the city of DEMETRIADE, and there tooke a great deale of armor and munition which was going to *Antonius*: and the which had bene made and forged there by *Julius Cæsar*s commaundement, for the warres against the PARTHIANS. Furthermore, *Hortensius* gouernor of MACEDON, did resigne the gouernment thereof vnto him. Besides, all the Princes, kings and noble men thereabouts, came and ioyned with him, when it was told him that *Caius*, (*Antonius* brother) coming out of ITALY, had passed the sea, & came with great speede towards the citie of DYRRACHIUM, and APOLLONIA, to get the souldiers into his hands, which *Gabinus* had there. *Brutus* therefore to preuent him, went presently with a fewe of his men in the middle of winter when it snowed hard, and tooke his way thorough hard and fowle countries, and made such speede in deede, that he was there long before *Antonius* sumpters, that caried the vitells. So that when he came neare vnto DYRRACHIUM, a disease tooke him which the Phisitions call *Valeria*, to say, a cormorant and vnstatable appetite to eate: by reason of the cold and paynes he had taken. This sickness chaunceth often, both to men & beasts, that traualle when it hath snowen: Either because the naturall heate being retyred into the inward parts of the body, by the coldnes of the ayer hardening the skinn, doth straight digest and consume the meate: or els because a sharpe furell wind comming by reason of the snow when it is molten, doth pearce into the body, and drieth out the naturall heate which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinn of the body: causeth the sweates that follow the disease. But hereof we haue spoken at large in other places. *Brutus* being very faynt, and hauing nothing in his campe to eate: his souldiers were compelled to goe to their enemies, & comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what case *Brutus* was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requittal whereof, afterwards when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vse the Citizens thereof, courteously, but all the inhabitants of the citie also for their sakes. Now, when *Caius Antonius* was arrived in the citie of APOLLONIA, he sent vnto the souldiers thereabouts to come vnto

Brutus commended Cicero's sonne.

Brutus persuaded him to forsake warre.

A strange disease tooke Brutus at Dyrrachium. Vnto by snow that had got a disease such in men as he was reuied with snow.

Brutus thanked his men, and clemency.

vnto him. But when he vnderstoode that they went all to *Brutus*, and furthermore, that the Citizens of APOLLONIA did fauor him much: he then forooke that citie, and went vnto the citie of BYTHROTUS, but yet he lost three of his ensignes by the way, that were slayne euery man of them. Then he sought by force to winne certaine places of strength about BYLLIS, & to driue *Brutus* men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obayne his purpose, he fought a battell with *Cicero*, the sonne of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by whome he was ouercome. For *Brutus* made the yonger *Cicero* a Capitaine, and did many notable exploit by his seruice. Shortly after, hauing stolen vpon *Caius Antonius* in certain maner, he came from the place from whence he fled: he would not set on him with furie, but onely rood round about him, commanding his souldiers to spare him & his men, as reckoning them all his owne without stroke striking: and so in deede it hapned. For they yielded them selues, and their Capitaine *Antonius*, vnto *Brutus*: so that *Brutus* had now a great army about him. Now *Brutus* kept this *Caius Antonius* long time in his office, and neuer tooke from him the markes and signes of his Consulship, although many of his friends, & *Cicero* among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he sawe *Antonius* secretly practised with his Capitaines to make some alteration: then he sent him into a shippe, and made him to be kept there. When the souldiers whome *C. Antonius* had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of APOLLONIA, and sent from thence vnto *Brutus* to come vnto them: he made them aunswere, that it was not the manner of ROMANE Capitaines to come to the souldiers, but the souldiers to come to the Capitaine, and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereuppon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So *Brutus* preparing to goe into ASIA, newes came vnto him of the great change at Rome. For *Octavius Cæsar* was in armes, by commaundement and authoritie from the Senate, against *Marcus Antonius*. But after that he had driuen *Antonius* out of ITALY, the Senate then began to be affrayd of him: because he sued to be Consul, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the Empire of Rome had no neede of them. On the other side, *Octavius Cæsar* perceiuing the Senate stayed not there, but turned vnto *Brutus* that was out of ITALY, and that they appoynted him the gouernment of certaine prouinces: then he began to be affrayd for his part, and sent vnto *Antonius* to offer him his friendship. Then comming on with his army neare to Rome, he made him selfe to be chosen Consul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a stripling or springall of twenty yeare old, as him selfe reporteth in his owne commentaries. So when he was Consul, he presently appoynted Iudges to accuse *Brutus* and his companions, for killing of the noblest person in Rome, and chiefeest Magistrate, without law or iudgement: and made *L. Cornificius* accuse *Brutus*, and *M. Agrippa Cæsius*. So, the parties accused were condemned, because the Iudges were compelled to giue such sentence. The voyce went, that when the Herauld (according to the custom after sentence giuen) went vp to the chaier or pulpit for orations, & proclaymed *Brutus* with a loud voyce, summoning him to appeare in person before the Iudges: the people that stood by sighed openly, and the noble men that were present honged downe their heads, & durst not speake a word. Among them, the teares fell from *Publius Silius* eyes: who shortly after, was one of the proscriptors or outlawes appoynted to be slayne. After that, these three *E. Octavius Cæsar*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, made an agreement betweene them selues, and by those articles deuicid the prouinces belonging to the Empire of Rome amonge them selues, and did set vp billes of proscriptiō and outlary, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number, *Cicero* was one. Newes being brought thereof into MACEDON, *Brutus* being then inforced to it, wrote vnto *Hortensius*, that he should put *Caius Antonius* to death, to be reuenged of the death of *Cicero*, and of the other *Brutus*, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this cause therefore, *Antonius* afterwards taking *Hortensius* at the battell of PHILIPPS, he made him to be slayne vpon his brothers tombe. But then *Brutus* sayd, that he was more ashamed of the cause for the which *Cicero* was slayne, then he was otherwise sory for his death: and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he had at Rome, who were slaynes more through their owne fault, then through their valliantnes or manhood which vsurped the tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and faynt harted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report

C. Antonius yielded vnto Brutus.

Octavius Cæsar ioyned with Antonius.

Brutus accused, and condemned, by Octavius Cæsar's meane, for the death of Julius Cæsar.

The Triumvirate.

C. Antonius murdered.

whereof should onely haue grieved them to the hart. Nowe when *Brutus* had passed ouer his army (that was very great) into *Asia*, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of shippes together, as well in the coast of *Bithynia*, as also in the cite of *Cyzicus*, because he would haue an army by sea: and him selfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giuing audience vnto Princes and noble men of the contry that had to doe with him. Afterwards, he sent vnto *Cassius* in *Syria*, to turne him from his iorney into *Aegypt*, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdom for them selues, that they wandered vp and downe in that sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their contry againe to their libertie: and that the multitude of souldiers they gathered together, was to subdue the tyrannes that would keepe them in slavery and subiection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpose and intent, they should not be farre from *Italy*, as neare as they could possible, but should rather make all the haste they could, to helpe their contry men. *Cassius* beleued him, & returned. *Brutus* went to meete him, and they both met at the cite of *Smyna*, which was the first time that they saw together, since they tooke leaue eche of other, at the hauen of *Piræa* in *Athens*: the one going into *Syria*, and the other into *Macedon*. So they were marvellous ioyfull, and no lesse coragious, when they saw the great armies together which they had both leauied: considering that they departing out of *Italy*, like naked and poore banished men, without armor and money, nor hauing any shippe ready, nor souldier about them, nor any one towne at their commaundement yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, hauing shippes, money and souldiers enow, both footemen & horsemen, to fight for the Empire of *Rome*. Now *Cassius* would haue done *Brutus* as much honor, as *Brutus* did vnto him: but *Brutus* most commonly preuented him, and went first vnto him, both because he was the elder man, as also for that he was sickly of bodye. And men reputed him commonly to be very skillfull in warres, but otherwise marvellous chollerick and cruell, who sought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other side he was too familiar with his friends, and would leet too brodely with them. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, for his vertue and valliantnes, was wellbeloued of the people and his owne, esteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies: because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleasure and couetousnes, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wronge or iniustice, the which was the chiefe cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the good will that euery man bare him: for they were all perswaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleue, that if *Pompey* him selfe had ouercome *Cæsar*, he would haue resigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would still keepe the souerainety and absolute gouernment in his hands, taking onely, to please the people, the title of Consul or Dictator, or of some other more ciuill office. And as for *Cassius*, a hot, chollerick, & cruell man, that would oftentimes be caried away from iustice for gayne: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put him selfe into sundry dangers, more to haue absolute power and authoritie, then to defend the libertie of his contry. For, they that will also consider others, that were elder men then they, as *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*: it is out of doubt that the ende and hope of their victorie, was to be Lordes of their contry: and in manner they did all confesse that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lordes of the Empire of *Rome*. And in contrary manner, his enemies them selues did neuer reprove *Brutus*, for any such change or desire. For, it was sayd that *Antonius* spake it openly diuers tymes, that he thought, that of all them that had slayne *Cæsar*, there was none but *Brutus* only that was moued to doe it, as thinking the acte commendable of it selfe: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death, for some priuate malice or enuy, that they otherwise did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that *Brutus* did not trust so much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue: as is to be seene by his writings. For approaching neare to the instant danger, he wrote vnto *Pomponius Atticus*, that his assayes had the best happe that could be. For, sayd he, cyther I will set my contry at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certaine and assured of all things els, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them: whether they should liue or dye with libertie. He wrote also that *Antonius* had

Brutus and Cassius doe ioyne armies together.

The shippe and cruell conditions of Cassius. Brutus gentle and softer conditions.

Brutus intents good, if he had ouercomen.

Antonius testimonie of Brutus.

Brutus noble mind to his contry.

A had his due payment for his folly. For where he might haue bene a partner equally of the glory of *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Cato*, & haue made one with them: he liked better to chooſe to be ioynd with *Octavianus Cæsar* alone: with whom, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet shall he shortly after also haue warre with him. And truly he proued a true Prophet, for so came it in deede to passe. Now whilest *Brutus* and *Cassius* were together in the cite of *Smyna*: *Brutus* prayed *Cassius* to let him haue some part of his money whereof he had great store, because all that he could rappe and rend of his hide, he had bestowed it in making for great a number of shippes, that by meanes of them they should keepe all the sea at their commaundement. *Cassius* friendes hindered this request, and earnestly dissuaded him from it: perswading him, that it was no reason that *Brutus* should haue the money which *Cassius* had gotten together by sparing, and leauied with great euill will of the people their subiects, for him to bestowe liberally vpon his souldiers, and by this meanes to winne their good willes, by *Cassius* charge. This notwithstanding, *Cassius* gaue him the thirde parte of his totall summe. So *Cassius* and *Brutus* then departing from eche other, *Cassius* tooke the cite of *Rhodes*, where he too dishonestly & cruelly vsed him selfe: although when he came into the cite, he answered some of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and king, that he was nether Lord nor king, but he onely that had slaine him, that would haue bene Lord and king. *Brutus* departing from thence, sent vnto the *Lycians*, to require money, and men of warre. But there was a certaine Orator called *Naucrates*, that made the cities to rebell against him, in so much that the contry men of that contry kept the straights and litle mountaines, thinking by that meanes to stoppe *Brutus* C passage. Wherefore *Brutus* sent his horsemen against them, who stale vpon them as they were at dinner, and slue six hundred of them: and taking all the small townes and villages, he did let all the prisoners he tooke, goe without payment of ransom, hoping by this his great curtesie to winne them, to drawe all the rest of the contry vnto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that they would mutyne for euery small hurt they receyued as they passed by their contry, and did despite his curtesie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to beleege the cite of the *Xanthians*, within the which were shut vppe the cruelllest and most warrellest men of *Lycia*. There was a ryuer that ranne by the walls of the cite, in the which many men saued them selues, swimming betweene two waters, and fledde: howbeit they layed nettes ouerthwart the ryuer, and tyed litle bells on the toppe of them, to D sownd when any man was taken in the nettes. The *Xanthians* made a falye out by night, and came to fire certain engines of battery that bette downe their walls: but they were presently driuen in againe by the *Romanes*, so soone as they were discovered. The winde by chance was marvellous bygge, and increased the flame so sore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the cite, so that the next houses vnto them were straight set a fire thereby. Wherefore *Brutus* being affrayde that all the cite would take of a fire, he presently commaunded his men to quenche the fire, and to saue the towne if it might be. But the *Lycians* at that instant fell into such a frensie, and strange and horrible dispayre, that no man can well expresse it: and a man can not more rightly compare or lyken it, then to a frantick and most desperate desire to dye. For all of them together, with their wives E and children, Maisters and seruantes, and of all fortres of age whatsoever, fought vpon the ramper of their walles, and did cast downe stones and herworkes on the *Romanes*, which were very busie in quenching the flame of the fire, to saue the cite. And in contrary manner also, they brought fagotts, drye wodde, and reedes, to bringe the fire further into the cite as much as might bee, increasing it by suche thinges as they brought. Nowe when the fire had gotten into all the partes of the cite, and that the flame burnt bright in euery place: *Brutus* being sorie to see it, gotte vpon his horse, and rode rownde about the walles of the cite, to see if it were possible to saue it, and helde vppe his handes to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their cite, and to saue them selues. Howbeit they would not be perswaded, but did all that they could possible to cast them selues away F not onely men and women, but also litle children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast them selues into the fire: others headlong throwing them selues downe from the walles, brake their neckes: others also made their neckes bare, to the naked

Brutus, a true Prophet of Antonius.

Cassius winnes the cite of Rhodes.

Brutus sleth in Lycia.

The cite of Xanthus set afire.

The desperate ends of the Xanthians.

swordes of their fathers, and vndid their clothes, praying them to kill them their owne A
 handes. After the citie was burnt, they founde a woman hanged vppe by the necke, hold-
 ding one of her children in her hande deade by her, hanged vppe also: and in the other
 hande a burning torche setting fire on her house. Some woulde haue had *Brutus* to haue
 seene her, but he woulde not see so horrible and tragicall a sight: but when he heard it, he
 fell a weeping, and caused a Herald to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he
 woulde giue a certaine summe of money, to euery souldier that could saue a *XANTHIAN*.
 So there were not (as it is reported) about fiftie of them saued, and yet they were saued a-
 gainst their willes. Thus the *XANTHIANS* hauing ended the reuolution of their fatall desti-
 nie, after a longe continuance of tyme: they did through their desperation, renue the me-
 morie of the lamentable calamities of their Auncestors. Who in like manner, in the warres B
 of the *PERSIANS*, did burne their citie, and destroyed them selues. Therefore *Brutus* like-
 wise beseeching the citie of the *PATARETANS*, perceyuing that they stowly resisted him: he
 was also affrayde of that, and could not well tell whether he should giue assaunt to it, or not,
 least they woulde fall into the dispayre and desperation of the *XANTHIANS*. Howbeit ha-
 uing taken certaine of their women prisoners, he sent them backe agayne, without payment
 of ranfome. Nowe they that were the wiues and Daughters of the noblest men of the citie,
 reporting vnto their parents, that they had founde *Brutus* a mercifull, iuste, and courteous
 man: they perswaded them to yelde them selues and their citie vnto him, the which they did.
 So after they had thus yeldd them selues, diuers other citie also followed them, and
 did the like: and founde *Brutus* more mercifull and courteous, then they thought they should
 haue done, but specially farre about *Cassius*. For *Cassius*, about the selfe same tyme, after he
 had compelled the *RHODIANS* euery man to deliuer all the ready money they had in gold and
 siluer in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eyght
 thousand talents: yet he condemned the citie besides, to paye the summe of fise hundred
 talents more. Where *Brutus* in contrary manner, after he had leauyed of all the contrye
 of *LYCIA* but a hundred and fiftie talents onely: he departed thence into the contrye of
IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Nowe *Brutus* in all this iorney, did many notable actes
 and worthy of memorie, bothe for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deser-
 ued it: Wherefore amongst the rest, I will tell you of one thinge, of the which he him selfe,
 and all the noble men of the *ROMANES* were maruelous glad. When *Pompey* the great (ha-
 uing lost the battell against *Julius Caesar*, in the felde of *PHARSALIA*) came and fell vpon
 the coast of *ÆGYPT*, hard by the citie of *PELVSIUM*: those that were protectors to the young
 king *Ptolomy*, beeing then but a childe, sare in counsell with his seruants and friends, what
 they should determine in that case. They were not all of one mynde in this consultation:
 for some thought it good to receyue *Pompey*, others also, that they should driue him out
 of *ÆGYPT*. But there was a certayne Rethoritian called *Theodotus*, that was borne in the
 Ile of *CHIO*, who was the kinges Schoolemaister to teache him Rethoricke. He beeing
 called to this counsell for lacke of sufficient men, sayde, that bothe the one and the other
 side went awrye, aswell those that were of opinion to receyue *Pompey*, as the other that
 woulde haue had him driuen awaye: and that the best waye was (considering the present
 tyme) that they should laye holde on him, and kill him, adding withall, this sentence,
 that a deade man byeth not. The whole counsell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable
 example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto *Pompey*: *Pompey* the great was
 slayne, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rethoritian *Theodotus*, as *Theodotus* af-
 terwardes did him selfe boast of it. But when *Julius Caesar* came afterwarde into *ÆGYPT*,
 the wicked men that consented to this counsell, had their payment according to their des-
 erts: for they dyed euery man of them a wicked death, sauing this *Theodotus*, whome fortune
 respayred a litle while longer, and yet in that tyme he liued a poore and miserable life, neuer
 trying longe in any one place. So *Brutus* going vppe and downe *ASIA*, *Theodotus* could
 hyde him selfe no longer, but was brought vnto *Brutus*, where he suffered paines of death: F
 so that he wanne more fame by his deathe, then euer he did in his life. About that
 tyme, *Brutus* sent to praye *Cassius* to come to the citie of *SARDIS*, and so he did. *Brutus*
 vnder-

The *Patari-
ans* doe yeld
themselues
vnto *Brutus*.
The extreme
cruelties
of *Cassius* to
the *Rhodi-
ans*.

Brutus clea-
reth vnto the
Lycians.

Theodotus
borne in *Chio*
a Rethoritian
Schoolemaister
to *Ptolomy*
they young
king of *Æ-
gypt*.
Theodotus
sayinge a deade
man byeth
not.

Theodotus
Chien, the
Rethoritian
that gaue
counsell to

A vnderstanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their at-
 mies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Nowe, as it commonly happeneth in great
 affayres betweene two persons, both of them hauing many friends, and so many Captaines syn-
 der them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand
 with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad euery man abyde,
 and did shut the doores to them. Then they beganne to powre out their complaints one to the
 other, and grew hot and lowde, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a wee-
 ping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them lowd. wishin, and angry be-
 tweene them selues, they were both amased, and affrayd also lest it would grow to further mat-
 ter: but yet they were commanded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding, one
 of *Marcus Phaoisius*, that had bene a friend and follower of *Cato* while he liued, & tooke vpon him
 to counterfeate a Philosopher, not with wisdom and discretion, but with a certaine bedlem
 and frantick motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to
 keepe him out. But it was no boote to let *Phaoisius*, when a mad moode or toyed poeke him in
 the head: for he was a hot hasty man, & sodaine in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Sena-
 tor of them all. Now, though he vfed this bold manner of speeche after the profession of the
 Cynick Philosophers, (as who would say, dogges) yet this boldnes did no hurt many times, be-
 cause they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This *Phaoisius* at that time, in despite of the
 doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine scoffing & mocking gettured which
 he counterfeated of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old *Neslor* sayd in *Homer* in this
 manner:
 My Lords, I pray you hearken both to mee,
 For I haue seene more yeares than Iuche three.

Cassius fel a laughing at him: but *Brutus* thrust him out of the chamber, & called him dogge,
 and counterfeate Cynick. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they
 left eche other. The selfe same night *Cassius* prepared his supper in his chamber, and *Brutus*
 brought his friendes with him. So when they were set at supper, *Phaoisius* came to sit downe
 after he had washed. *Brutus* tolde him alowd, no man sent for him, and bad them set him at the
 vpper end: meaning in deede at the lower end of the bed. *Phaoisius* made no ceremonie, but
 thrust in amongst the midst of them, and made all the companye laugh at him: So they
 were merry all supper tyme, and full of their Philosophie. The next daye after, *Brutus* vpon
 D complaynt of the *SARDIANS*, did condemne and noted *Lucius Pella* for a defamed person,
 that had bene a Prator of the *ROMANES*, and whome *Brutus* had giuen charge vnto: for
 that he was accused and conuicted of robberie, and pilferie in his office. This iudgement
 much misliked *Cassius*: because he him selfe had secretly (not many dayes before) warned two
 of his friends, attained and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but
 yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of seruice as he did before. And
 therefore he greatly reprobued *Brutus*, for that he would shew him selfe so straight and seuerale
 in such a tyme, as was meete to beare a litle, then to take things at the worst. *Brutus* in con-
 trary manner answered, that he should remember the Ides of Marche, at which tyme
 they slue *Julius Caesar*: who nether pilled nor polled the contrye, but onely was a fauourer and
 E suborner of all them that did robbe and spoyle, by his countenance and authoritie. And if
 there were any occasion whereby they might honestly sette aside iustice and equitie: they
 should haue had more reason to haue suffered *Cesar's* friendes, to haue robbed and done what
 wronge and iniurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then sayde he,
 they could but haue sayde they had bene cowards: and nowe they may accuse vs of iniustice,
 beside the paynes we take, and the daunger we put our selues into. And thus may we see what
Brutus intent and purpose was. But as they both prepared to passe ouer againe, out of *ASIA*
 into *EUROPE*: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull signe vnto him. *Brutus*
 was a careful man, and slept very litle, both for that his dyet was moderate, as also because he
 was continually occupied. He neuer slept in the day tyme, and in the night no longer, than the
 F tyme he was driuen to be alone, and when euery bodye els tooke their rest. But nowe whilest
 he was in warre, and his heade euer busily occupied to thinke of his affayres, and what would
 happen: after he had slumbered a litle after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dis-

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Julius Pompey
was put to
death by *Brutus*.
Brutus and
Cassius doe
meet at the
citie of *Sardis*.
Brutus and
Cassius com-
plaints one
vnto the o-
ther.
M. Phaoisius
a follower of
Cato.

*Cynick Phi-
losophers*,
counted dogges.

Julius Caesar
slayne at the
Ides of Marche

The wonder-
full signe
of *Brutus*, in
matter of
fortune.
Brutus care,
and watching.

patching of his waightiest causes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any le- A
 ure left him, he would read some booke till the third watche of the night, at what tyme the
 Captaines, pety Captaines and Colonells, did vse to come vnto him. So, being ready to
 goe into EVROPE, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as he was in his
 tent with a litle light, thinking of waighy matters: he thought he heard one come in to him,
 and casting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull strange and mon-
 strous shap of a body comming towards him, and sayd neuer a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked
 what he was, a god, or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit answered him,
 I am thy euill spirit, *Brutus*: and thou shalt see me by the citie of PHILIPPES. *Brutus* beeing
 no otherwise affrayd, replied againe vnto it: well, then I shall see thee agayne. The spirit
 presently vanished away: and *Brutus* called his men vnto him, who tolde him that they heard
 no noyle, nor sawe any thinge at all. Thereupon *Brutus* returned agayne to thinke on his
 matters as he did before: and when the daye brake, he went vnto *Cassius*, to tell him what
 vision had appeared vnto him in the night. *Cassius* beeing in opinion an EPICVRIAN, and rea-
 soning thereon with *Brutus*, spake to him touching the vision thus. In our secte, *Brutus*, we
 haue an opinion, that we doe not alwayes seele, or see, that which we suppose we doe both
 see and seele: but that our senses beeing credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they
 are idle and vnoccupied in their owne objects) are induced to imagine they see and conie-
 cture that, which they in truth doe not. For, our minde is quick and cunning to worke
 (without eyther cause or matter) any thinge in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore
 the imagination is resembled to claye, and the minde to the potter: who without any other
 cause than his fancie and pleasure, chaungeth it into what facion and forme he will. And
 this doth the diuersitie of our dreames shewe vnto vs. For our imagination doth vpon a
 small fancie growe from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and formes of things
 imagined. For the minde of man is euer occupied, and that continuall mouing is nothing
 but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature
 giuen to melancholicke discouraging, and of late continually occupied: your wittes and fen-
 ces haue bene ouerlabored, doe easilier yeelde to such imaginations. For, to say that there
 are spirits or angells, and if there were, that they had the shap of men, or such voyces, or
 any power at all to come vnto vs: it is a mockerie. And for myne owne parte, I would there
 were suche, bicause that we shoulde not onely haue souldiers, horses, and shippes, but also
 the ayde of the goddes, to guide and further our honest and honorable attempts. With
 these words *Cassius* did somewhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they rayled their campe,
 there came two Eagles that flying with a marvelous force, lighted vpon two of the fore-
 moste ensignes, and alwayes followed the souldiers, which gaue them meate, and fedde
 them, vntill they came neare to the citie of PHILIPPES: and there one daye onely before
 the battell, they bothe flew away. Now *Brutus* had conquered the moste parte of all the
 people, and nations of that contry: but if there were any other citie or Captaine to ouer-
 come, then they made all cleere before them, and so drew towards the coasts of THASSOS.
 There *Norbanus* lying in campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place cal-
 led SYMBOLON: (which is a port of the sea) *Cassius* and *Brutus* compassed him in in such fort,
 that he was driuen to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in
 daunger beside to haue lost all his armye. For, *Octavius Caesar* could not followe him bicause
 of his sickness, and therefore stayed behind: whereupon they had taken his army, had not *Anto-
 nius* ayde bene, which made such wonderful speede, that *Brutus* could scant beleue it. So *Caesar*
 came not thither of ten daies after: & *Antonius* camped against *Cassius*, and *Brutus* on thother
 side against *Caesar*. The ROMANES called the valley betweene both campes, the PHILIPPAN
 fields: and there were neuer seene two so great armies of the ROMANES, one before the other,
 ready to fight. In truth, *Brutus* army was inferior to *Octavius Caesars*, in number of men: but for
 brauery and rich furniture, *Brutus* army farre excelled *Caesars*. For the most part of their armors
 were siluer and gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully giuen them: although in all other things he
 taught his Captaines to lye in order without excess. But for the brauery of armor, & weapo,
 which souldiers should cary in their hands, or otherwise weare vpon their backs: he thought
 that

A spirit ap-
 peared vnto
 Brutus in the
 citie of Sardis

Cassius opin-
 ion of spirits,
 after the Epi-
 curians sect.

The cause of
 dreames.

A wonderfull
 signe by two
 Eagles.

Brutus and
 Cassius campe
 before the ci-
 tie of Philippi
 against
 Octavius Ca-
 sar, & Anto-
 nius.
 Brutus sould-
 iers brauery
 armed.
 Brutus opin-
 ion for

A that it was an encouragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, & that it maketh
 them also fight like deuills that loue to get, and be affrayd to lose: bicause they fight to keepe
 their armor and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their
 armies, *Octavius Caesar* tooke the muster of his army within the trenches of his campe, & gaue
 his men onely a litle corne, and fise siluer Drachmas to euery man to sacrifice to the gods, &
 to pray for victory. But *Brutus* skorning this miserie and niggardlines, first of all mustered his
 armie, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the manner of the ROMANES: and then he
 gaue vnto euery band a number of weathers to sacrifice, and fise siluer Drachmas to euery
 souldier. So that *Brutus* and *Cassius* souldiers were better pleased, and more coragiously bent
 to fight at the daye of the battell, then their enemies souldiers were. Notwithstanding, being
 busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chaunted
 certaine vnlike signes vnto *Cassius*. For one of his Sergeants that caried the rodde before
 him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he shoulde haue worne
 on his head in the tyme of sacrificing. Moreouer it is reported also, that at another tyme be-
 fore, in certaine sportes and triumph where they caried an image of *Cassius* victorie of cleane
 gold, it fell by chaunce, the man stumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were seene a
 marvelous number of fowles of praye, that feede vpon dead carcases: and beehiues also were
 founde, where bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the
 campe: the which place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the
 campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would haue of it. The which
 beganne somewhat to alter *Cassius* minde from *Epicurus* opinions, and had put the souldiers
 also in a marvelous feare. Thereupon *Cassius* was of opinion not to trye this warre at one
 battell, but rather to delay tyme, and to drawe it out in length, considering that they were the
 stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, did al-
 way before, and at that tyme also, desire nothing more, then to puttall to the hazard of battell,
 asloone as might be possible: to the ende he might either quickly restore his contry to her
 former libertie, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following
 and bykerings they made, his men were alway the stronger, and euer had the better: that yet
 quickened his spirits agayne, and did put him in better hart. And furthermore, bicause that some
 of their owne men had already yelded them selues to their enemies, and that it was suspected
 moreouer diuers others would doe the like: that made many of *Cassius* friendes, which were
 of his minde before, (when it came to be debated in counsell whether the battell shoulde be
 fought or not) that they were then of *Brutus* minde. But yet was there one of *Brutus* friendes
 called *Atellius*, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should ray the next winter.
Brutus asked him what he shoulde get by tarying a yeare longer? If I get nought els, & *Atel-
 lius* agayne, yet haue I liued so much longer. *Cassius* was very angry with this answer: and
Atellius was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereupon it was presently
 determined they should fight battell the next daye. So *Brutus* all supper tyme looked with a
 cheerefull countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of Philoso-
 phy, and after supper went to bed. But touching *Cassius*, *Messala* reporteth that he supped by
 him selfe in his tent with a fewe of his friendes, and that all supper tyme he looked very sadly,
 and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he tooke
 him by the hande, and holding him fast (in token of kindness as his manner was) tolde him in
 Greeke: *Messala*, I protest vnto thee, and make thee my witnes, that I am compelled against
 my minde and will (as *Pompey* the great was) to jeopard the libertie of our contry, to the ha-
 zard of a battell. And yet we must be liuely, and of good corage, considering our good fortune,
 whome we shoulde wronge too muche to mistrust her, although we followe euill counsell.
Messala writeth, that *Cassius* hauing spoken these last wordes vnto him, he bad him farewell,
 and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, bicause it was his birth
 day. The next morning by breake of day, the signall of battell was let out in *Brutus* and *Cassius*
 campe, which was an arming scarlet coate: and both the Chieftaines spake together in the
 middest of their armies. There *Cassius* beganne to speake first, and sayd: the gods graunt vs, O

the brauery of
 souldiers, in
 their armor
 and weapons.

Vnlike
 signes vnto
 Cassius.

Cassius and
 Brutus opin-
 ion about bee-
 es.

Atellius opi-
 nion for the
 battell.

Cassius words
 vnto Messa-
 la in greek
 before the
 battell.

Brutus and
 Cassius talke
 before the
 battell.

Brutus, that this day we may winne the field, and euer after to liue all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods haue so ordeined it, that the greatest & chiefeſt things amongst men are most vncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to daye then we wishe or looke for, we shall hardly meete againe: what art thou then determined to doe, to flye, or dye? *Brutus* answered him, being yet but a young man, and not ouergreatly experienced in the world: I trust, (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philosophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove *Cato* for killing of him selfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valliant, not to giue place and yeld to diuine providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it please him to fend vs, but to drawe backe, and fie: but being now in the midst of the daunger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs: I will looke no more for hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for warre againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my contry in the Ides of Marche, for the which I shall liue in another more glorious worlde. *Cassius* fell a laughing to heare what he sayde, and embracing him, come on then sayde he, let vs goe and charge our enemies with this mynde. For eyther we shall conquer, or we shall not neede to feare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to consultation amongst their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then *Brutus* prayed *Cassius* he might haue the leading of the right winge, the which men thought was farre meetter for *Cassius*: both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet *Cassius* gaue it him, and willed that *Messala* (who had charge of one of the warrelkett legions they had) shoulde be also in that winge with *Brutus*: So *Brutus* presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footemen also were as willing and ready to giue charge. Nowe *Antonius* men did cast a trenche from the marſhe by the which they laye, to cutte of *Cassius* way to come to the sea: and *Cesar*, at the least his armye, styrred not. As for *Octavius Caesar* him selfe, he was not in his campe, because he was sicke. And for his people, they litle thought the enemies would haue giuen them battell, but only haue made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trenche, and with their darts and slings to haue kept them from finishing of their worke: but they taking no heede to them that came full vpon them to giue them battell, maruelled much at the grear noyse they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trenche. In the meane tyme *Brutus* that led the right winge, sent litle billes to the Colonells and Captaines of priuate bandes, in the which he wrote the worde of the battell: and he him selfe riding a horse backe by all the trowpes, did speake to them, and incouraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this means very fewe of them vnderstoode what was the worde of the battell, and besides, the moste parte of them neuer taryed to haue it tolde them, but ranne with greate furie to assaile the enemies: whereby through this disorder, the legions were maruelously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all, *Messala's* legion, and then the next vnto them, went beyond the left winge of the enemies, and did nothing, but glawnsing by them, ouerthrew some as they went, and so going on further, fell right vpon *Cesar's* campe, out of the which (as him selfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a litle before, thorough the counsell and aduise of one of his friendes called *Marcus Antonius*: Who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared vnto him, that commaunded *Octavius Caesar* should be caried out of his campe. Inſomuch as it was thought he was slayne, because his lytter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through & through with pykes and darts. There was great slaughter in this campe. For amongst others, there were slayne two thousand *Lacedemonians*, who were arriued but euen a litle before, coming to ayde *Cesar*. The other also that had not glawnsed by, but had giuen a charge full vpon *Cesar's* battell: they easily made them fie, because they were greatly troubled for the losse of their campe, and of them there were slayne by hand, three legions. Then being very earnest to followe the chafe of them that fled, they ranne in amongst them handouer head into their campe, & *Brutus* amongst the But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion shewed it vnto them that were ouercome: & that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, & vngarded of the of the right wing, who were strayed too far off, in following

Brutus answered to Cassius.

The battell at Philippi, as going to Octavius Caesar, and Antonius.

ing of them that were ouerthrowen. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not breake into the midst of their battell, where they founde men that receiued them, and valliantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrew the left wing where *Cassius* was, by reason of the great disorder amongst them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had fled. So they chafed them beating them into their campe, the which they spoyled, none of both the Chieftaines being present there. For *Antonius*, as it is reported, to ſie the furie of the first charge, was gotten into the next marſh: and no man coulde tell what became of *Octavius Caesar*, after he was caried out of his campe. Inſomuche that there were certaine ſouldiers that shewed their ſwords bloodied, & sayd that they had slaine him, and did deſcribe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore the vaward, and the midst of *Brutus's* battell, had ſlew all their enemies to flight that withſtoode them, with great slaughter: so that *Brutus* had conquered all of his ſide, and *Cassius* had loſt all on the other ſide. For nothing vndid them, but that *Brutus* went not to helpe *Cassius*, thinking he had ouercome them, as him ſelfe had done: and *Cassius* on the other ſide taryed not for *Brutus*, thinking he had bene ouerthrowen, as him ſelfe was. And to proue that the victorie fell on *Brutus's* ſide, *Messala* confirmeth it: that they wanne three Eagles, and diuers other enſignes of their enemies, and their enemies wanne neuer one of theirs. Now *Brutus* returning from the chafe, after he had ſlaine and ſacked *Cesar's* men: he wondred much that he coulde not ſee *Cassius* tent ſtanding vp high as it was wont, neither the other tentes of his campe ſtanding as they were before, because all the whole cape had bene ſpoiled, and the tentes throwen downe, at the first coming in of the enemies. But they that were about *Brutus*, whoſe ſight ſerued them better, tolde him that they ſawe a great glittering of harnes, and a number of ſiluered targets, that went & came into *Cassius's* campe, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to gard the campe: and yet that they ſaw not ſuch a number of dead bodies, and great ouerthrow, as there ſhould haue bene, if ſo many legions had bene ſlaine. This made *Brutus* at the first miſtruſt that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemy which he had taken, and cauſed his men to be ſent for that yet followed the chafe, and gathered them together, thinking to lead them to aide *Cassius*, who was in this ſtate as you ſhall heare. First of all he was maruelous angrie, to ſee how *Brutus's* men ranne to geue charge vpon their enemies, and taryed not for the word of the battell, nor commaundement to geue charge: and it grieved him beſide, that after he had ouercome them, his men ſell ſtraight to ſpoyle, and were not careful to compaſſe in the reſt of the enemies behinde. But with tarying too long alſo, more then through the valliantneſſe or foreſight of the Captaines his enemies: *Cassius* founde him ſelfe compaſſed in with the right wing of his enemies armie. Whereuppon his horſemen brake immediately, and fled for life towards the ſea. Furthermore, perceiving his footemen to geue ground, he did what he coulde to keepe them from flying, and tooke an enſigne from one of the enſigne bearers that fled, and ſtucke it ſtill at his ſeete: although with much a do he coulde ſcant keepe his owne gard together. So *Cassius* him ſelfe was at length compelled to ſie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might eaſely ſee what was done in all the plaine: howbeit *Cassius* him ſelfe ſawe nothing, for his ſight was verie bad, ſauiug that he ſaw (and yet with much a doe) how the enemies ſpoiled his campe before his eyes. He ſawe alſo a great troupe of horſemen, whom *Brutus* ſent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he ſent *Titinius*, one of them that was with him, to goe and know what they were. *Brutus's* horſemen ſawe him comming a farre off, whom they knewe that he was one of *Cassius's* chiefeſt friendes, they ſhowed out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horſes, and went and embraced him. The reſt compaſſed him in rounde about a horſebacke, with ſongs of victorie and great ruſhing of their harnes, ſo that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For *Cassius* thinking in deede that *Titinius* was taken of the enemies, he then ſpake theſe wordes: deſiring too much to liue, I haue liued to ſee one of my beſt friendes taken, for my ſake, before my face. After that, he gotte into a tent where no bodie was, and tooke *Pyndarus* with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reſerued

Octavius Caesar ſaſſely reported to be ſlaine at the battell of Philippi. Cassius miſtook.

Cassius offended with the ſoundrie errors Brutus and his men committed in battell.

Cassius valiantly in warre.

The importance of error & miſtaking in warre.

euier for suche a pinche, since the cursed battell of the P^{ART}HIANS, where *Crassus* was slaine, A though he notwithstanding escaped from that ouerthrow: but then casting his cloke ouer his head, & holding out his bare neck vnto *Pindarus*, he gaue him his head to be stricken of. So the head was found seuered from the bodie: but after that time *Pindarus* was neuer seene more. Whereupon, some tooke occasion to say, that he had slaine his master without his commaundement. By & by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, & might see *Tiunnius* crowned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great speede vnto *Cassius*. But when he perceived by the cries and teares of his friends which tormented them selues, the misfortune that had chanced to his Captaine *Cassius*, by mistaking: he drew out his sword, cuning him selfe a thousand times that he had taried so long, and so slue him selfe presentlie in the fildes. *Brutus* in the meane time came forward still, and vnderstoode also that *Cassius* had bene ouer- B thrown: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came verie neere to his campe. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Cassius*, calling him the last of all the ROMANES, being vnpossible that ROME should euier breede againe so noble & valliant a man as he: he caufed his bodie to be buried, and sent it to the cite of *Thassos*, fearing least his funerals within the campe should cause great disorder. Then he called his souldiers together, & did encourage them againe. And when he saw that they had lost all their cariage, which they could not brooke well: he promised euerie man of them two thousand Drachmas in recompence. After his souldiers had heard his Oration, they were al of them prettily cheered againe, wondering much at his great liberalitie, and waited vpon him with great cries when he went his way, praising him, for that he only of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battell. And to speake the truth, his deedes shewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conqueror. For with few legions, he had slaine and driuen all them away, that made head against him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgone their enemies to runne to spoyle their goods: surely it was like enough he had slaine them all, and had left neuer a man of them alive. There were slaine of *Brutus* side, about eight thousand men, counting the souldiers slaues, whom *Brutus* called Brigas: and of the enemies side, as *Messala* wryteth, there were slaine as he supposeth, more then twice as many more. Wherefore they were more discouraged then *Brutus*, vntill that verie late at night, there was one of *Cassius* men called *Demetrius*, who went vnto *Antonius*, and caried his maisters clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encouraged *Brutus* enemies, and made them so braue, D that the next morning betimes they stood in battell ray againe before *Brutus*. But on *Brutus* side, both his campes stood wauering, and that in great danger. For his owne campe being full of prisoners, required a good garde to looke vnto them: and *Cassius* campe on the other side tooke the death of their Captaine verie heauilie, and beside, there was some vile grudge betwene them that were ouercome, and those that did ouercome. For this cause therefore *Brutus* did fret them in battell ray, but yet kept him selfe from geuing battell. Now for the slaues that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, & went & came to and fro amongst the armed men, not without suspicion: he commaunded they shoulde kill them. But for the freemen, he sent them freely home, and said, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them, they were slaues and seruantes: and with him, they were free E men, and citizens. So when he saw that diuers Captaines and his frendes did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no means saue their liues: *Brutus* him selfe hid them, and secretlie sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one *Volumnius* a leafer, and *Succellus* a common player, of whom *Brutus* made no accompt at all. Howbeit his frends brought them vnto him, and did accue them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorn, and to ieast broadly with them. *Brutus* made no aunswere to it, because his heade was occupied otherways. Whereupon, *Messala Corninus* sayd: that it were good to whippe them on a scaffold, and then to sende them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their enemies, to shewe them their shame, to keepe suche mates as those in their campe, to play the fooles, to make them sport. Some that stood by, laughed at his deuise. But *Publius Casca*, that gaue *Inlius Caesar* the first wound when he was slaine, sayd then: It doth not become vs to be thus merie at *Cassius* funerals: and for thee, *Brutus*, thou shalt shewe what estimation thou F madeit,

*Cassius slaine
by his man
Pindarus.*

*The death of
Tiunnius.*

*The number
of men slaine,
as the battell
of Philippi.*

*Brutus clemt.
of these prisoners.*

A madeit of suche a Captaine thy compere, by putting to death, or sauing the liues of these bloodes, who hereafter will mocke him, and defame his memorie. *Brutus* aunswere againe in choller: why then doe you come to tell me of it, *Casca*, and doe not your selues what you thinke good? When they hearde him say so, they tooke his aunswere for a consent against these poore vnfortunate men, to suffer them to doe what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, & slue them. Afterwards *Brutus* performed the promise he had made to the souldiers, and gaue them the two thousand Drachmas a peece, but yet he first reproved them, because they went & gaue charge vpon the enemies at the first battell, before they had the word of battell geuen them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battell they fought like men, he would geue them the sacke and spoyle of two cities; to wit, B *Thessalonica*, and *Lacedæmon*. In all *Brutus* life there is but this only fault to be found; and that is not to be gaineisaid: though *Antonius* and *Octavius Caesar* did reward their souldiers farre worfe for their victory. For when they had driuen all the naturall ITALIANS out of ITALIE, they gaue their souldiers their landes and townes, to the which they had no right: and moreover, the only marke they shott at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome, and raigene. Where in contrarie manner they had so great an opinion of *Brutus* vertue, that the common voyce and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to saue him selfe, otherwise then iustlie and honestly, and speciallie after *Cassius* death: whome men burdened, that oftentimes he moued *Brutus* to great crueltie. But nowe, like as the mariners on the sea after the rudder of their shippe is broken by tempest, do seeke to naile on some C other peece of wodde in lieu thereof, and doe helpe them selues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be vpon that instant daunger: euen so *Brutus*, hauing such a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires standing verie tickle, and hauing no other Captaine coequall with him in dignitie and authoritie: he was forced to employ them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, & was of mind him selfe also to graunt them any thing, that he thought might make them ferue like no souldiers at time of neede. For *Cassius* souldiers were verie euill to be ruled, and did shewe them selues verie stubborne and lustie in the campe, because they had no Chieftaine that did commaund them: but yet rancke cowards to their enemies, because they had once ouercome them. On the other side *Octavius Caesar*, and *Antonius*, were not in much better state: for first of all, they lacked vittells. And because they were lodged in low D places, they looked to abide a hard and sharpe winter, being camped as they were by the marsh side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reason of the colde did freeze incontinently. But beside all these discommodities, there came newes vnto them of the great losse they had of their men by sea. For *Brutus* shippes met with a great aide and sup- E plie of men, which were sent them out of ITALIE, and they ouerthrew them in suche sorte, that there escaped but few of them: and yet they were so furnished, that they were compelled to eate the tackle and sailes of their shippes. Thereupon they were verie desirous to fight a battell againe, before *Brutus* should haue intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chanced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the selfe same day it was fought by lande. But by E ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Capraines, this victory came not to *Brutus* care, till twentie dayes after. For had he knownen of it before, he would not haue bene brought to haue fought a second battell, considering that he had excellent good prouision for his armie for a long time, and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his campe could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would haue maruelously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of ROME (in my opinion) being now brought to that passe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lordes, but required one only absolute Gouvernor: God, to preuent *Brutus* that it shoulde not come to his government, kept this victory from his knowledge, though in deepe it came but a litle too late. For the day before the last battell was geuen, verie late in the night, came *Clodius*, one of his enemies into his campe, who told that *Caesar* hearing of the ouerthrow of his armie by sea, desired nothing more then to fight a battell before *Brutus* vnderstoode it. Howbeit they gaue no credit to his

*Brutus saile
wisely ex-
cused by
Plinius.*

*Brutus victo-
rie by sea.*

*Vnderfull
famine among
Caesars sould-
iers by sea.
The ignorance
of Brutus vic-
tory by sea,
was his vaine
destruction.*

words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him vnto *Brutus*, A
 because they thought it was but a lye deuised, to be the better welcome for this good newes.
 The selfe same night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before vnto
Brutus in the cite of *SARDIS*, did now appeare againe vnto him in the selfe same shape and
 forme, and so vanished away, and sayd neuer a word. Now *Publius Volumnius*, a graue & wife
 Philosopher, that had bene with *Brutus* from the beginning of this warre, he doth make men-
 tion of this spirite, but sayth: that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was couered ouer with a
 swarme of bees, and that there was one of the Capitaines, whose arme sodainly fell a sweating,
 that it dropped oyle of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but
 all would doe no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought
 between both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruelous great silence all the
 valley ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight between them: and
 that in the end, the Eagle towards *Brutus* gaue ouer, and flew away. But this is certaine, and
 a true tale: that when the gate of the campe was open, the first man the stander bearer met
 that caried the Eagle, was an *ETHIOPIAN*, whome the souldiers for ill lucke mangled with
 their swordes. Now, after that *Brutus* had brought his armie into the felde; and had set them
 in battell ray, directlie against the vaward of his enemy: he pawled a long time, before he
 gaue the signall of battell. For *Brutus* rising vp and downe to view the bands and companies:
 it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides, that some came to tell him so much as
 he thought. Moreouer, he sawe his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not goe lustily
 to geue charge: but still stayed, to see what the footemen would doe. Then sodainly, one of
 the chiefeft Knights he had in all his armie called *Camulatus*, and that was alway marue-
 lously esteemed of for his valliantnes, vntill that time: he came hard by *Brutus* a horsebacke,
 and roade before his face to yeld him selfe vnto his enemies. *Brutus* was maruelous sorie for
 it, wherefore partly for anger, and partly for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he so-
 dainly caused his armie to marche, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. So in that
 place where he him selfe fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of
 his enemies, which gaue him way, through the helpe of his horsemen that gaue charge with
 his foremen; when they saw the enemies in a maze, and affrayed. Howbeit the other also on
 the right wing, when the Capitaines would haue had them to haue marched: they were affraid
 to haue bene compassed in behinde, because they were fewer in number then their enemies, D
 and therefore did spred them selues, and leaue the middest of their battell. Whereby they ha-
 ving weakened them selues, they could not withstande the force of their enemies, but turned
 taile straight, and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight vpon it to com-
 passe *Brutus* behinde, who in the middest of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilfull
 Capitaine and valliant souldier: both for his wisdom, as also for his hardinesse, for the obtai-
 ning of victorie. But that which wanne him the victorie at the first battell, did now lose it him
 at the seconde. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut
 in peeces: but at the seconde battell, of *Cassius* men that were put to flight, there were fewe
 slaine: and they that faued them selues by speede, being affrayed because they had bene over-
 come, did discourage the rest of the armie when they came to ioyne with them, & filled all the
 army with feare & disorder. There was the sonne of *M. Cato* slaine, valliantly fighting amongst
 the lustie youths. For, notwithstanding that he was verie wearie, and overharried, yet would
 he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling alowde his name, and
 also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongst many other dead bodies of
 his enemies, which he had slaine rounde about him. So there were slaine in the field, all the
 chiefeft gentlemen and nobilitie that were in his armie: who valliantlie ranne into any dan-
 ger, to saue *Brutus* life. Amongst them there was one of *Brutus* frendes called *Lucilius*, who
 seeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way,
 but going all together right against *Brutus*, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his
 life, and being left behinde, told them that he was *Brutus*: and because they should beleue him,
 he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he sayd he was affrayed of *Casus*, and that he did
 trust *Antonius* better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking
 them

The euill spi-
 rit appeared
 againe vnto
 Brutus.
 Strange
 sights before
 Brutus second
 battell.

Brutus second
 battell.

Brutus val-
 liantnes and
 great skill in
 warres.

The death of
 the valliant
 young man
 Cato, the
 sonne of
 Marcus Ca-
 to.

The fidelitie
 of Lucilius
 vnto Brutus.

A them selues happie men: they caried him in the night, and sent some before vnto *Antonius*, to
 tell him of their coming. He was maruelous glad of it, and went out to meete them that
 brought him. Others also vnderstanding of it, that they had brought *Brutus* prisoner: they
 came out of all parts of the campe to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, & others saying,
 that it was not done like him selfe so cowardlie, to be taken aliue of the barbarous people, for
 feare of death. When they came neere together, *Antonius* stayed a while, bethinking him selfe
 how he should vse *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who slowly with a
 bold countenance sayd, *Antonius*, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken, nor shall take
Marcus Brutus aliue: and I beseech God keepe him from that fortune. For where soeuer he be
 found, aliue or dead: he will be found like him selfe. And nowe for my selfe, I am come vnto
 thee, hauing deceiued these men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was *Brutus*: and
 doe not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* wordes made them all ama-
 zed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other side, looking vpon all them that had brought him,
 sayd vnto them: my companions, I thinke ye are sorie you haue failed of your purpose, & that
 you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I doe assure you, you haue taken a bet-
 ter bootie, then that you followed. For, in steade of an enemy, you haue brought me a friend:
 and for my parte, if you had brought me *Brutus* aliue, truely I can not tell what I should haue
 done to him. For, I had rather haue such men my frendes, as this man here, then enemies.
 Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time deliuered him to one of his frendes in custodie,
 and *Lucilius* euer after serued him faithfullie, euen to his death. Nowe *Brutus* hauing passed a
 little riuier, walled in on either side with hie rockes, and shadowed with great trees, being then
 darke night, he went no further, but stayed at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Cap-
 itaines and frendes that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full of starres,
 sighing, he rehearsed two verses. of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect,

Let not the weight from vrbom this mischiefe vrent
 (O Ioue) escape without deere punishment.

And sayth that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his frendes
 that he had seene slaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh then before: spe-
 cially, when he came to name *Labio*, and *Flauius*, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and
 the other, Capitaine of the pioneers of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie
 being a thirst, and seeing *Brutus* a thirst also: he ranne to the riuier for water, and brought it in
 his fallet. At the selfe same time they heard a noyse on the other side of the riuier. Wherevpon
Volumnius tooke *Dardanius*, *Brutus* seruauant with him, to see what it was: and returning straight
 againe, asked if there were any water left. *Brutus* smiling, gentlie tolde them all was dronke,
 but they shall bring you some more. Therevpon he sent him againe that went for water be-
 fore, who was in great daunger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly escaped, being fore
 hurt. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought that there was no great number of men slaine in battell,
 and to know the trueth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promised to goe through his
 enemies (for otherwise it was impossible to goe fee their campe) and from thence if all were
 well, that he would lift vp a torche light in the ayer, and then returne againe with speede to
 E him. The torche light was lift vp as he had promised, for *Statilius* went thither. Nowe *Brutus*
 seeing *Statilius* tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he sayd: if *Statilius* be aliue,
 he will come againe. But his euill fortune was such, that as he came backe, he lighted in his
 enemies hands, and was slaine. Now, the night being farre spent, *Brutus* as he sat bowed to-
 wards *Clitus* one of his men, and told him somewhat in his eare, the other aunswered him not,
 but fell a weeping. Therevpon he proued *Dardanius*, and sayd fom what alo to him: at length
 he came to *Volumnius* him selfe, & speaking to him in Graeke, prayed him for the studies sake
 which brought them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hande to his
 sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his request, and so did many others:
 and amongst the rest, one of them sayd, there was no tarying for them there, but that they
 F must needs flie. Then *Brutus* rising vp, we must flie in deede sayd he, but it must be with our
 hands, not with our feete. Then taking euery man by the hand, he sayd these words vnto them
 with a cheerefull countenance, It reioyceth my hart that not one of my frends hath failed me

Brutus sighing.

Appian mea-
 neth this by
 Antonius.

The death of
 Statilius.

Brutus saying
 of flying with
 hands, & not
 with feete.

at my neede, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but only for my contries sake: for, as for A me, I thinke my selfe happier than they that haue ouercome, considering that I leaue a perpetuall fame of our courage and manhoode, the which our enemies the conquerors shall neuer attaine vnto by force nor money, neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughtie and vniust men, haue slaine good men, to vsurpe tyrannical power not pertaining to them. Hauing sayd so, he prayed euerie man to shif for them selues, and then he went a litle aside with two or three only, among the which *Strato* was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the studie of Rethoricke. He came as neere to him as he coulde, and taking his sword by the hilts with both his hands, & falling downe vpon the poynt of it, ran him selfe through. Others say, that not he, but *Strato* (at his request) held the sword in his hand, & turned his head aside, and that *Brutus* fell downe vpon it: and so ranne him selfe through, and dyed presently. *Messala*, that had bene *Brutus* great frend, became afterwards *Octavius Cæsars* frend. So, shortly after, *Cæsar* being at good leasure, he brought *Strato*, *Brutus* frende vnto him, and weeping sayd: *Cæsar*, beholde, here is he that did the last seruice to my *Brutus*. *Cæsar* welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithfull seruice in all his affaires, as any *Grecian* els he had about him, vntill the battell of *ACTIUM*. It is reported also, that this *Messala* him selfe answered *Cæsar* one day, when he gaue him great praise before his face, that he had fought valliantlie, and with great affection for him, at the battell of *ACTIUM*: (notwithstanding that he had bene his cruell enemy before, at the battell of *PHILIPPS*, for *Brutus* sake) I euer loued, sayd he, to take the best and iustest parte. Now, *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* bodie, he caused it to be wrapped vp in one of the richest cote armors he had. Afterwards also, *Antonius* vnderstanding that this cotearmor was stollen, he put the theefe to death that had stollen it, & sent the ashes of his bodie vnto *Servilia* his mother. And for *Porcia*, *Brutus* wife: *Nicolaus* the Philosopher, and *Valerius Maximus* doe wryte, that she determining to kill her selfe (her parents and frendes carefullie looking to her to kepe her from it) tooke hotte burning coles, and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choked her selfe. There was a letter of *Brutus* found wrytten to his frendes, complayning of their negligence, that his wife being sicke, they would not helpe her, but suffred her to kill her selfe, choosing to dye, rather then to languish in paine. Thus it appeareth, that *Nicolaus* knewe not well that time, sith the letter (at the least if it were *Brutus* letter) doth plainly declare the diseafe and loue of this Lady, and also the manner of her death.

Brutus slue him selfe.
Strato, *Brutus* familiar and frend.

Strato receiued into *Cæsars* frendship.
Messala Corvinus, *Brutus* frend.

Brutus funeralle.

Porcia, *Brutus* wife, killed her selfe with burning coles.

THE COMPARISON OF *Dion* with *Brutus*.



A Come nowe to compare these two noble personages together, it is certaine that both of them hauing had great gifts in them (& specially *Dion*) of small occasions they made them selues great men: & therfore *Dion* of both deserueth chiefeft praise. For, he had no cohelper to bring him vnto that greatnesse, as *Brutus* had of *Cassius*: who doubtlesse was not comparable vnto *Brutus*, for vertue and respect of honor, though otherwise in matters of warre, he was no lesse wife and valliant then he. For many doe impute vnto *Cassius*, the first beginning and originall of all the warre and enterprife: and sayd it was he that did encourage *Brutus*, to conspire *Cæsars* death. Where *Dion* furnished him selfe with armor, shippes and souldiers and wanne those frendes and companions also that did helpe him, to prosecute his warre. Nor he did not as *Brutus*, who rose to greatnesse by his enterprises, and by warre got all his strength and riches. But he in contrarie maner, spent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his contrie and disbursed of his owne money, that should haue kept him in his banishment. Furthermore, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were compelled of necessity to make warres, bicause they coulde not haue liued safelie in peace, when they were driuen out of *ROME*: for that they were condemned to death, and pursued by their enemies. And for this cause therefore they were driuen to hazard them selues in warre, more for their owne safetie, then for the libertie of their contrie men. Whereas *Dion* on the other side, liuing more merily and safelie in his banishment, then the tyranne *Dionysius* him selfe that had banished him: did put him selfe to that daunger, to deliuer *SICILE* from bondage. Nowe the matter was not a like vnto the *ROMANES*, to be deliuered from the government of *Cæsar*: as it was for the *SYRACVSANS*, to be ridde of *Dionysius* tyrannie. For *Dionysius* denied not, that he was not a tyranne, hauing filled *SICILE* with suche miserie and calamitie. Howebeit *Cæsars* power and government when it came to be established, did in deede much hurt at his first entrie and beginning vnto those that did resist him: but afterwards, vnto them that being ouercome had receiued his government, it seemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyranne, then otherwise that he was so in deede. For there neuer followed any tyrannicall nor cruell act, but contrarie, it seemed that he was a mercifull Philition, whom God had ordeyned of speciall grace to be Gouvernor of the Empire of *ROME*, and to set all things againe at quiet stay, the which required the counsell and authoritie of an absolute Prince. And therefore the *ROMANES* were maruelous sorie for *Cæsar* after he was slaine, and afterwards would neuer pardon them that had slaine him. On the other side, the cause why the *SYRACVSANS* did most accule *Dion*, was: bicause he did let *Dionysius* escape out of the castell of *SYRACVS*, and bi-

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cause he did not ouerthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, towching the warres: *Dion* alway shewed him selfe a Capitaine vnreprouable, hauing wiselike and skilfullie taken order for those things, which he had enterprised of his owne head and counsell: and did amende the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them. Where it seemeth, that *Brutus* did not wisely to receiue the second battell: considering his rest stode vpon it. For, after he had lost the battell, it was vnpossible for him euer to rise againe: & therefore his hart failed him, and so gaue vp all, and neuer durst strue with his euill fortune as *Pompey* did, considering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his souldiers, and being before a dreadfull Lorde all the sea ouer. Furthermore, the greatest reproache they could obiect against *Brutus*, was: that *Julius Caesar* hauing saued his life, and pardoned all the prisoners also taken in battell, as many as he had made request for, taking him for his frende, B and honoring him aboue all his other frends: *Brutus* notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his blood, wherewith they could neuer reprove *Dion*. For on the contrarie side, so long as *Dion* was *Diomysius* frende and kinsman, he did alway helpe him to order and gouerne his affaires. But after he was banished his contrie, and that his wife was forcible married to another man, and his goodes also taken from him: then he entred into iust and open warres against *Diomysius* the tyranne. But in this poynt, they were contrarie together. For wher in their chiefest praise consisted, to witte, in hating of tyrannes and wicked men: it is most true that *Brutus* desire was most sincere of both. For hauing no priuate cause of complaint or grudge against *Caesar*, he ventred to kill him, only to set his contrie againe at libertie. Where if *Dion* had not receiued priuate cause of quarrell against *Diomysius*: he woulde neuer haue C caused warre with him. The which *Plato* proueth in his Epistells, where is plainlie seene: that *Dion* being driuen out of the tyrans Court against his will, and not putting him selfe to voluntarie banishment, he draue out *Diomysius*. Furthermore, the respect of the common wealth caused *Brutus*, that before was *Pompeys* enemy, to become his frende, and enemy vnto *Caesar*, that before was his frend: only referring his friendshippe and enmitie, vnto the consideration of iustice and equitie. And *Dion* did many things for *Diomysius* sake and benefit, all the while he trusted him: and when he beganne to mistrust him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherefore all his frendes did not beleue, but after he had driuen out *Diomysius*, he would establish the government to him selfe, flattering the people with a more courteous and gentle title then the name of a tyranne. But for *Brutus*, his verie enemies them selues confessed, that of all D those that conspired *Caesars* death, he only had no other ende and intent to attempt his enterprise, but to restore the Empire of Rome againe, to her former state & government. And furthermore, it was not all one thing to deale with *Diomysius*, as it was to haue to doe with *Julius Caesar*. For no man that knew *Diomysius*, but would haue despised him, considering that he spent the most parte of his time in drinking, dycing, and in haunting lewde womens company. But to haue vnderaken to destroy *Julius Caesar*, and not to haue throncke backe for feare of his great wisdom, power, and fortune, considering that his name only was dreadfull vnto euerie man, and also not to suffer the kings of *PARTHIA* and *INDIA* to be in rest for him: this could not come but of a maruelous noble minde of him, that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any part of his corage. And therefore, so fone as *Dion* came into *SICILIA*, many thousandes of men E came and ioyned with him, against *Diomysius*. But the fame of *Julius Caesar* did set vp his frends againe after his death, and was of such force, that it raised a young tripling, *Octavius Caesar*, (that had no meanes nor power of him selfe) to be one of the greatest men of Rome: and they vsed him as a remedie to encounter *Antonius* malice and power. And if men will say, that *Dion* draue out the tyrant *Diomysius* with force of armes, and sundrie battells: and that in contrarie maner *Brutus* slue *Caesar*, being a naked man, and without gard: then doe I aunswere againe, that it was a noble parte, and of a wise Capitaine, to choose so apt a time and place, to come vpon a man of so great power, and to finde him naked without his gard. For he went not sodainlie in a rage, and alone, or with a small companie, to assaile him: but his enterprise was long time before determined of, and that with diuers men, of all the which, F not a man of them once sayled him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chose them honest men, or else that by his choise of them, he made them good men.

Whereas

In what things *Dion* was inferior vnto *Brutus*.

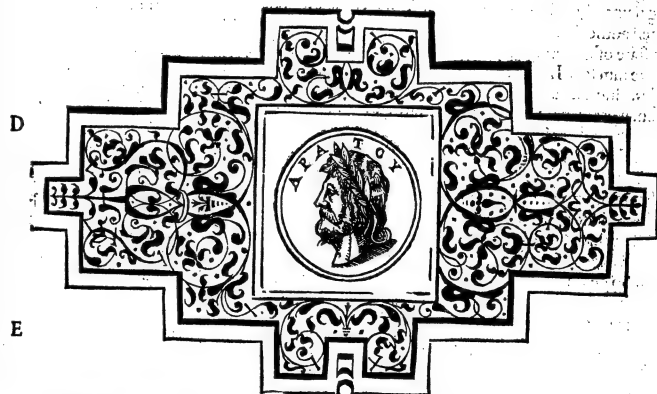
A Whereas *Dion*, either from the beginning made no wise choise in trusting of euill men, or else because he could not tell how to vie them he had chosen of good men, he made them become euill, so that neither the one nor the other coulde be the parte of a wise man. For *Plato* him selfe reproveth him, for that he had chosen suche men for his frendes, that he was slaine by them, and after he was slaine, no man woulde then reuenge his death. And in contrarie manner, of the enemies of *Brutus*, the one (who was *Antonius*) gaue his bodie honorable buriall: and *Octavius Caesar* the other, referred his honors and memories of him. For at *Milayne*, (a citie of *GAULE* on *ITALIE* side) there was an image of his in brasse, verie like vnto him; the which *Caesar* afterwarde passing that way, behelde verie aduisedly, for that it was made by an excellent workeman, and was verie like him, and so went his way. Then he stayed sodainly a gaine, and called for the Gouernors of the citie, and before them all tolde them, that the citi- Bzens were his enemies, and traitors vnto him, because they kept an enemy of his among them. The Gouernors of the citie at the first were astonied at it, and stowtly denied it: and none of them knowing what enemy he ment, one of them looked on another. *Octavius Caesar* then turning him vnto *Brutus* statue, bending his browes, sayd vnto them: this man you see standing vp here, is he not our enemy? Then the Gouernors of the citie were worie, and frayed then before, & could not tel what answer to make him. But *Caesar* laughing, and commending the *GAULES* for their faithfulness to their frendes, euen in their aduersities, he was contented *Brutus* image should stand still as it did.

Brutus being red of his enemies after his death.

Brutus image or statue standing in brasse in *Milayne*, was preferred and kept by *Octavius Caesar*.

C

THE LIFE OF Aratus.



E



Crissippus the Philosopher (my frend *Polycrates*) being affrayed as it seemeth of the euill sound of an auncient prouerbe not rightlie as it was spoken, and in vse, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this manner:

*VVhat children do their auncetors commend,
But those vvhom fortune fauors to the end?*

But *Diomysius* *TROBZENIAN* reproving him, doth rehearse the prouerbe rightlie as in deede it is?

VVhat children do their auncetors commend,

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But those whose life is virtuous to the end?

Saying, that this prouerbe stoppeth their mouthes who of them selues are vnworthie of praise, and yet are still boasting of the vertues of their auncesters, whose praise they hiey extoll. But affore those that (as *Pindarus* sayth.)

Do match their noble auncestors in proweesse of their owne,

And by their fruites commend the stocke vnto whence they them selues are growne.

The example
of an aunc-
ster, wherein
profitable to
his posterity.

(As thy selfe that conformest thy life vnto the examples and maners of thy virtuous auncesters:) it is no small good happe for them, often to remember the noble deedes of their parentes in hearing them spoken of, or otherwise for them selues oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parentes. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praise and glorie: but in ioyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their auncesters, they do increaseth their glorie, as inheriting their virtuous life, as challenging their discent by blood. Therefore, hauing wrytten the life of *Aratus* thy contie man, and one of thy auncesters, whose glorie and greatnesse thou dost not blemish, I doe sende it vnto thee, not that I thinke but that thou hast more diligentlie then any man else, searched out all his deedes and sayings: But yet, because that thy two sonnes, *Polycrates*, and *Pythocles*, reading, and still hearing some thing reported, might be brought vp at home by the example of their auncesters, whose deedes shall lye before them to followe. For he loueth him selfe more, then he regardeth perfit vertue, or his credit: that thinketh him selfe so perfit, as he neede not follow any others example.

The common
weale of the
Sicyonians
concerned in
no tyrannie.

The citie of *SICYONE*, after it fell from her first gouernment of the optimacie and nobilitie, which is proper to the cities of the *DORIANS*: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into ciuill warres and feditious practises, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceased to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway chaunging new tyrannes, vntill that *Cleom* being blaine, they chose *Timoclidus* and *Clinias* their Gouernors, two of the noblest men & of greatest authoritie in all the citie. Now when the common weale beganne to grow to a certeine state of gouernment, *Timoclidus* dyed: and *Abantidas*, the sonne of *Pasalus*, pretending to make him selfe Lord of the citie, he slue *Clinias*, and put to death some of his parentes and frendes, draue away others, and fought also to put his sonne *Aratus* to death, that was then but seuen yeare old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, *Aratus* flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandering vp and downe the citie, being scared and affrayed, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he gotte into a womans house, called *Sofo*, which was *Abantidas* sister, and wife vnto *Periphantus*, his father *Clinias* brother. She being of a noble minde, and iudging that the childe *Aratus* by Gods providence fledde vnto her: hidde him in her house, and in the night secretlie sent him vnto the citie of *Argos*. Now after that *Aratus* had escaped, and was safe from this daunger: from that time there bred in him a vehemēt malice against tyrannes, the which still increased in him, as he grew in yeares. So he was vertuouslie brought vp in the citie of *Argos*, with his fathers frends: and perceiuing with him selfe that he waxed bigge and strong, he disposed his bodie to diuers exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in fure manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face, full and well

Abantidas,
tyran of *Sicy-
one*.

Aratus the
sonne of *Cli-
nias*, escaped
the hands of
the tyrann *Ab-
antidas*.

Aratus ma-
lice against
tyrann.

Aratus fauor.

Aratus wrote
a booke of *Co-
mentaries*.
Abantidas
the tyrann
blaine.
Aristotle the
Logician.

liking, as one that fedd well, and the maiestie of his countenance argueth that he vsed fuch exercise: and fuche commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not geue him selfe so much to pleading, as peraduenture was requisite for a Gouernor of a common wealth. Howebeit, some doe iudge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloquent tongue then seemed vnto some: because he wrote them in hast, hauing other busines in hand, and euen as things came first into his minde. But afterwards, *Dinias* and *Aristotle* Logitian, slue *Abantidas*, who did commonlie vse to sit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and oportunitie to worke their feate they did. After *Abantidas* death, his father *Pasalus* possessed the tyrannie: whom *Nicoles* afterwards slue also by treason, and made him selfe tyrann in his place. It is reported that this *Nicoles* did liuelie resemble the countenance of *Periander*, the sonne of *Cypselus*, as *Orontes* *PERSIAN* was very like vnto *Alcmaon*, the sonne of *Amphiaraus*: and an other young

LACED

A LACEDÆMONIAN, vnto *Hector* of *TROYA*, whom *Myrsilus* wryteth, was troden vnder mens feete, through the ouergreat presse of people that came to see him, when they heard of it. This *Nicoles* was tyrann foure monethes together, in the which he did wonderful great hurt to the citie, and had almost lost it, the *ÆTOLIANS* comming on a sodaine, who were like to haue taken it. Nowe *Aratus* was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatlie esteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they founde in him, which was no small matter: and besides that, he had a maiestie in his countenance, being wiser then was looked for in a young man of his yeares. Therefore the banished men from the citie of *SICYONE*, repaired vnto him before any other man. *Nicoles* for his parte also was not carelesse of his doings, but had an eye euer to see what *Aratus* intended, although

B he little mistrusted any fuche bolde enterprife, nor so daungerous an exploit of him: but did onely coniecture that he did stirre vp the kings which had bene his dead fathers frendes. And so in deede *Aratus* tooke that course. But when he saw that *Antigonus* still delayed his promises, and did alwayes tract time, and that the hope of aide from king *Ptolomy* of *ÆGYPT* was too farre of: at length he determined to vndertake to destroy the tyrann him selfe. So he first consulted with *Aristomachus* and *Ecdelus*: of the which the one was banished from *SICYONE*, and the other an *ARCADIAN*, from the citie of *MEGALIPOLIS*, a Philosopher, and a valliant man of his hands, and had bene scholler to *Arcesilauus* the Academicke, in the citie of *ATHENS*. These two men being contented to ioyne with *Aratus*, he practised with other of the banished men also: of the which there were some that were ashamed, not to be partakers

Aratus went
about to deli-
uer his countie
from the ty-
rannie.
* In an other
place he cal-
leth him *Ecdelus*,
Aristomachus
and *Ecdelus*,
doe ioyne with
Aratus.

C of his hope & noble attempt, and so did also ioyne with him. Howbeit the most part of them did not only refuse to enter into that practise, but further, went about to dissuade *Aratus* from his enterprife, saying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he vnderstoode not the daunger in vndertaking fuch a matter, altogether so vnlikelie. Nowe, as *Aratus* was thinking in his minde to keepe a certaine place in the territory of *SICYONE*, from whence they might make warre with the tyrannes: there came a prisoner vnto them out of the citie of *Argos*, that had broken prifon from the tyrann of *SICYONE*: and was brother vnto *Xenocles*, one of the banished men. He being brought by the same *Xenocles* vnto *Aratus*, told that in the place whereby he had saued him selfe, the grounde within was almost as high as the toppe of the wall, the which in that parte ioynd vnto high stonie places: and that without the wall the

D height was not so great, but that it was easelie scalable with ladders. When *Aratus* heard that, he sent two of his men, *Seuthas*, and *Technon*, with *Xenocles* to viewe the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to proue secretlie to execute his pretended enterprife, and quickly to put it to a venter: then to beginne a long warre, and to prepare an open arme, he being a priuate man, to goe against the power of a tyrann. *Xenocles* being returned againe to *Aratus*, after he had measured the height of the wall: he reported that the place was not vnscalable, but yet very hard to come to it vndiscovered, because of certeine liue curst cures a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would neuer leaue barking. Howebeit *Aratus* would not leaue of his enterprife so. Now it was not straunge to see euerie man prepare them selues of armor and weapon, because at that time there were great robberies and cruell murders committed

E by high wayes, and one would assault an other: but for the ladders, *Euphranor* that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not sticke to make them openlie, because his common occupation did take away all suspicion why they were made. For this carpenter was him selfe also a banished man from *SICYONE*, as the residue were. Furthermore, *Aratus* frendes he had in *Argos*, of those fewe men they had, did euerie man of them lende him tenne men, and armed thirtie of his owne men: beside them, *Aratus* him selfe also did hyre some pretie number of fouldiers, by the practise of *Xenophilus*, whome the Captaines of the theues did furnish him. They were geuen to vnderstand that they should be ledde to the territorie of *SICYONE*, to take a pray of cattell and coltes of the king: and they were sent before, some one way, some another, with commandement, all to meete together at the tower of *Poly-*

Aratus pre-
pared to de-
liuer his coun-
trie from ty-
rannie.

F gnotus, where they shoulde tarie. So he sent *Caphesias* also before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who shoulde come to this gardiners house in the night, like straungers and trauellers; to lye in his house, and to locke him vnto and his dogges, like straungers and trauellers; to lye in his house, and to locke him vnto and his dogges,

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bicaufe they had no other deuife to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were A
certaine fpialls of *Nicoles* the tyranne difcouered, that walked vp and downe the citie (mak-
ing no countenance of any matter) to fee what *Aratus* did. Wherefore, *Aratus* went out
of his houle early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with
his frendes. Then he went to the thewe place (or place of exercifes) and there stripped him
felfe, annoynted him, and wrestled, and in the ende tooke certaine of the young gentlemen
home with him, that were wont to make merie, and to paffe the time away with him: and im-
mediatly after, one of his feruautes was feene in the market place, carying of garlandes of
flowers. An other was feene alfo buying of linckes and torches, and an other hyering of thefe
common dauncing and finging women, which followe feaftes and bankets with their instru-
ments. *Nicoles* fpialls feeing that, were deceiued: for one of them laughing on an other fayd, B
that they might eafely fee by that, there was nothing more fearefull and timerous then a ty-
ran: considering that *Nicoles* being Lord of fo great a citie, was affrayed of a young ftrippling,
that fpent all that he could rappe & tend to keepe him in his banifhment, vpon vaine bankets,
and feaftes, at noone dayes. And thus were the tyrans fpialls finely mocked. *Aratus* felfe depar-
ted immediatly after dinner out of *Argos*, & went vnto his fouldiers, whom he had appoint-
ed before to mete him at the tower of *Polygnorus*, & led them ftraight vnto *Nemea*. There
he told them openly his full intent and purpofe, hauing before made an Oration vnto them to
encourage them, and alfo made them maruelous fayer promifes. Then he gaue them for their
watche word, *Apollo* fauorable, and fo went directly to the citie of *Sicyone*, marching with
great fpeede at the firft bicaufe of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwarde slackened C
his pace a litle, fo that they had Moone light all the way as they came, and the Moone went
not downe, vntill they were come to the gardeners houle that was harde by the wall. So *Ca-
phefias*, whome he had fent before vnto the gardeners houle, came to meete with *Aratus*, and
brought him word that he could not take the dogges, bicaufe they ranne away: howbeit that
he had made falt the gardiner in his owne houle. This difcraged the moft parte of all the
companie, who would needes haue him in any cafero returne backe againe. But *Aratus* then
began to comfort them, and promifed that he would lead them backe againe, if it chanced
that the dogges were too bufie with them: and therewithall prefently caufed the ladder men
to goe before, whom *Ecdelus* and *Mnafithens* led, and he him felfe came fayer and fofterly after.
The dogges made a fowle barking, and were baying about *Ecdelus* & his companie. This not-
withftanding, they came fafely to the wall, and did let vp their fcaling ladders. But euen as the
firft men got vp on them, the Captaine of the watch that had geuen place to him that fould
ward in the morning, came by chauce, and paffed hard by them, vifiting the fouldiers with
a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noyfe of men that followed him.
They that were vpon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and ftirred not: and thereby
the fouldiers that paffed by them, could not fee them. But now the new morning watch came
towards them alfo, which did put them in great danger to be difcouered: but yet they once
againe fcaped them and were not difcouered, bicaufe the fecond watch went beyond them,
and ftayed not. Then *Ecdelus* and *Mnafithens* immediatly fcaled the wall, & fent *Techmon* with
all poffible fpede vnto *Aratus*, to will him to make all the haft he could to come to them. Now
there was no great diftance betwixt the garden where the dogges were, and the wall, and a
litle tower where they kept a great greyhounde to keepe watche: but the greyhounde neuer
heard their comming, either bicaufe he was a cowardly curie of nature, or els for that he had
bene ouercourfed and wearied the day before. But the gardeners litle curies that bald and bar-
ked beneath, had wakened the greyhounde with their barking, who at the firft began to aun-
fwere them with a foft ginning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out
alowe, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Infomuch, that the skowt which
was further of, called alowe to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he
made fuch a barking, and whether there were any thing fturring or not that angered him. The
hunt within the tower aunfwered, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was waked, and fell
a barking at the lights of the watch that paffed by, and at the noyfe of the bell. This made *A-
ratus* fouldiers a great deale the bolder: bicaufe they thought that the hunte had bene made
priuy

*Aratus policy
to deceiue
Nicoles
fpialls.*

*Aratus dan-
ger, in deli-
uering of his
countrie from
the tyranny of
Nicoles.*

A priuy to their enterprife, and that he went about to hide their fecret attempt, and hoped alfo
that there were many other within the citie that would further their enterprife. When they
came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height, and very dangerous, bicaufe the lad-
ders (hooked, and bowed by reafon of the waight of the men, vnles they did come vp fayer and
fofterly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in fome perill, bicaufe the cocks
began to crowe, and the contry folke that brought things to the market to fell, began to come
a pace to the towne out of euery quarter. And therefore *Aratus* made hafte to get vp, hauing
onely forty men aboute with him, and looked for fome befides to come vp, which were yet be-
neath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrannes pallace, where his hiered fouldiers
kept watch and ward: and comming fodenly vpon them, layed hold of euery man of them, &
B blue not one. Then he fent into the citie to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. There-
vpon they ranne out of euery corner to *Aratus*. Now the day began to breake, and ftraight
the Theater was full of people that gathered together, bicaufe of the noyfe and fturre they
heard in the citie, not knowing what the matter was: vntill at length an Herald proclay-
med with open voyce, that it was *Aratus* the fonne of *Clinias*, who called his contry men and
Citizens to the recouerye of their libertie. Then they perfuading them felues, that the thing
which they long wifhed and looked for, was now come to paffe: they ranne all in a trowpe
together to the tyrannes houle, and fet it a fire. But the flame rofe fo high and great after the
fire had taken it in euery part, that it was feene to the citie of *Corinthe*: infomuch that the
C *Corinthians* fwondering what the matter fhould be, were in mind to haue gone to helpe it.
Now for *Nicoles*, he faued him felfe, and got out of the citie by fecret vaults he had made vn-
der the ground. The fouldiers on the other fide quenching the fire with the helpe of the Cit-
izens, did facke all they found in the tyrants pallace. The which *Aratus* hyndered not, but did
moreouer make all the reft of the tyrants goods common amongst them. So his enterprife
had fo good fuccesse, that there was none of his owne companie flayne he brought with him;
nether any of their enemies that were within the citie, fortune kept this exploit fo pure and
cleane from any bloudshed. Then *Aratus* reftored foure fcore men vnto their lands & goods
againe, whome the tyrant *Nicoles* had banifhed: and others alfo, that had bene banifhed by
former tyrants, to the number of fife hundred men, who had bene wel neare fifty yeares fpace
banifhed out of their contry. Nowe the moft of them being come home poore and needy,
D would haue entred on their goods and lands they enioyed before: and fo, entring againe vpon
their lands in their contry, and their houfes in the citie, they amazed *Aratus* withall, feeing
Antigonus on the one fide praftife all the meanes he could to winne *Sicyone* beeing nowe
free, and they all in an vpror and mutinie in the citie. Therefore, following the beft counfell
he could thinke vpon and deuife, considering the daunger of the prefent tyme: he ftoyned
the citie in league and friendship with the *Achaians*, and of them all, made but one bodye.
And bicaufe the Citizens of *Sicyone* were *Dorians*, they were glad to fubmit them felues
to be gouerned and protected by the name of the *Achaians*, who were at that tyme of no
great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great boundes of landes, ne-
ther were they very fpecial good, for that they ftoode vpon the fea fide, where was no manner
of haue nor port, but ftones and rockes good ftoze: and the fea bearing vpon them, did cafte
E into the mayne land. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of
Greece when it was vnited and gouerned by good policie was of greater force, and almoft in-
vincible. For the *Achaians* being in comparifon of the auncient force of *Greece*, of no re-
gard, and but a part of one citie enfeebled with ciuill and forrein warre: So long as they could
fubmit them felues to be ruled by the wifedome and vertue of their Captaine, and not enuy &
malice his proferitie and fouerainty: they did not onely mainteyne them felues as free men
in the middest of the feruitude of fo many great cities, large and mighty, but did alfo deliuer
many other people of *Greece* from their tyrants. Now, for *Aratus* manners: he was one that
in nature loued ciuill gouernment, and equalitie among Citizens in one felfe citie: he was
nobly minded, and more painefull about the affayres of the common weale, then careful of
his owne bufines, and hated tyrants to the death, and employed his good or euill will wholly
for the feruice of the common wealth. And therefore he feemed not to be fo fownd a friend,

*Aratus was
the citie of
Sicyone with-
out bloodshed*

*Nicoles the
tyrant ftyeth.*

*Aratus ioy-
neth the citie
of Sicyone
vnto the A-
chaians.*

*Aratus refer-
red all things
to the com-
mon weale.*

as he was a gentle and mercifull enemye: framing him selfe in either of both, as tyme serued A for the common wealth. To be short, it was a generall and common voyce amonge all the cities confederates, in priuate company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that *Aratus* loued nothing but vertue, and honestly. That in open warres he was not so valliant and coragious, as he was crafty and furtell, to take a citie on the sodaine. Furthermore, though he was valliant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would neuer haue brought to passe: yet it seemeth he left many thinges possible vndone, the which he might easily haue done, for that he durst not ventur on them. For as there be beastes whose sight is perfitte by night, and by day they can see nothing, bicause the subtiltie of the humor and moysture in their eyes is dried vp, and can not abide the bright light of the daye: euen fo, men that otherwise by nature are very wise, are easely affrayd of daunger, when they must ventur on it at B noone dayes, where contrarily they are bold in secret enterprises, sodeinly to attēpt any thing. Now, this contrarietie and difference in men well brought vp, groweth through ignorance & lacke of instruction of Philosophie, which of it selfe doth norith vertue, as frute that springeth vp without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is best discerned by examples. So *Aratus* hauing ioyned him selfe and his citie *SICYONE* vnto the *ACHAIANS*, and seruing in person as a man of armes among the rest: he was maruelously beloued of his generalls, that saw him so obedient. For, notwithstanding that he had made so large a contribution as the estimation of him selfe, and the force of his citie vnto the common wealth of the *ACHAIANS*: yet he was ready to obey and execute the commandements of the generalls, as the poorest and meanest souldier, were he of *DYMA*, or of *TRITA*, or of any other small village whatsoeuer. Furthermore, a great summe of money beeing sent him from king *Proton* for a gifte, amownting to twenty and fise talente, he tooke it, but forthwith disposed it amongest his poore contry men, both to releue their want, as also to redeeme prisoners. This notwithstanding, the banished men still vexed & troubled them that had their goods & lands, to haue the out of their hands, and otherwise would be satisfied by no meanes. Their common wealth therefore beeing in great daunger to fall into ciuill warre, *Aratus* perceiving there was no other way to helpe this mischance, but by *Proton*'s liberalitie: he determined to goe vnto him, to praye him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he embarked at the hauen of *MATRONA*, about the foreland of *MALEA*, to sayle from thence into *ÆGYPT*: howbeit he had such a contrary wind, and the sea rose so hie, that the maister of the shippe was driuen to let her goe D whether she woulde to take sea roome. So beeing driuen quite from his direct course, with great daunger he got to the citie of *ADRIA*, which was his enemy: bicause *Antigon* kept it, and had a garrison in it. But *Aratus* did wisely preuent it, going a shore, & wandred farr from the sea, with one of his friends called *Timanthes*, and got into a wodde, where they had an euill nights rest. He had not gone farr after he had left his shippe, but the Captaine of the garrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his seruants had mocked him finely, (beeing before instructed by *Aratus* what answer they should make) saying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of *EUBOIA*. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garrison stayed the shippe, his men, and all things els he had in her, and tooke her for a good prise. Within fewe dayes after, *Aratus* being maruelously troubled, and at a straight with him selfe what he should doe: there E happily arrived a *ROMANE* shippe hard by the place where he kept most, partly to hide him selfe, and partly also to see if he could discouer any thing. This shippe was bound for *SYRIA*. So he had delt with the maister of the shippe in that sorte, that he tooke him aboard, and promised he would deliuer him in *CARIA*, and so he did. But he was in as much daunger, this second iorney againe by sea, as he was in the first he made towards *ÆGYPT*. From *CARIA*, a long time after, *Aratus* went into *ÆGYPT*, and spake with the king, who made very much of him: for *Aratus* sed him still by sending of him passing fayer tables, and pictures of *GRECE*, of excellent workmanship. And in deede hauing a singuler good wit, he alwayes got together, and bought the excellentest painted pictures he could get, but specially the pictures of *Pamphibius* and *Melanthis*, to send them vnto the king. For learning florished yet in the citie of *SICYONE*, and they esteemed the paintings of tables in that citie, to be the perfittest for true cul- F ture, and fine drawing of all other places. Inomuch as *Apelles*, (though he was then of marue-

Vnto vnto
see best by
night, and not
by day.
Men ignorant
of Philosophie
be likend vnto
to vnto.

Aratus taketh
his seat to go
to king *Proton*
into *AE-*
GIPT.

The pictures
and painted
tables made
in the citie of
Sicyone, did

A lous fame for paynting) went thither, and gaue to these two excellent paynters a talent, to re- mayne a while in their company: not so much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as there- by to winne him selfe fame. And therefore when *Aratus* had restored his citie againe to liber- tie, he caused all the images of the tyrannes to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit he stooode doubtful a long tyme, whether he should deface *Arifratrus* picture or not, who raigned in the tyme of *Phillip*. For it was paynted with the hands of all the schollers of *Melanthis*, be- ing by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victorie, and as *Polemon* the Geographer writeth, *Apelles* hand was to it. This picture was a passing peece of worke to see to, so that *Aratus* at the first yielded, and was contented to saue it for the excellencye of the workmanship: yet in the ende, ouercome with the extreme hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it should be defaced. Now it is reported also, that *Neales* the paynter being one of *Aratus* friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon such a notable peece of worke. But when he saw *Aratus* so hard harted that he would not graunt it: he tolde him it was good reason to make warre with ty- rants, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (y he) leaue the chariot of triumphe and victo- rie, and I will make thee see *Arifratrus*, willingly to come out of the table. *Aratus* was conten- ted to let him haue his will. Then *Neales* defaced the picture of *Arifratrus*, and in place there- of drue onely a palme tree, and durst adde nothing els to it of his owne deuise. Some say, that vnder the chariot were conueied *Arifratrus* feete defaced. So *Aratus* by meanes of these tables and pictures, was maruelously well beloued of king *Proton*. But after that he was acquaynted with him, and knew his conseruation: he loued him then better then before. Inomuch that C he gaue him a hundred and fifty talente to helpe his citie withall: of the which, he caried for- ty away with him vnto *PELOPONNESVS*, and the king afterwards sent him the rest at sundry tymes. Nowe this was a maruelous matter of him to get such a masse of money together for his Citizens: considering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouvernors of free cities, for a litle summe of money onely which they haue taken of kings and Princes, haue bene corrupted, & betrayed their townes and contry. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this money, he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and riche, and furthermore, saued vpright all the people of *SICYONE*, where he shewed him selfe maruelous wise, and temperate, being of that great power and authoritie he was. For after they had chosen him Arbitrator to iudge, com- pound, and absolutely to decyde all quarrells and strife betwene the banished men: he would D neuer vndertake it him selfe alone, but tooke fifteene other of the chiefeest Citizens with him, and with them, with great paynes and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his ci- tizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not onely all the inhabi- tants and Citizens of *SICYONE* together, did not onely decree publike honors meete for him: but also the banished men them selues did priuately cast his image in brasse, and set it vp, vnder the which they caused this inscription to be grauen.

Thy prouesse and thy feates of armes, thy counsell sage and wife,
Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skyes,
But also to the utmost freys of *Maarok* blouven by fame,
And vnto that through thy goodnes home into our contry came,
Haue set this image up to thee *Aratus*, as a signe
Of our deliurance through thy lone and through the pouer diuine.
For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth restore
Vs contry, lawes, and libertie, bereft vs quite before.

Aratus hauing done all these thinges, he suppressed the enuye of the Citizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king *Antigon* being angry with *Aratus* in his mind, and seeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of *Proton*: he did him many other great curtesies, *Aratus* neuer seeking them at his hands. But one day specially about the rest, as he did sacrifice vnto the gods at *CORINTH*, he sent *Aratus* part of his weathers he had sacrificed, vnto *SICYONE*. And at the feast of his sacrifice in the hea- F ring of many noble men that were bidden guests, he sayd openly of *Aratus*: I did alway thinke that this young *SICYONIAN* could not but haue a liberal mind, louing the libertie of his contry and contry men: but I perceiue now he is a man that can iudge of Princes manners and

posse all the
shier painting
in *Grece*.

The excellen-
cy of *Arifra-*
tus picture
of *Sicyone*, painted
by all the
schollers of
Arifra-
tus and *Apel-*
les help: &
Aratus con-
sideration for
the defacing
of it.
The saying of
Neales the
paynter, coun-
selling tyrans.

The great li-
beralitie of
Proton vnto
Aratus.

Aratus tem-
perance.

affayres. For heretofore he made no accompt of vs, bicause his hope was out of this contry, A and he greatly esteemed the riches of ÆGYPT, hearing talke of so many Elephants, of such a great fleet of shippes, and of such a sumptuous Court, as king *Ptolomyes* Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a smoke and vaine pompe, he is come to vs: & for my part, he is welcome to me, & I will haue you all to take him for my friend. These words of king *Antigonus*, were straight taken at bownd of certaine enuious men, and caried for lacke of better matter vnto king *Ptolomy*, euery man struing who should write all the euil they could against him: So that *Ptolomy* thereupon sent a Messenger of purpose vnto him, to reprove him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, betwene the earnest loue of these Princes and kings, that contended with eche other who should haue *Aratus*. Furthermore, the first tyme that *Aratus* was chosen Lieutenant general of the trybe of the ACHAÏANS, he forraged B and spoyled the contry of LOCRIE, which lyeth directly ouer against ACHAÏA, and CALYDONIA also. Howbeit he came not tyme enough to ayde the BEOOTIANS, in the battell which they lost before the citie of CHERONEA, against the ÆTOLIANS: where *Abacritus*, Governor of BOROIA was slayne in the field, with a thousand other BEOOTIANS. Howbeit the next year following, he being the second tyme chosen Lieutenant general, he attempted to win the castell of CORINTH againe, being an enterprise which not onely concerned the priuate benefit of SICYONE it selfe, and the trybe of the ACHAÏANS, but also of all GRECE besides. For, he was fully bent to driue the garrison of the MACEDONIANS thence, the which seemed euen a very keepe that held all the GRECIANS noses to the gryndstone. For like as *Chares*, Captaine of the ATHENIANS, hauing in a certaine conflict discomited the kings Lieutenants, C wrote to the ATHENIANS that he had wonne a victory halfe sister to the victory of *Marathon*: Euen so he thinks it were no disgrace to say, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tyrants, which was done by *Pelopidas* THEBAN, and *Thrasibulus* ATHENIAN, sauing that this last acte was more famous, bicause it was not against GRECIANS, but against straungers, and forreyn power and gouernment, vpon whom it was executed. For the Isthmus or barre of PELOPONNESVS, which seperatech the sea Ægeum from the sea Ionium, doth come and ioyne the firme land of the rest of GRECE, with the PRESCHES, an Iland of PELOPONNESVS. Euen so likewise, the Mountaine called Acrocorinthe, on the which the castell standeth, rising vp in the middle of GRECE, when there is any garrison of men of warre in it, it cutteth off all traffike and passage by, of any armies of them which inhabit within the straite: from them that are without the straight, both by sea and by land, and maketh him onely Lorde of the contry that keepeth the castell. So that it was not for sport, but for truth, and in good earnest, that *Philip* the young king of MACEDON was wont to call the citie and castell of CORINTH, the stocks and gyues of GRECE. And therefore was this castell maruclously wished and desired of euery man, but specially of kings and Princes. But the desire *Antigonus* had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a frantick louer. For he did nothing els continually but study and deuise howe he might winne it vpon the fodefine, from them that kept it: bicause otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that castell, being poysoned (as it is reported) by *Antigonus* practise, the castell being left in the hands of his wife *Nicea*, who gouerned the state of CORINTH, and did carefully cause the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he immediately sent his sonne *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicea* in good hope to marry her with this young Prince: a thing that pleased this Lady well, though she was very olde. So, for her selfe, she was wonne straight, by meanes of his young sonne *Demetrius*, whome he vied as a flate to intrappper. Howbeit *Nicea* for all this goodly offer, forsooke nor her castell, but alwayes made it straightly to be looked vnto. *Antigonus* seemed to make no accompt of it, but dayly gaue him selfe to make sumptuous sacrifices, feasts, and playes to the gods, within the citie of CORINTH for the marriage: as though he had ment no other thing, but banqueting and iollitie all that might be. When the howe was come to see these sportes, and that the Mufition *Amabeus* began to singe: he him selfe made as though he would accompany *Nicea* vnto the Theater, being conueyed thither in a sumptuous riche lytter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing lesse then of that which happened her. But when

Aratus doing
in his first
Theatrical
ship.

These, on
land of Pe-
loponnesus.
Acrocorin-
thum moue.

Young king
Philip say-
ing, of the ca-
stell of Co-
rinth.

Antigonus
craft and de-
ceit.

A when *Antigonus* came to the ende of a streete that turned to goe vp the hill towards the castell, he had her keepe on till to the Theater: and him selfe in the meane time left *Amabeus* there with his singing, and all the feast of the marriage, and went straight vp to the castell, forcing him selfe aboue his strength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates shut, he knocked with his staffe, and commanded the garrison to open him the gates. They wondering to see him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the castell, he was so exceeding ioyfull of it, that he had no reason to moderate his ioye, but would banquet in the middle of streetes, and in the market place, hauing minstrells to playe vpon their instruments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads for ioye, and did so fondly and lightly behaue him selfe, as if he had bene a light young man, and not (as he was) an olde man: who had proued such sundry chaunges of fortune, and yet suffered him selfe to be thus caried away with pleasure, that he embraced, and spake to euery man he met. Whereby it is easie to iudge, that ioy possesting a man without wit or discretion, it maketh him besides him selfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then payne or feare. Now *Antigonus* hauing wonne the castell of the Acrocorinthe, as you haue heard, he put it into the hands of those he trusted best, to be safely kept: and therefore made *Perseus* the Philosophers Captaine of the castell. But in deepe *Aratus* was in mind to haue attempted the taking of the castell, in *Diocles* his life tyme: yet he let it alone, bicause he ioynd him selfe with the ACHAÏANS. But at that tyme there was offered him another occasion againe to attempt it, and that it was at CORINTH, there were foure brethren borne in SYRIA, of the which, one of them being called *Diocles*, was a souldier of the garrison of the castell: and the rest, hauing robbed the kings treasure, went straight vnto SICYONE, to *Aegias* the banker, whome *Aratus* employed in his cultie. These three brethren immediately told him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them called *Erginus*, comming often to see him, by litle and litle told him all the rest. By this meanes *Aegias* fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garrison of the castell of the Acrocorinthe. *Erginus* told him, that going vnto his brother vp those steepe and high rocks, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocks, that went to a place of the wall of the castell, which was very lowe. *Aegias* hearing that, answered him smiling: alas, my friend, what meane you to steale a litle peece of golde to hinder the king when in one howers space you can sell such a great masse of money together? for as well shall you dye if you be apprehended for this felony, as if you were otherwise attainted for treason. *Erginus* with that fell a laughing, and promised that he would feele his brother *Diocles* in it, for he did not greatly trust his other brethren. So returning shortly after, he bargained with *Aratus* to bring him to a place of the wall that was not aboue fiftene foote high, promising that he would helpe him to execute the rest, with his brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* promised then to giue him fifty talents, if he brought his enterprise to passe: and if he fayled, that he would then giue either of them a house and a talent. *Erginus* would haue the whole so, and put into *Aegias* the bankers handes. *Aratus* had not so much ready money, and besides, he would not take it vp at very, for feare of giuing cause to suspect his enterprise. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and siluer, and his wifes jewells, and layed them to gage to *Aegias*, to disburse the sayd summe. But *Aratus* had so great and noble a mind in him, and was so bent to doe notable acts: that knowing howe *Phocion* and *Epanimondus* had bene esteemed for the iustest and honestest men of GRECE, bicause they had refused great giftes that were offered them, and would neuer sell nor stayne their honor for money: he yet surpassing them, was contented to spend his owne, to bring any good enterprise to passe, & did put his life in danger for the common benefit of his contry men, they them selues knowing nothing of his enterprise, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and corage of such a man, and that will not euen now as it were, be willing to ayde him: considering how dearly he bought so great a danger of his person, and howe he laied his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middlest of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, hauing no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of such a noble enterprise, and nothing els? But now, though the enterprise of it selfe was dangerous, an error chauncing through ignorance at the first, made it yet more daun-

Antigonus
craftily sa-
yeth this co-
stell of the Ac-
rocorinthe.

Over as
to a simple
man, maketh
him mad.
Perseus the
Philosopher,
made captaine
of the Acro-
corinthe.
Aratus deter-
mination for
the taking of
the Acroco-
rinthe.

And

gerous. For *Aratus* had sent *Technon*, one of his men before with *Diocles*, to viewe the wall. **A** This *Technon* had neuer spoken with *Diocles*, howbeit he thought in his minde what manner of man he was, by the markes that *Erginus* had giuen him of him: that he had a blacke curled heare, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Nowe *Technon* being come to the place where *Erginus* sayd he would be with *Diocles*: he stayed before the towne in a place called *QANTIS*. So whilest he was tarying there, the elder brother of *Diocles*, called *Diomyfius* (who knew nothing of the enterprife, nor was made acquainted withall, and looked very like his brother *Diocles*) came that way by chance. *Technon* being moued by the markes he sawe in him, like vnto thole he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kinner to *Erginus*. The other answered, he was his brother. Then *Technon* perswading him selfe it was certainly *Diocles*, that spake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquiry of him: he tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practise he had with *Erginus*, and to aske him of it. *Diomyfius* taking the matter vpon him, and feeding on his error, returned forth with into the cite, holding him on still with talke, *Technon* mistrusting nothing. But euen as *Diomyfius* was ready to take him fast by the choller: his brother *Erginus* came. Who, perceiving how *Technon* had mistaken the matter, and the danger he was in: beoknot to him with his head to flye, and so they both ranne for life vnto *Aratus*, to saue them selues. Howbeit *Aratus* was nothing the more discouraged for this, but sent *Erginus* straight to cary his brother *Diomyfius* money, and to praye him not to be knowen of any thing: who furthermore brought him with him vnto *Aratus*. But after they had him once, they made him suer for starting: for they bound him, and locked him vp fast in a chamber, whilest they went about their enterprife. So when all things were ready, *Aratus* commaunded the rest of his army that they should tary behind, armed all night: and he him selfe, with foure hundred of the best men he had, (not knowing them selues whether they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the gates of the cite, passing by the temple of *Iuno*. This was about the middelt of summer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element very cleere without cloudes: infomuch that they were afraid their armors should glister by Moone light, and bewray them. But as the foremost of them came neare vnto the cite, there rose cloudes out of the sea that darkened all the cite & places thereabouts, and shadowed them. Then all of them sitting downe on the ground, plucked off their shoes, both bicause they should make lesse noyse, as also for that their footing should be sicer, and that they should slippe lesse vpon the ladders. But *Erginus*, and seven other companions with him like men that trauell, came secretly into the gate of the cite, and slue the porter, and warders there. At that very instant, *Aratus* caused the ladders to be set vp against the walls, and made a hundred of his souldiers get vp on them: and sent also to commaund the rest, that they should follow him with all possible speede. Then drawing vp his ladders after him, as fast as he could, he went through the cite with his hundred men toward the castell, with such a ioyfull cheere, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he saw he was not discouered. But as he went on, he saw foure of the watch comming with a light against them. They saw not *Aratus* and his company, but the enemies saw them plainly a farr off. *Aratus* & his men therefore stoode vp close against old walls to tary their comming, and at the first onset, slue three of them: but the fourth hauing a blowe on his head with a sword, ranne away. **E** making an outcry, that the enemies were in the cite. The trompsers forthwith sowned the alarm, all the cite was in an vporre, the streetes were straight full of people ronning vp and downe, and of lights in euery corner, both beneath in the cite, as also in the castell, and the noyse was great euery where. *Aratus* in the meane tyme forced to get vp the hie rocks fayer & softly at the first, and with great payne and difficultie, being out of his pashe he should haue found, which he missed, being very deepe into the rocks, and with many crookes and cranks went to the foote of the castell: but sodainely, euen as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the cloudes, when they were in their worst way, it gaue the light, & brought them to that part of the wall where they should be, and straight the Moone was shadowed againe. Now the three hundred souldiers whome *Aratus* had left at the gate by the temple of *Iuno*, when they were come into the cite, being full of lights, and in vporre, and besides could not find the path by the, which their Captaine *Aratus* went before them: they stoode close together

The error and danger by likeness of men and vno number.

Aratus great danger in taking of the castell of the Acrocorinthe.

The happy benefit of the Moone.

gether vnder a rocke that shadowed them, sorrowfully looking to heare some newes of *Aratus* who was then fighting with the garrison of the castell, the which made head against him with all the force and power they could. Vnder the castell there was a great noyse heard of men that fought, but yet the noyse was so confused by the found rebounding against the rocks and mountaine, that they could not deuise whence it should come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them selues: *Archelaus*, Captaine of king *Antigonus* men, hauing a good number of souldiers with him, went vp the hill with great cries and noyse of trumpets, to ser vpon *Aratus*, and his company behind. But after he was passed by these three hundred souldiers of *Aratus* band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they had bene layed there in ambuscade of purpose, and slue the first they encountered withall, and made the others **B** so affrayde, and *Archelaus* him selfe, that they disperfed them, and made some flye one way, some another waye. So, as they were ouerthrowen, *Erginus* came to these three hundred men, comming immediately from them that fought, and brought them newes that *Aratus* and them of the castell, were come to the sword together, and valliantly descended them selues, lustily fighting for the wall, and therefore it was tyme for them to helpe him quickly. Then the souldiers bad him bringe them thither straight, and so he did. So they clymng vp the hill, did signifie by their cries to their men, that they came to ayde him. Furthermore, the Moone being then at the full, and shining on their harness, made their enemies in the castell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, bicause of the longe waye they had to make to gette vppon the rocks: and also bicause of the found in the night, that made their crye seeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length they ioyning with *Aratus*, they fought it out so lustily, that they draue the garrison out of the walls, and by breake of daye wanne the castell. So that their exploit was discouered by the rising of the Sunne, and besides, all the rest of their army that came from the cite of *SICYONE*: whome the *CORINTHIANS* very gladly receyued, and did set open their gates vnto them, and ayded them to take king *Antigonus* men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was safe, then *Aratus* came from the castell vnto the Theater of the cite, whither repayed an infinite number of people, as well for the desire they had to see him, as also to hear him speake vnto the *CORINTHIANS*. So hauing placed the *ACHAIANS* of either side, at the comming into the Theater: *Aratus* being armed, went vp into the chayer or pulpit for **D** orations, hauing his face quite chaunged, both for the great paynes he had taken, and also for lacke of sleepe: so that his body being ouerwearied, his spirits were euen downe. Now when all the assembly of the people (seeing him in the chayer) did humble them selues to shewe him all the honor and kindnes they could possible: he tooke his speare out of his left hand, and his right, and bowing his knee and body somewhat, he leaned vpon it, and so stoode a great while in this manner before he spake, receiuing the cries of ioy and clapping of hands which the people made, praying his valliantnes, and blessing his good happe and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the *ACHAIANS*, mere for the enterprife from whence he came: and perswaded them to ioyne to the *ACHAIANS*. So **E** therewithall, they presently deliuered him the keyes of their cite, the which were neuer before that tyme in their power, since the raigne of king *Philip*. Nowe touching the other Captaines of king *Antigonus*: *Aratus* hauing taken *Archelaus* prisoner, he let him goe, but put *Theophrastus* to death, bicause he would not goe out of *CORINTHE*. *Persamus* (Captaine of the castell) seeing the castell but lost: he secretly faued him selfe, & fled vnto the cite of *CENCHREAE*. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philosophie, where one mainteining that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnles he were a perfite wife man: This (g) he is one of *Zeno*s opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleased me best: but now this young *SICYONIAN* *Aratus*, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this saying of *Persamus*. Furthermore *Aratus* wanne presently the temple of *Iuno*, and the haufen of *LECHAEVM*, where he tooke fise and twenty shippes of king *Antigonus*, and fise hundred horse of service for the warre, and foure hundred *SYRIANS*, which he sold euery one of them. The *ACHAIANS* left within the castell of the *Acrocorinthe*, a garrison of foure hundred footemen, and fiftie

Aratus taketh the Acrocorinthe.

of the watch.

Aratus layeth the city of Cenchre.

Aratus layeth the city of Cenchre.

Zeno's opinion, that a man could not be a good Captaine vnles he were a perfite wife man.

Persamus answer to Zeno's opinion.

ZZZZ

*Philopemen
the last fa-
mous man of
the Grecians.*

dogges, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the castell. Now, the Ro-
MANES wondring at the valliantnes of *Philopemen*: they called him the last of the GRECIANS.
Euen so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this acte is the last and most famous of all the
GRECIANS, and deserueth to be equal, as well for valliantnes, as also good successe, with the
greatest employes of the most famous auncients: as that which followed immediately after
doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS reuolting from king *Antigonus*, did straight ioyne
with *Aratus*: and the TROBENTIANES also with the EPIDAVRIANS, did likewise enter into
league and friendship with the ACHAIANS. So at the first inuasion he made, he went to spoyle
the contry of ATTICA, and crossed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA, and spoyled and destroyed
it, euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of prison, to serue his
owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he lent home the ATHENIAN PRISON-
ERS without paying of ransom: and all of policie to make them desirous to rebell against the
MACEDONIANS. Furthermore, he made king *Ptolomy* a friend and confederat of the ACHAI-
ANS, with condition, that he should be Lieutenant generall both by sea & by lande. For these
respects *Aratus* was of maruelous estimation and credit with the ACHAIANS: insomuch that
where they could not yearly choose him their general, being contrary to their law: they chose
him at the least every second year, but in effect, all was done by his aduise and counsell. For
they saw plainly, that it was nether honor, nor riches, nor friendship of kings & Princes, nor
the priuate benefit of his owne citie wherein he was borne, nor any other thing els that he
preferred, before the glory & increase of the common wealth of the ACHAIANS. For he was
of opinion, that cities by the selues were but weake, & being ioyned together with the chaine
of common benefit, they were a strength one to preferue the other. And in like manner, euen
as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beasts haue life & sustenance, being ioyned & knit
together, & straight so soone as there is any seperation of them thone from thother, they lue
no more & putrifie: euen so cities also were brought to decay by them that did disperse their
societie among them, & in contrary manner did then againe increase, when ioyning with any
other great body & city, they were gouerned with wisdom & good counsell. So *Aratus* seing
the chiefest cities thereof enioy their lawes and liberties: thought it a shamefull thing to
leauie the ARGIVES in slavery & bondage. Wherefore he practised to kil the tyrant *Aristomachus*
that gouerned them, both to shew him selfe thankfull to the citie for his bringing vppe
there: as also to ioyne that great & mighty citie vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. Now these
were diuers men that had the harts and corage to doe it, of the which the chief-
est were *Aeschylus*, and *Charimenes* the Soothsayer, but they had no swordes: for they were
straightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grievous punishments ordeyned for them that should
be found with any swordes. *Aratus* therefore caused certain litle short daggers to be made at
CORINTH for them, the which he sowed vp in packes caried on certen beasts laden with o-
ther baggage and stuffe. But the Soothsayer *Charimenes*, did impart this enterpryse vnto a third
man, and made him one of the conspiracie with them. *Aeschylus* being very much offended
with it, beganne therefore to enter into practise by him selfe, and left their company. *Chari-
menes* perceiuing that, tooke such a toye in his head in a mad moode, that he bewrayed them
as they went about to execute their enterpryse. This notwithstanding, the most parte of the
conspirators faued them selues, and fled to CORINTH. So the tyrant *Aristomachus* was slaine
shortly after, by his owne men. But then another tyrant, *Aristippus*, a crueller man than the first,
made haste to take the tyranny before he could be resisted. This notwithstanding, *Aratus*, with
all the young men of the ACHAIANS able to serue in the field, went sodaynly thither with ayde,
hoping to find them of the citie very glad to recouer their libertie. Howbeit the people being
acquainted, and of long time vied patiently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man
of them that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe, and did nothing, sauing
that thereby the ACHAIANS were accused, because that in open peace they had made warre,
& therefore they were put in fute before the MANTINIANES, at *Aristippus* request, tyrant of AR-
GOS. The matter was pleaded in *Aratus* abience, & the ACHAIANS were condēned to pay the
summe of 30. Minas. After this prooffe & atēpt of *Aratus*, *Aristippus* being afraid of *Aratus*, &
hating him to the death, sought waies to kil him, with the help of *Antigonus*, who did aide him
in

*Aratus power
and authority
with the A-
chaians.*

*Aratus goes
about to set
Argos at li-
bertie.*

*Aratus prepa-
red litle short
daggers a-
gainst the ty-
rants decrees
or ordinance.*

*Aristippus ty-
rant of the ci-
tie of Argos.*

*Aristippus lay-
ed out to kill
Aratus.*

A in it: and almost there were spalls in euery corner, that did nothing els but lye in waye to ex-
ecute *Aristippus* minde. Now, there is no suerier garde vnto a Prince, then the perfite loue
and good will of his subiects. For, after that the nobilitie and common people haue bene v-
sed to feare, not him, but those that for him commaund them: he then seeth with many eyes,
heareth with many eares, and knoweth what is done farre of. Here therefore I will a litle di-
gresse from my historie, to shewe you the manner of *Aristippus* life the tyrant, whereunto I was
brought by this so much desired tyrannical gouernment, and smoke of signorie, so este-
med of all men. Now, though *Aristippus* had king *Antigonus* his friend, and that he kept a great
gard of fouldiers about him for the safety of his person, and that there was not an enemy of
his left aliue in all the citie: yet he made his fouldiers watche and lye without his pallace, vn-
der the cloisters and galleries thereof, & after supper turned all his men out of the dores,
& then shut his Court gates to him, and locked him selfe alone with his Concubine, in a litle
hie chamber with a trappe dore, and set his bed vpon it, & so slept, as one that continually was
afraid of him selfe. Then after he was come vp, his Concubines mother came to take vp the
ladder, and locked it in an other chamber: and so did let it downe againe the next morning,
and called this tyrannic tyrant, that went downe out of his chamber, like a snake that should
haue crept out of her hole. Where *Aratus* in contrary manner, not hauing obtained by force
of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall gouernment, being simply apparelled with
a poore gowne of smal price, & shewing him selfe a mortal enemy vnto all sorts of tyrants: hath
left a race & noble ofspring among the GRECIANS, which remaine yet vntill this present day.

C Contrarily also, there are fewe tyrants that doe vlturpe the castles of free cities, that keepe so
many fouldiers in pay, that make such prouision for armor and weapon, & haue so many gates
and drawbridges for the safety of their persons, that in the ende can keepe them selues from
violent death, no more then hares: nether doe leaue also any posteritie, house, or graue, why
their memorie should be honored after their death. So *Aratus* hauing diuers waies made sun-
dry attempts, both by open force, and otherwise sodaynly, to take the citie of ARGOS, and to
thrust out the tyrant *Aristippus*: he euer fayled of his purpose, but specially one night among
the rest, when he entred the citie very daungerously, with a fewe fouldiers with him, and slue
the fouldiers that came to giue supply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and
that the tyrant with all his forces came to set vpon him: the ARGIVES sturred not at all, as if

D *Aratus* had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene Iudges appointed to sit
to see the sportes of the games Nemeæ, to iudge the game vnto the Conqueror without par-
tiality, and with indifferency. *Aratus* in the meane tyme fighting like a valliant man, was thrust
at with a pyke, and ranne through the thigh. This notwithstanding, at length he wanne that
part of the citie where he fought, and was not thrust out till night, what force fouer the ene-
mies made vpon him: and if he could possibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubt-
edly obtayned his purpose. For the tyrant looked for no other but to fflye, and had already
sent diuers of his goods to the sea. Howbeit no man once came to tell *Aratus* any newes of it,
besides also lacking water, and for that he could not helpe him selfe because of his wound, he
was driuen to leade his men away, and fayled of his purpose. So, dispayring that he could euer

E take it by stealth, he went thither with open warres, and spoyled and destroyed all the contry of
ARGOS: and hauing fought a great battell against the tyrant *Aristippus*, by the ryuer of Cha-
res, they blamed *Aratus* much, that he forooke the victorie, and cowardly retyred out of the
battell. For the rest of his army doubles had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in
chafe: when he fled, being affrayd, not compelled by his enemies, but mistrusting his fortune,
and retyred to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chafe of their enemies
were offended, for that they hauing put them to flight, and also slayne a greater number moe
of them then they had lost of theirs, and yet for cowardlines should suffer their enemies
(whome they had overcome and put to flight) to sette vppe markes of triumphe in token of
victorie: *Aratus* being ashamed of it, determined to fight once agayne, for the markes of
F triumphe. Whereuppon, resting his men but one daye, he led them agayne into the field,
and setting his army in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithstanding, when
he sawe a great supply comming to his enemye, and that the tyrants men came to fight more

*He went
gard to a
Prince, shew
the loue of his
subiects.*

*The misde-
d life of A-
ristippus, the
tyrant of Ar-
gos.*

*Aratus go-
uernment ob-
tained by
vertue.*

*Chares fl.
Aratus goes
Aristippus the
without.*

lustely, and with better corage then before: *Aratus* durst not abyde them, but rettyred, and sent to demand leaue to take away his dead men to bury them. Yet he could speake so curteously, and behaue him selfe so wisely, by the experience he had in gouernment, and also for the good will they bare him: that they forgot the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of *CLEONES* vnto the *ACHAIANS*, where he caused the feastes of the games *Nemeto* to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the *CLEONEANS*, then vnto the *ARGIVES*. This notwithstanding, the *ARGIVES* did keepe it also, and then was the first time that the sanctuary and priuiledge was broken, which was wont to be graunted vnto all them that came to play for the games: bicause the *ACHAIANS* did make them prisoners that fought in *ARGOS*, as they returned through their contry, and sold them as enemies. So maruelously did *Aratus* and the *ACHAIANS* hate all sortes of tyrants, without respect of pardon. Shortly after he was aduertised, that the tyrant *Aristippus* did lye in wayre to spye oportunitie, to take the citie of *CLEONES* from him: howbeit that he was affrayd of it, bicause he remayned at that tyme in *CORINTHE*. So *Aratus* straight sent out commaundement vnto euery place, to assemble the army of the trybe of the *ACHAIANS*, and that they should bring vittells with them for many dayes: and so craftily came downe to the citie of *CENCHEES*, to intise *Aristippus*, by his going away so farre of, that in his absence he shoulde attempt to set vpon the *CLEONEANS*, as in deede he did. For, he layed not presently to goe thither with his armye. But *Aratus* returning from *CENCHEES* vnto *CORINTHE*, very late in the night, and hauing layed good watche euery way: he sodainly brought the armye of the *ACHAIANS* vnto *CLEONES* with such speede and quietnes, that they were not leene as they came, but entred into the citie of *CLEONES* by night, and were ready to fight with the tyrant, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were set open by breake of daye, and the signall of battell giuen by found of trumpets: and so setting vpon the tyrants men with great cryes, they suspecting nothing, they were presently put to flight. And bicause the place where the ouerthrowe was giuen, had many turnings: *Aratus* following the chafe, tooke the way which he thought the tyrant fled in. The chafe continued to the citie of *MYCENES*. There the tyrant was ouertaken by a *CRETAN* called *Tragifemus*, (as *Dinias* reporteth) who slue him: and there were slayne of his men also, aboue fifteene thousand. But now *Aratus* hauing wonne such a famous victorie, and lost neuer a man: he could not yett winne the citie of *ARGOS*, nor set it againe at liberty. For one *AEGIAS*, and another *Aristomachus*, got into the towne with the kings army, and kept it. But notwithstanding, by this noble victorie *Aratus* did race out a great part of the reproache they gaue him, and of the scoffes and flents the flatterers of the tyrants deuised of him. VVho to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight in deede, the generall of the *ACHAIANS* had the winde collicke in his belly, and a dymnesse in his eyes with a guydines in his head, when he heard but the found of the trumpets. And furthermore also, when he had set his men in battell raye, and giuen them the word of battell: he asked the generalls if he should neede to be there in person, bicause he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre of as he could, to see the ende of the battell. This talke was so common, that the Philosophers them selues disputing of it, to wote, whether to tremble and change colour in present danger and perill, be signes of a faint hart, or of an euill complexion and coldnes of body: they alway vouched *Aratus*, that had bene a good and valliant Captaine, and yett when he began to fight, he was euier in that taking. So when he had ouercome *Aristippus*, he sought meanes also to destroy *Lyfidas* *MEGALOPOLITAN*, who as absolute Lord and king of the contry, kept the city of *MEGALIPOLIS*. Norwithstanding, he had no base minde in him, nether was he caried away with a cruell desire of tyrannye to lue at his pleasure, nor through extreme couetousnes, as most Princes be: but being a young man, & pricked forward with desire of honor & fame, & hauing vnaduisedly cōceiued in his mind, (which was great & highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men talke of principality, as of a state most blessed, & worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make him selfe Lord of his contry. But afterwards, he was soone weary of the daungers & troubles such maner of gouernment bringeth with it, & desired to follow *Aratus*, whome he fawke prosper, and of great honor. Furthermore also, fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke holde of a noble deuise: first, to rid him selfe of the malice

Aratus straight sent to intise the tyrant *Aristippus*.

Aratus with the army of the tyrant *Aristippus*.

Aristippus the tyrant flyes.

A phisicall question whether new king, and changing of colour, be a signe of cowardlines. *Lyfidas*, tyrant of *Megalipolis*.

A malice and feare of the prison and garde of his souldiers: and lastly, to be a benefactor to his contry. So he sent for *Aratus*, gaue vp his gouernment, and deliuered vp his citie to the trybe of the *ACHAIANS*. They so extolled him for this acte, that they chose him their Lieuutenant generall of all their tribe. Wherefore, *Lyfidas*, struing at the first to excell *Aratus* in honor, attempted diuers things which were not very needefull: as amongst others, to make warre with the *LACEDEMONIANS*. But *Aratus* was very much against him in that, though some thinke it was for enuy. Thereupon they chose *Lyfidas* generall of the *ACHAIANS* the second tyme: although *Aratus* openly both spake, and made what meanes he could to the contrary, & would haue had an other to haue bene chosen. For, he him selfe was euery other yeare generall. So, *Lyfidas* was chosen againe generall of the *ACHAIANS* the third time, with euery bodies good will: and *Aratus* and he had absolute power and gouernment by turnes, one after the other. But when they saw that *Lyfidas* became open enemy vnto *Aratus*, and did still accuse him in all their counsels and assemblies: they fell in such misliking with him, that they reiected him. For they thought his but a couiteuse vertue, to contend with the perfumes of *Aratus* vertue. Much like vnto one of *Isopes* fables, saying that litle birdes did answer the cuckow on a tyme, asking them why they did flie from her: bicause we are affrayd (sayd they) thou wilt be asper-hawke one day. Euen so it seemeth, that there was a certaine suspicion in mens minds of *Lyfidas* tyranny, which made them mistrust that he went not from his tyrannie with good will. Now *Aratus* on thother side, wanne as great praise and honor by his doings against the *ETOLIANS*. For when the *ACHAIANS* would needes haue fought vpon the confines of the territory of the *MEGARIANS*, and that *Agis*, king of *LACEDEMON*, being come with his army to the campe of the tribe of the *ACHAIANS*, did perfwade them hardly to giue battell: *Aratus* was stowely against it, and did abide many mocks and tawnts they gaue him, saying, that it was for cowardlines he would not goe. This notwithstanding, he would not leaue his wife and safe determination, for all that open shame: but suffered the enemies to passe ouer the Mountaine *Gerania*, and to inuade *PELOPONNESVS*, and would neuer fight with them. But afterwards, when he saw that at their first coming they had taken the citie of *PALLENIA*: he then chaiged his mind, and would deferre time no longer to rary till all his power were come together, but marched forthwith against his enemies, with those few he had, who maruelously weakened them selues by their infoleny and disorder after their victory, keeping no watch nor warde.

D For after they had entred the citie of *PALLENIA*, the soldiers ranne into euery house, one thrusting in an others necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Capitaines also fell to rauishing of maidens, and the *PALLENIANS* wiues, and put their burganets and morrions vpon their heades, that none other should take them, bicause that by the same the souldiers should know whose they were, and to whome the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and ill will: newes came sodainly that *Aratus* was come. This made them quake for feare, when they saw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all vnderstoode of the danger by their sodaine setting on them, the *ACHAIANS* were fighting already within the suburbs and gates of the citie, against the first that resisted, whome they slue. They being broken, & put to flight, made the rest so affraid that were gathered together to ayde them, that they wist not what to doe. In this tumult and great hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a prisoner, that was the Daughter of *Epigethes* one of the noblest men of the citie, and she a maruelous goodly woman, and passing fayer: who being set in the temple of *Diana*, whether a Captaine had brought her that had chosen her for him selfe, and had put his burganet on her head: (so sodainly ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when she heard the noyse of them that fought, to see them fight. The Citizens seeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maiesty, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other side were so affraid to see her, thinking she had bene some spirit: that not a man of them durst open defend them selues. So the *PALLENIANS* say, that the image of *Diana* all the rest of the tyme is kept locked vp, and no body toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth it doth carry it elsewhere, no man dare looke on it, but euery man turneth his eyes away: bicause the sight of it is not only fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it also killeth the fruite of the trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the *Æ-*

Lyfidas, tyrant of *Megalipolis*, leaueh the tyrannie, and yielded him selfe and his dominion, vnto the *ACHAIANS*.

Diffusion he twise *Aratus* and *Lyfidas*.

One of *Isopes* tales of the Cuckowes question to litle birdes.

Aratus noble counsell against the *Ætolians*.

Gerania moun.

Aratus set forth vpon his lasciuious enemies.

Aratus with a burganet of her head, seemed a woman from thing.

The figure of *Diana* with the *Pallens* one.

TOLLIANS mindes so muche, because the Nunne remouing the image of the goddesse *Diana*, A
he turned it towards them. Howbeit *Aratus* in his commentaries maketh no mention of this
at all, but onely writeth that when he had defeated the *ÆTOLIANS*, following them in chase,
he entred hand ouer head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he draue them,
and slue feuen hundred of them. This noble victory hath bene esteemed amonge the chieft
afterwards: and the paynter *Timantides* hath drawn and set it forth in table very liuely. This
notwithstanding, because diuers Princes and people did immediatly prepare force against
the *ACHAIANS*: *Aratus* presently made peace with the *ÆTOLIANS* by the practise of *Panta-*
leon, who bare great waye and authoritie amongst them. Furthermore, *Aratus* being des-
sireous to set the *ATHENIANS* at libertie, he sodainly attempted to take the haven of *PIREA*:
for which the *ACHAIANS* reprocued him, because he had broken the peace they had made
with the *MACEDONIANS*. But *Aratus* in his commentaries doth stoutly denye that it was
he, and layeth the fault vpon *Erginus*, by whose meanes he wanne the castell of the *Acro-*
corinthe: saying that it was he, that of his owne minde did set a scaling ladder to the wall,
and that his ladder breaking vnder him, he fell vpon it, and perceiving he was followed
neare by the enemies, he fyll cryed out, *Aratus*, as if he had bene there, and by this pol-
licye mocked his enemies, and saued him selfe. Howbeit me thinkes this aunswer is not
true. For it is not credible, that *Erginus* a priuate fouldier, and a *SYRIAN* borne, shoulde
haue so greates an enterprise in his head, vnles it had bene by *Aratus* consent and comma-
ndement, who had giuen him men, tyme, and meanes to vndertake it. And this appeared
playnly afterwards. For, *Aratus* did not attempt it twyse or thrise onely, but oftener
then so (as those that extremely desire a thinge) to take the haven of *PIREA* on the sodaine,
not giuing ouer for once sayling, but rather imboldening him selfe agayne with good hope,
because he mist it but litle, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another tyme al-
so amongst others, flying through the playne of *TRIASTIA*, he brake his legge, and was
driven to haue many incisions to heale it: so that he was a long tyme together caryed in
his lytter to the warres. After that king *Antigonus* was deade, and that *Demetrius* his sonne
succeeded him in the kingdome: he attempted then more earnestly then euer before, to set
the citie of *ATHENS* at libertie, making small accompt of the *MACEDONIANS*. *Aratus*
therefore beeing ouerthrowen in battell neare vnto *PHYLACIA*, by king *Demetrius* Lieute-
nant, called *Bithys*: and the rumor running straight abroad, that *Aratus* was deade, or
at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named *Diogenes*, Captaine of the haven of *PI-*
REA, wrote a letter vnto *CORINTHE*, and commaunded the garrison of the *ACHAIANS* that
kept it, to deliuer the towne, for *Aratus* was deade. But he by chaunce was at the selfe same
tyme in *CORINTHE*: so that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, with-
out their purpose, and made all the company meary. Furthermore, king *Demetrius* him
selfe sent a gallye out of *MACEDON*, to bringe *Aratus* bound vnto him. The *ATHENIANS*
them selues also, to please the *MACEDONIANS*, exceeding all lightnes of flattery, ware gar-
lands of their heads a whole day together, in token of common ioy, when newes was brought
them of *Aratus* death. *Aratus* was so mad in his minde to heare this, that he brought his
armye presently againtt them, euen to the very suburbs of the Academy. Notwithstanding,
at their earnest request, he did no hurt there. And afterwards, the *ATHENIANS* acknowl-
ding his valliantties, when king *Demetrius* dyed: it tooke them in the heads to recouer their li-
bertye againe. So *Aratus*, though that yeare another man was generall of the *ACHAIANS*, and
that he kept his bedde, lying sicke of a longe disease: yet to further this, he was caried to
ATHENS in a lytter, and so perswaded *Diogenes*, Captaine of the garrison there, that for the
summe of a hundred and fifty talentes (towards the which *Aratus* gaue of his owne, twenty ta-
lents) he made him deliuer the *ATHENIANS* the haven of *PIREA*, the castell of *MYNTIC-*
HERIA, the Ile of *SALAMINA*, and the castell of *SVNIVM*. After this, the *ÆGINETES*, the
HERMIONIANS, and the moste part of *ARCADIA* it selfe, did presently ioyne with the
ACHAIANS: so that the *MACEDONIANS* being occupied with warres at that tyme in o-
ther places againtt their neighbours, the power of the *ACHAIANS* maruelously increa-
sed, hauing also the *ÆTOLIANS* their confederates. Then *Aratus* to performe his olde
promise,

*Aratus bringeth the Ætoli-
ans in league with
the Achaians.
Aratus attempteth to set A-
thens at libe-
rtye.*

*Aratus over-
throwen by
the Macedo-
nians.*

A promise, and being angrie to see the citie of *ARGOS* (being so neere neighbour vnto them)
yet kept in bondage: he sent vnto *Aristomachus*, to perswade him to be contented to set his citie
againc at libertie, and to ioyne it to the tribe of the *ACHAIANS*, as *Lysidas* had done his
towne of *MEGALOPOLIS*, and rather too like to be made a Generall with honor and praise of
so great and famous a state as the *ACHAIANS*: then tyrant of one only citie, hated, and euerie
hower of the night and day in daunger of his life. *Aristomachus* gaue care to his perswasions,
and sent vnto *Aratus*, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talentes to discharge the fouldiers
he had about him: The money was straight prepared. And *Lysidas* that was at that time Ge-
nerall of the *ACHAIANS*, and that marueloullie desired this matter might be brought to passe
by his meanes: he secretlie sent vnto *Aristomachus* to accuse *Aratus*, and shewed howe he had
bene alway a mortall enemy vnto tyrants, and therefore counsellled him rather to put him selfe
into his hands, as in deede he did. For, *Lysidas* brought *Aristomachus* vnto the counsell of the
ACHAIANS. There all the counsell plainlie shewed their good wills, and the confidence they
had in *Aratus*: for when he spake againtt it, that they should not receiue *Aristomachus*, they re-
iected him with great anger. But afterwards also when *Aratus* was wonne, and that he began
to moue the contrarie to the counsell: they straight agreed to receiue the *ARGIVES*, and the
PHLIASIANS in league with them, and also the next yeare following, they chose *Aristomachus*
Lieutenaunt generall of all their tribe. *Aristomachus* seeing him selfe in credit nowe with the
ACHAIANS, would needs invade the contrie of *LACONIA* with a maine armie, and sent for
Aratus being then at *ATHENS*. *Aratus* wrote vnto him, and wished him in any wise not to
meddle with that iorney, because he would not haue the *ACHAIANS* to deale with *Cleomenes*,
king of *LACEDÆMON*, that was a coragious and flowt young Prince, and marueloullie gro-
wen in short tisme. Howbeit *Aristomachus* being selfe willed in that poynt, *Aratus* obeyed him,
and was there in person all that iorney. So *Cleomenes* being come to them vpon the sodaine
with his armie, neere vnto the citie of *PALANTIVM*: *Aristomachus* would needs fight with
him. But *Aratus* dissuaded him from it. Whereupon *Lysidas* afterwards accused him to the
ACHAIANS, and the next yeare following he contented with him, suing to be Generall: how-
beit he was reiectd by most voyces, and *Aratus* chosen Generall the twelfth tyme. The selfe
same yeare he was ouerthrowen in battell by *Cleomenes*, neere vnto the mountaine *LYCAVM*,
and being fled, wandered vp and downe in the night, that euerie man thought he had bene
slaine, and it ranne for good payment among all the *GRECIANS*. Howbeit he saued himselfe,
and hauing gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had scaped with
life, but wiselie taking the oportunitie and occasion offered, no man knowing it, nor mistrus-
ting his comming: he sodainlie went to assaile the *MANTINIANS*, which were confede-
rats of *Cleomenes*, and hauing taken the citie of *MANTINEA*, he left a great garrison in it, and
made the straungers that were there, free of the citie. Thus *Aratus* was he alone, that being
ouercome wanne the *ACHAIANS* that, which they them selues could scarcely haue wonne,
if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* invading the territories of
the *MEGALOPOLITANS* with a great armie, *Aratus* sodainlie went thither to aide them; but
would hazard battell no more, nor geue *Cleomenes* vantage, who desired only to fight, and still
E constantlie resisted the *MEGALOPOLITANS*, that provoked him to come to the field. For
besides that in nature he was not meete for a set battell, at that time also he was the weaker in
men, and had to doe with a venterous young man; that was all fire: where his corage and am-
bicion on the other side was coole, & quiet enough. Furthermore he considered, that as king
Cleomenes sought honor by valliant venturing, which he had not before: euen so it was his
parte wiselie to keepe that which he had long since gotten; and to stande vpon his gard and
safetie. This notwithstanding, the light armed men being put out into the fildes, and hauing
chased the *LACEDÆMONIANS* euen into their campe, & entring in with the hand ouer heads:
Aratus would neuer bring out his citizens, but stayed them in a great valley that lay betwene
them both, and would not let them come any further. Wherewithall *Lysidas* being mad
F with him selfe, and falling out with *Aratus*: he called for the hostemen, & said that he would
yet helpe them that followed the chase, and prayed them not to lose the victory so cowardly,
of the which they were so sure: nor to forsake him at a pinche, fighting for defence of these

*Aratus by
perswasions
deliuered
Argos from
tyranny.*

*The lawe and
faith of the
Achaians
vnto Aratus.*

*Aratus over-
throwen in
battel by king
Cleomenes,
hurled by the
mountaine
Lycaum.
Aratus took
the citie of
Mantineia.*

contrie. So hauing gotten a great number of choise horsemen together, he went with great A
 furie, & gaue charge of the right wing of his enemies battell, & hauing disperfed them,
 and put them to flight, he vnadvisedlie followed them with great corage, into euill fauoured
 crooked wayes, among trees, and great broad dirches. VV hereupon *Cleomenes* came, and
 so lustely fet on him, that he slue him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending him
 selfe. The other men of armes flying also, rushed in againe into the battell of the footemen,
 and so disordered their ranks, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cause they
 greatly blamed *Aratus*, because he had forsaken *Lysidas*: & being forced vnto it by the A-
 CHAIANS that went without his leaue, he followed them at length, and fled him selfe also vnto
 the city of *Ægium*. There the ACHAIANS sitting in counsell, they decreed that they would
 furnish *Aratus* with no more money, neither would they pay his straungers any more: & bad B
 him pay them at his owne charge, if he would enterteine them for the warre. *Aratus* percei-
 uing they did him great wrong, tooke euen indifferent to deliuer vp his commission of Lieu-
 tenancy, and to discharge him selfe of his office: but after he had bethought him selfe better,
 he bare it pacientlie, and led the ACHAIANS directlie to the cite of *ORCHOMENE*. There he
 valliantly fought with *Megistomus*, king *Cleomenes* father in lawe, and had the vpper hande of
 him: for he slue three hundred of his men, and tooke *Megistomus* selfe prisoner. Furthermore,
 where before euerie second year they did vie to chooſe him their Lieutenant generall: when
 his turne came about againe, they called him to geue him the office, but he refused it, and *Ti-*
mocheus was chosen in his roome. Now the cause alleaged for his refusal, was sayd to be, for
 that he misliked of the common people. But that foundeth like a lye: for the truth of it, to
 my seeming was, for that he saw the state of the ACHAIANS to decline. For king *Cleomenes* pro-
 ceeded no more fayer and soſilie as he did at the first, when he was controlled and bridled by
 the Ephori: but hauing slaine them, and equalle deuided the landes through all *LACEDÆ-*
MONIA, and made the straungers free citizens of *SPARTA*, being then absolute Lorde of *LACEDÆ-*
MONIA, he straight set vpon the ACHAIANS with all the power he coule, and fought to
 conquer them. And therefore *Aratus* deserueth iust reproofe, for that he forooke his contrie
 in such extreme trouble & dainger, that being as the maister of a shippe he gaue an other the
 sterne to steare, when it had bene most honorable & meetest for him to haue taken it in hand
 (though they would not haue giuen it him) to haue saued his contrie. Or otherwise, if he had
 in dede viterly dispaired of the good successe of the ACHAIANS, he should then haue put it ra-
 ther into *Cleomenes* handes, and not to haue paysoned *PELOPONNESVS* againe, with the ma-
 ners of the barbarous people: (bringing in as he did, the garrison of the *MACEDONIANS*, filling
 the castell of the *Acrocorinthe* with *GAVLES* and *ILLYRIAN* souldiers, and making them his
 Lordes and maisters, whom he had so often ouercomen in warres, and decieued of their go-
 uernment, and of whom he also spake to much euill in his Commentaries) nor to haue put
 them into townes, and calling them friends and confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and
 disguise his wicked practise. Admit *Cleomenes* had bene a tyrant, and a cruell man (if I should
 to equate him) yet came he of the blood of *Hercules*, and was borne in *SPARTA*: from whence
 they should rather haue chosen the meanest man Gouvernor, then the greatest king of *MACEDONIA*,
 and thole speciallie that preferre the honor and glorie of *GREECE*, before straungers. E
 Yet king *Cleomenes* required no more of all the ACHAIANS, but the name onely to be their
 Lieutenant generall: and so they would graunt him that honor, he promised he would be
 vnto good vnto the cities confederats to *ACHAIA*. Where *Antigonus* notwithstanding, when
 they had chosen him their Lieutenant generall with absolute power and authoritie, both by
 sea and by lande, refused the charge, vnlesse they would let him haue the castell of the *Acro-*
corinthe for his byer. The which was euen like to *Elopes* hunter, that bridled his horse. For
 he would not gett vpon the ACHAIANS that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors
 and decrees of counsell did referre all to him selfe: before he had first saddled and bridled
 them; by the garrison he made them receiue, and the pledges he caused them to geue him,
 and yet he spake as much as might be to cleere him selfe of the accusation against him, bear-
 ing them in hande that he was forced to it. Howbeit *Polybius* wryteth, that long time before
 he was compelled, being affrayed of *Cleomenes* valliantnes, he had secretly practised that with
Antigonus,

The death of
Lysidas.
Aratus once
againe over-
throwen by
king Cleome-
nes.

Aratus re-
procheth.
A Gouvernor
of a common
weale ought
no more to
forke his
country in time
of daunger:
then the ma-
ster of a shippe
his shippe, in
storme and
tempest.

The meanest
man of Spar-
ta, was to be
preferred be-
fore the great-
est Prince of
Macedonia.

Elopes hun-
ter.

Polybius Hi-
storographer.

A *Antigonus*, which he was openlie scene in afterwards: and that he had intified the *MEGALOPOLITANS* (who were the first that moued it to the counsell of the ACHAIANS) to call king
Antigonus to their aide, because they were nearest neighbours to the fire, and continually har-
 ried with *Cleomenes* warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and spoyle them. Thus
 muche is affirmed by *Phylarchus* in his historie, who were hardlie to be credited notwithstanding,
 had not *Polybius* confirmed it. For he loued *Cleomenes* so well, that it seemed he was ra-
 tified with some spirite as often as he spake of him: and frameth his historie, as a common
 counsellor that should pleade a case in lawe before the Iudges, still accusing the one, and de-
 fending the other. The ACHAIANS lost the cite of *MEGALIPOLIS* againe, the which king
Cleomenes tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell, by *Hecatombæon*. Where-
 B withall they were so amazed, that they sent Ambassadors presentlie vnto him, & prayed him
 to come to the cite of *ARGOS*, & there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But
 when *Aratus* heard he came in dede, and that he was not farre from the cite of *LEBNA* with
 his armie: being affrayed, he sent other Ambassadors to tell him that he should safelie come
 with three hundred men only, as vnto his frends and confederats, and yet if he mistrusted craft
 and euill dealing, that then they would geue him pledges for the safetie of his person. *Cleo-*
menes answered him, that was a plaine mockerie, and an iniurie they offered him. Where-
 fore, he presentlie departed thence, and sent a letter before to the counsell of the ACHAIANS,
 full of fowle words and reproaches he gaue vnto *Aratus*. VVho likewise replied to him againe,
 bitterlie taunting eache other, that they came to talke of their marriage and wiues. After this
 C letter, *Cleomenes* sent defiance by a Heralde vnto the ACHAIANS, and proclaimed open
 warre against them: in so muche as he had almost gotten the cite of *SICYONA* by practise of
 traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpose, he returned sodainly, and went vnto the city of *PERI-*
LENA, which he tooke, and draue out the Generall of the ACHAIANS thence, and immediat-
 ly after he wanne the cities also of *PHENEAS* and *PENTELION*. After that, the *ARGIVES* and
PELISIANS willinglie yeelded vnto him, so that of all that which the ACHAIANS had con-
 quered, and ioyned vnto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing else of certeinly vnto them.
 Then *Aratus* was maruelouslie troubled in his mind, to see all *PELOPONNESVS* in tumult and
 vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by those that practised change and al-
 teracion. For no man was contented with the state and government at that time, but diuers of
 D the *SICYONIANS* & *CORINTHIANS* both were bewrayed which had secretlie practised with
Cleomenes, and that of long time maliced the government of the ACHAIANS, desiring them
 selues to be Lords and Gouvernors of their cities. *Aratus* hauing full commission and authori-
 tie from the counsell of the ACHAIANS, to make inquerie of them, and to put them to death
 without further trial of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faultie in the
 city of *SICYONA*. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at *CORINTHE*, he made inquerie
 of them, & put them to death: whereby he made the common people very angry with him, who
 otherwise of them selues were weary of the government & subiection of the ACHAIANS. The
CORINTHIANS therefore gathering together in the temple of *Apollo*, they sent for *Aratus*, in-
 E tending to make him prisoner before they would openly enter into actuell rebellion. *Aratus* went
 thither, to shewe that he neither feared nor mistrusted them, but yet he helde his horse in his
 hand following of him. Then many rose vp against him, and did both reprove & intreat him
 to intreat him. But *Aratus* with a stayed countenance and gentle words, prayed them to keepe
 their places, and not to crie out in such rage vpon their seere, and wishall, caused them also
 to come in that were at the temple dore. But as he spake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew
 backe out of the presse, as though he ment to haue geuen his horse to some bodie to hold. So
 being gotten out of the presse, he gently spake without any feare vnto the *CORINTHIANS* he
 met, and bad them goe to the temple of *Apollo*. When he was come to the castell, he then so-
 dainly tooke his horse backe, and commaunded *Cleopater*, Captaine of the garrison of the A-
 CHAIANS there, to looke well to the safe keeping of the castell. Then he set spurs to his horse,
 F and galloped towards the cite of *SICYONA* for life, being followed onely by thirthe of his
 souldiers, all the rest hauing forsaken him, and disperfed them selues here and there. Shortly
 after, the *CORINTHIANS* vnderstanding that *Aratus* was gone, they followed after, but could

Phylarchus
the Histori-
ographer, not
graciously to be
credited.

Cleomenes
wineth the
cite of Me-
galipolis, from
the Achaians.

The bitter
letters that
passed be-
tweene Cleo-
menes and
Aratus.

Aratus puts
to death the re-
bells of Sicy-
one to death.

Aratus com-
passe in
danger.

Aratus justie
tie when he
fled out of
Corinthe.

neuer ouertake him: whereupon they straight sent for king *Cleomenes*, and deliuered the citie **A** of *CORINTHES* into his hands, the gaine whereof pleased him not so much, as he was forie for the losse of *Aratus*, whom they had let go. So king *Cleomenes* ioyning vnto him all the people dwelling alongest the sea coast, commonlie called the riuer of *CORINTHES*, who yielded vnto them selues, holdes and townes into his hands: he then intrenched in the castell of the *Acrocorinthe* with a great trench. Furthermore, when *Aratus* came to the citie of *SICYONE*, many of the *ACHAIANS* gathered about him, and holding a counsell and assemblee, he was chosen their Lieutenant generall, hauing absolute power and authoritie to doe what he would, and gaue him of their owne citizens to gard his person. So, he hauing managed the affaires of the state and common wealth of the *ACHAIANS*, the space of three and thirtie yeares together, and hauing all that time bene counted of all men, the chiefeft man of power and authoritie in *GRÆCE*: he then found him selfe in poore estate, forsaken, and in great miserie, as in the shippewrackle of his contrie beaten with storme, and in great daunger of him selfe. For when he sent vnto the *ÆTOLIANS* for aide, they staid denied him, and would send him none. Furthermore, the *ATHENIANS* being verie desirous to send aide for *Aratus* sake, were dissuaded from it through the practise of *Euclides*, & *Micion*. *Aratus* also had a house in *CORINTHES*, where all his money was: the which king *Cleomenes* at the first meddled not withall, neither would suffer any other to touche it, but sent for his frendes and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to geue *Aratus* a good accompt of it afterwards. Furthermore, he priuately sent *Triphyllus* vnto him, and his father in law *Megisthenes*, and offered him great gifts, and specialle an annuall pencion of twelue talents, which was double as much as king *Prology* gaue him, who sent him yearly six talents. Besides, he only prayed the *ACHAIANS* that they would make him their Lieutenant general, & also that the garrison in the castell of the *Acrocorinthe*, might be deuicid in common betwene them. *Aratus* made aunswere, that he had no absolute power in his hands, and that it was in the *ACHAIANS*, not in him. *Cleomenes* thinking this but a deuise and excuse of *Aratus*, he presentlie inuaded the contrie of the *SICYONIANS*, and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three moneths. *Aratus* in the meane time stood doubtfull how to determine, whether he should receiue king *Antigonus* or not: bicause *Antigonus* would not aide him, before he deliuered him the castell of the *Acrocorinthe* into his hands. So the *ACHAIANS* meeting at the citie of *ÆGIUM* to consult vpon it, they sent for *Aratus* thither. Howebeit it was dangerous comming thither, bicause *Cleomenes* campe lay hard by the citie of *SICYONE*, besides also that the citizens kept *Aratus*, and helde him by force, saying that they would not let him venter him selfe in such apparant daunger, their enemies being so neere vnto them. Moreouer, the women and litle children hong about him, weeping, and compassing him about, as their common father and sauior. But *Aratus* comforting them, bad them not be affrayed, and so tooke his horse, with ten of his frends (and his sonne that was a young stripling growen) and went towards the sea, and imbarke in certaine shippes that roade at anchor. Thence he sailed vnto *ÆGIUM*, where the diet or parliament was kept: and there it was resolved, that they should sende for *Antigonus*, and deliuer the castell of the *Acrocorinthe* into his hands. And so it was performed: for *Aratus* sent thither his owne sonne among the other ostages. The *CORINTHIANS* were so fore offended withall, that they **E** made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his house he had in *CORINTHES*, vnto king *Cleomenes*. So king *Antigonus* being onwarde on his way to come into *PELOPONNESVS* with his armie, bringing with him twentie thousand footemen, all *MACEDONIANS*, & foure hundred horsemen: *Aratus*, with the greatest states and officers of the *ACHAIANS*, vnwitting to their enemies, went to meete him, as farre as the citie of *PEGES*, hauing no great trust nor confidence in *Antigonus*, nor the *MACEDONIANS*. For he remembered verie well, that he came first to his greates, by the iniuries he had offered them: and howe that the chiefeft cause of his rising, was the malice he bare vnto olde *Antigonus*. Howbeit, making vertue of necessitie, and weying the instant occasion of their present extremite: (of *Gouernours*, to be driuen to be subjects) he put him selfe in aduerture. So, when *Antigonus* was tolde that *Aratus* was comen in **F** person to him: hauing with good countenance after a common for saluted those that came in his companie: to *Aratus* selfe at his first comming he gaue him an honorable welcome and enter-

The citie of Corinth yielded vnto *Cleomenes*.

Aratus, in great daunger for his contrie.

King *Cleomenes* carieth vnto *Aratus*.

The *Achaians* do send for king *Antigonus*.

Gouernours obey necessitie. *Antigonus* honorable entertainment to *Aratus*.

A entertainment. Afterwardes also, finding him a good and discrete man: he fell into inward frendshipp and familiaritie with him. For *Aratus* was not onely skillfull to geue direction in matters of state touching good order and gouernment: but moreouer, his companie & conuersation was verie pleasaunt, to entertaine a Princes leasure with. Wherefore though *Antigonus* was but young at that time, yet seeing thoroughly into *Aratus* nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and esteemed about a Prince: he vsed his counsell and aduise more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the *ACHAIANS*, but of the *MACEDONIANS* also. And so all things came to passe, which the goddes had promised in their sacrifices. For in a beast that was sacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one selfe cawle: the which the Soothsayers interpreted did prognosticate, that two which **B** before were mortall enemies, should now become assured frendes. But *Aratus* made no account of their prediction, neither did also geue any credit to the sacrifices, but trusted more to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwarde hauing good successe, and *Antigonus* making a fealt in the citie of *CORINTHES*, where he had bidden many ghefts: he would nedes haue *Aratus* lye vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a colde. *Aratus* answered him, it freezed. Then *Antigonus* bad him come neerer him: & when the seruants brought a couerlet for the king, they cast it ouer them both. Then *Aratus* remembre the sacrifice, fell a laughing, and tolde the king what a wonder he had seene in the sacrifice, & what interpretation the Soothsayers made of it. This was long after. So, *Antigonus* and *Aratus* being at that time in the citie of *PEGES*, they were sworn brethren together: and then went both with all speede against the enemies. Thus there fell out nor skirmishes betwene them, hard by the citie of *CORINTHES*. For *Cleomenes* was verie well fortified, and the *CORINTHIANS* valiantly defended them selues. In the meane time, *Aristoteles* of *ARGOS*, (*Aratus* friend) secretlie sent him word, that he would make the citie rebell, if he came him selfe with any number of soldiars. *Aratus* tolde it vnto king *Antigonus*, who gaue him fiftene hundred men, with the which he imbarke, and passed ouer with great speede from the *Isthmus* (or barre in the straight) vnto the citie of *EPIDAVRYM*. Howbeit the *ARGIVES* taried not *Aratus* comming, but were all vp before he came, and did set vpon king *Cleomenes* men, and had driuen them into the castell. *Cleomenes* being aduertised of it, and fearing least his enemies (keeping the citie of *ARGOS*) **D** should cut of his way from returning into his contrie againe with safetie if he were driuen to a straight: he forooke the castell of the *Acrocorinthe*, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of *ARGOS*. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrew certene of his enemies. But shortly after, *Aratus*, and king *Antigonus* both being comen thither with all their aide, *Cleomenes* was driuen to flic to the citie of *MANTINEA*. After the recovery againe of the citie of *ARGOS*, all the residue of the cities of *PELOPONNESVS* did againe returne to the *ACHAIANS*, and *Antigonus* tooke the castell of the *Acrocorinthe*. So *Aratus* being chosen Generall by the *ARGIVES*, he counsellled them to present *Antigonus* with all the tyrans goodes, and those that had bene traitors to the common wealth. And after they had cruellie tormentted the tyran *Arisomachus* in the citie of *CENCHREES*, in the ende they cast him into the sea, **E** and drowned him. *Aratus* was marueloullie reproued for his death, that he would suffer the poore man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleasure: who through his perswasion willinglie resigned vp his tyrannie, and deliuered the city of *ARGOS* vnto the *ACHAIANS*. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else. For that the *ACHAIANS* through his meanes had put the citie of *CORINTHES* into *Antigonus* hands, as though it had bene some meane village: for that when they had sacked the citie of *ORCHOMENE*, they suffered him to place a garrison of the *MACEDONIANS* there: for that they had enacted by parliament, that they should neither write, nor sende Ambassadors any whether, without *Antigonus* priuite and consent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to geue pay to the *MACEDONIANS*: for that they made sacrifices, feastes, and games **F** vnto *Antigonus*, as if he had bene a god, following the example of *Aratus* citizens, who were the first that began, and had receiued *Antigonus* into the city by the perswasion of *Aratus*, that lodged and feasted him in his owne house. With all these faults they burdened *Aratus*, and

Aratus showed to *Antigonus*.

Antigonus and *Aratus* sworn brethren.

The citie of *Argos* returned to the *Achaians*.

Arisomachus drowned in the sea. *Aratus* infamous for *Arisomachus*.

considered nor that after they had put the reynes of the gouernment into *Antigonus* hand, *Aratus* him selfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swing of the vnbridled Prince, hauing no other meanes to stay it, but only the libertie of speache to admonish him; and that also was not to be exercised, without apparant and great danger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against *Aratus* minde, as amongst others: that *Antigonus* caused the tyrannical images of *Argos* to be set vp, which he had before pulled downe: and also that he made them to be ouerthrowen, which *Aratus* had set vp for those that had taken the castell of *Corinthe*, and only left *Aratus* owne statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreaty *Aratus* made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the *Achaians* delt not so friendly with the *Mantiniens*, as became *Greecians* one to another. For they hauing the citie in their hands by *Antigonus* means, did put all the noblest and chiefeest men of *Mantineia* to death, others they sold as slaues, and sent the rest into *Macedon* with irons on their legges, and brought the poore women & children into bondage, and sold them for slaues: and of the money they got by spoile, they deuided the third parte among them selues, and left the other two partes vnto the *Macedonians*. Nowe surely it can not be sayd, but this was done for some cruell reuenge. For though it was an ouergreat crueltie, in rage & passion of minde, to handle people of one selfe blood and language in this lamentable sorte: yet, as *Simonides* saith, when men are driuen and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomackes inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards vnto the citie, no man can excuse *Aratus*, nor say that he was either driuen to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to doe it. For king *Antigonus* hauing geuen the citie of *Mantineia* vnto the *Argiues*, they determined to make it a Colonie, and chose *Aratus* their Generall: who made a decree, that therefore the citie should no more be called *Mantineia*, but *Antigonia*, as it beareth name vnto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle *Mantineia* (for so the Poets called it) was vtterlie destroyed, and bare the name of an other citie through *Aratus* means, preferring the name of him that destroyed the city, & did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, king *Cleomenes* being ouerthrowen in a great battell by the citie of *Sellasia*, he left the citie of *Sparta*, and fled into *Egypt*. So *Antigonus* hauing vsed *Aratus* with all kind of honorable curtesie, he returned againe into *Macedon*. There falling sick, he sent *Philip* that should succede him in the kingdom (being a young stripling growen) into *Peloponnesus*, and straightly charged him speciallie to followe *Aratus* counsell, and to imploy him when he would speake vnto the cities, and become acquainted with the *Achaians*. So *Aratus* hauing receiued him in that sorte, made him so well affected and louing towards him, that he sent him againe into *Macedon*, being throughlie determined to make warres with *Grece*. So after the death of *Antigonus*, the *Aetolians* beganne to despise the carelesnesse and cowardlinesse of the *Achaians* (bicause that they being acquainted to be defended by strangers, and hauing bene altogether gouerned by the armies of the *Macedonians*, they liued verie idly & dissolutely) whereupon they tooke vpon them to make them selues Lords of *Peloponnesus*. So they assembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they only tooke some pray and spoyle vpon the lands of the *Patreians*, and the *Dymeians*: but inuading the territorie of *Messina* with all their armie, they destroyed the whole contrie before them. *Aratus* being angrie withall, and perceiuing that *Timoxenus* (who at that time was Generall of the *Achaians*) did still tract and delay time in vaine, bicause he was vpon his going out of his yeare: he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fife dayes before, to goe and aide the *Messenians*. Wherefore, leauing an armie of the *Achaians*, whose persons were now neither exercised in armes, nor yet had any desire to goe to the warres: he was ouerthrowen by the citie of *Caphyes*. Nowe, bicause it was thought that he went somewhat too hottely and coragiously to the warres, he so extremely cooled againe, and left things in such case, that all hope being cast a side, he suffered the *Aetolians* in manner to tread *Peloponnesus* vnder their fete, before his eyes, with all the infolencie and crueltie that might be possible, notwithstanding that they fundrie times gaue him great aduantage of them. Thus were the *Achaians* once againe forced to playe aie out of

Mantineia, called *Antigonia*, by *Aratus* decree.

Aratus ouerthrowen in battell, by the citie of *Caphyes*.

A of *Macedon*, and to send for young king *Philippe* to make warres in *Grece*: hoping for the loue he bare vnto *Aratus*, and the great trust he had in him, that he would vse them gently, and doe as they would haue him. But then first of all beganne *Apelles*, *Megaraeus*, and a few other Courties to accuse *Aratus*: vnto whome king *Philippe* geuing easie care, he procured that one *Eparatus*, of contrarie faction vnto *Aratus*, was chosen Generall by the *Achaians*. Howebeit this newe Generall *Eparatus* beinge extreamelie hated by the *Achaians*, and *Aratus* also leauing to deale any more with matters of state: no acte was done to any purpose. Whereupon king *Philippe* findinge his faulte, returned againe vnto *Aratus*, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires prospered in all things he went about, he then lette him alone withall, as from whome came all his honour and greatness. Thereupon euerie man esteemed *Aratus* a wise Gouvernour, not only to rule a common wealth, but also a whole realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefeest purpose appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a riche colour that did sette forth and beawtifie them. For the clemencie this young Prince *Philippe* vsed to the *Lacedaemonians*, that had offended him: the great curtesie he shewed to the *Cretans*, whereby in fewe dayes he wanne all the Ile of *Creta*: and the iorney he made against the *Aetolians*, which was a wonderfull great exploit: wanne the Prince great fame, for following good counsell, and *Aratus* accounted to be a wise Gouvernour, and of deepe vnderstanding. Nowe the kings flatterers enuying *Aratus* more then before, and perceiuing that they got no good by secret backebiting of him: they then beganne with open mouth verie insolentlie to reuile him at the table, and with great defision: in somuch as one night going home to his tent after supper, they pelted him with stones all the way as he went. King *Philippe* when he knewe it, was so offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the summe of twentie talentes: and afterwards also, bicause they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king *Philippe* in the ende being puffed vp with the good fortune and successe of this warre, which prospered as he would haue it: he then grew to be couetous, and beganne to shewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his dissimulation wherewith he disguised him selfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainlie to appeare. For first of all, he abused young *Aratus* wife, which was kept secret a long time, bicause he lay in their house, and beganne dayly to growe more seuerer and cruell to the common weales: and then the world sawe plainlie, that he cared no more for *Aratus*. For the first suspicion and beginning of the mistrust he had of *Aratus*, came for that which was done at *Messina*. For the *Messenians* being fallen together by the eares, and in great ciuill warres one with another: *Aratus* went thither to make peace betwene them. Howebeit king *Philippe* came thither the next day following, and in steade of pacifying the quarrell, he set them further out together then they were before. First he asked the Gouvernours of the citie, and if they had no lawes to bridle the infolencie and stomacke of the common people: and privatelie also talked with the heades of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not handes to defende them selues from tyrannes. So both the one and the other faction trustinge to kinge *Philippe*, the Gouvernours would haue layed holde of the Orators of the citie: but they risinge with the common people, slewed of their Nobilitie and Magistrates, well neere two hundred of them. *Aratus* that came soone after this fact, shewed that he was greatly offended with king *Philippe*, and caused his sonne with open mouth shamefullie to reprove him. Nowe it seemed that this young *Aratus* was in loue with king *Philippe* before: but then he tolde him before all the people; that for this shamefull acte he had done, he thought him nowe no more fayer of face, but the fowleest creature that could be. *Philippe* made no answer to it, although euerie man looked he would haue answered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproued him, he byt it in with his teeth: but as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge words his sonne had spoken against him, for that he was a ciuill man, and mylde of nature, he tooke *Aratus* the father by the hande, and carried him out of the Theater where the assemble was kept, to the castell of *Ithome*, to doe sacrifice there to *Iupiter*, and to see the forte. This forte was of no lesse strength then the castell of the *Acrocorinthe*: and when any garrison is in it, it keepeth all the contrie about

The *Achaians* sent for king *Philip* *Antigonus* sonne.

Aratus, a wise counsellor. Enuy, the companion of vice.

The beginning of dissimulation betwixt *Aratus* and *Philip*.

The deepe dissimulation and double dealing of king *Philip*.

Aratus the sonnes words vnto *Philip*.

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it in obedience, and besides, it is verie hard to drue them out of it. Now *Philip* being gotten vp into that castell, he did sacrifice there: and when the Soothsayer had brought him the intralls of the oxe which they had sacrificed, he rooke it him selfe with both his hands and shewed them vnto *Aratus*, and to *Demetrius* *Phalerian*, now turning to the one, then vnto the other, and asked them what they iudged of these signes of the sacrifice: whether he shoulde keepe the castell to him selfe, or else deliuer it to the *Messenians*. *Demetrius* smiling answered him: if thou beest of the Soothsayers minde, then thou shalt deliuer it vp: but if thou halt a kinges minde in thee, thou shalt then holde the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he ment the contrie of *Peloponnesvs*, and moreouer, that if he kept both these castells of *Ithome*, and the *Acrocorinthe*, all *Peloponnesvs* were wholly at his commaundement.) *Aratus* still held his peace, and sayd not a word. In the end, *Philip* praying him to speake he said, In *Creta*, and in the contrie of the *Boeotians* and *Phocians*, there are many strong castells situated on high hills from the vallies. Moreouer, there are also many places of great strength in the marches of the *Aarnanians*, both within maine land, as also vpon the sea coast: of all the which thou hast not taken one of them by force, and yet they all doe willingly obey thee notwithstanding. It is for theecues to hyde their heades in high rockes & mountaines: but a king can haue no stronger castell, then the loue, faith, and good will of men. That is it that opened the sea of *Creta*. That is it that hath brought thee into *Peloponnesvs*. Those are the meanes which haue made thee being so young a man, some of them to choofe thee their Captaine, and others also to make thee their absolute Lorde and Maister. *Aratus* going on with his tale, *Philip* gaue the intralls againe to the Soothsayer that brought them, and taking *Aratus* by the hand, (as if by force he had cast him out of the castell, and had also taken the cite of *Messina* from him) sayd vnto him: come on then, lette vs euen take that course. But after that time, *Aratus* came as leide to the Court as might be, and so by litle and litle left *Philip*s companie. For when he went to make warre in the realme of *Epirvs*, he was earnestlie in hand with *Aratus* to goe that iorney with him. But *Aratus* prayed him to hold him excused, and so remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an euill name with *Philip*s doings. For *Philip* afterwards hauing shamefullie lost his armie by sea, against the *Romanes*, & besides, hauing had also verie euill successe in all other his affaires: he returned againe to *Peloponnesvs*, & thought once more to haue deceived the *Messenians*. But when they founde his practise, then he beganne with open force to spoyle their contrie. *Aratus* then flatlie fell out with *Philip*, and vtterly refused his frendship, for that he perceived then the iniurie he had done his sonnes wife, the which grieved him to the harte, but yet he made not his sonne priuie to it: bicause he coulde gette no other amendes, then to knowe what iniurie had bene done to him, considering that he had no way nor meanes to be reuenged. For, king *Philip* was maruelously changed, and from a courteous and chaste young Prince, becomen a vitious and cruell tyran: the which to speake truely, was not a change or alteration in nature, but a manifest declaracion (when he was no more affrayed of any man) of his wicked and deuillish mind, the which through feare had of long time bene kept secret. Now, to proue that *Philip*s first loue and good will he bare vnto *Aratus*, was also mingled with feare and reuerence: that which he did afterwards vnto him did plainly shew it. For he being desirous to put *Aratus* to death, not thinking him selfe free so long as he liued, neither king, nor tyran: he durst not goe about to kill him him selfe, but procured one of his Capitaines called *Taurion*, and commaunded him to make him away as secretly as he could possible, & specially with poyson, in his absence. This *Taurion* fell in frendship with *Aratus*, and poysoned him with no violent poyson, but so tempered & qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the bodie, and procure a pretie coffe which brought him into a consumption. *Aratus* knewe he was poysoned, but bicause he sawe it booted not to bewray it, he bare it pacientlie, and made no words of it, as if he had had some naturall disease about him. Yet on a time, one of his chieftest frends being in his chamber with him, who wondred to see him spit blood as he did: he told him, frid *Cephalon* mine, this is the reward of a kings loue. So he died of this poyson in the city of *Ægimvs*, being the seauenteenth time chosen Generall of the *Achaïans*: who would haue had him buried in the selfe same place, and haue made some honorable monument for him, worthy

The wife of
Aratus
sweere of
Aratus
king Philip,
touching the
safetye of a
Prince.

Aratus the
father for-
sooke Phi-
lippe.

Philip of a
courageous
Prince, be-
came a cruell
tyran.

Aratus poy-
soned by king
Philippe
wittles.

A kinges
frendshippe
dangerous.
The death of
Aratus.

A worthie of his noble life. But the *Sicyonians* thinking them selues dishonored, if his body were buried any where else but in their owne cite: they so perswaded the counsell of the *Achaïans*, that they suffered them to take *Aratus* bodie with them. Yet was there an auncient law that forbad buriall within the walls of the cite, of any maner of person whatsoever: and besides that law, they had a certaine superstitious feare in them that made them they durst not. Whereupon they sent to *Apollos* temple at *Delphes*, to aske counsell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this aunswere.

*Thou happie soile of Sicyon, Aratus natie place,
Vt heres thou askest counsell in that noble Capitaines case,
For keeping of a yeare minde and for making feastfull dayes
In honor of that worthie wright, to last henceforth alwayes:
If any hinder your intent through fundres or through spite,
Both sea and land and heauen it selfe will punish that same wright.*

This Oracle being brought, all the *Achaïans* were maruelous glad of it, but the *Sicyonians* speciallie: who presentlie changing their mourning into publike ioy, they caried the bodie from the cite of *Ægimvs*, & brought it home as in manner of proceffion, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heades, singing hymes and songes of ioy, and daunting, till they came to the cite of *Sicyon*. And there they chose out the chieftest place, and buried him as their founder, father, and fauor of their cite: and the place is called at this present time, *Aratimvs*. There they yearly make two solemne sacrifices, the one the fift of Nouember, at which time he deliuered the cite of *Sicyon* from tyrannie, & they call this sacrifice *Soteria*, as much to say, as the feast of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the first sacrifice, that was done by the Priest of *Iupiter* the fauor. The second sacrifice also was done by *Aratus* sonne, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the sacrifice, they long hymes vpon the harpe in praise of him, and the maister of the Musicians made a proceffion round about, being accompanied with boyes and young men of the cite, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were disposed to goe a proceffion. Howbeit the most part of the honors that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left off by proceffe of time, & change of things that followed afterwards. Thus you see what the life of *Aratus* the father hath bene, as we find in hiltories. Now *Philip* being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, caused his sonne *Aratus* also to be poysoned, not with a deadly poyson, but with such poyson as troubleth a mans wits so, that through their deuillish receit, he becometh a starke foole without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt strange and abhominable things, and to haue certaine shamefull and detestable desires: inso much as his death (though he dyed in the prime of his youth) could not be thought miserable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him of all his miseries and mishappes. But *Philip* afterwards, so long as he liued, payed vnto *Iupiter* (protector of all iustice and frendship) the punishment his wicked life deserued. For, after he was overcome in battell by the *Romanes*, he was compelled to yeelde him selfe to their mercy, by whome he was depriued from all the rest of his landes and dominions he had: and of all his shippes, but five only, and condemned besides to pay a thousand talents for a fine, and to giue his sonne in hostage: and they only left him for pitties sake, the kingdom of *Macedon*, with all the appertenaunces. And there he daily putting to death the chieftest of his nobilitie, and nearest of blood vnto him: he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate against him. Furthermore, amongst such a heape of euills, hauing but one onely ioy, to haue a vertuous sonne: he put him to death, for spyte and malice that he saw the *Romanes* honor him, & left his other sonne *Perseus* successor of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten sonne, but taken for his sonne, and borne of a taylors wife called *Gnatobionne*. It is that *Perseus* whom *Paulus Aemilius* overcame and led in triumphe in *Rome*: and at him, the race of the kings descended from *Antigonus*, failed. Where the issue and offspring of *Aratus* continueth yet vntill our time, in the cities of *Sicyon*, and *Pallena*.

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A law for bur-
iall among
the Sicyo-
nians.

The Oracle
for Aratus
himselfe.

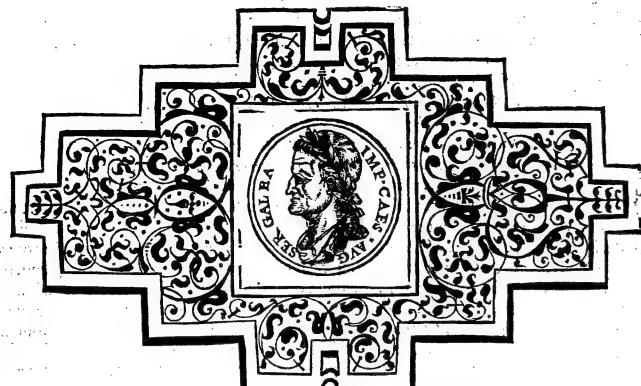
Aratimvs
yearly sacrifi-
ces appoint-
ed to honor
Aratus mem-
orie.

The miserable
death of Aratus
the sonne:
Strangers
kindes of poy-
soning.

King Philip
punished for
his wicked-
nes.

Perseus king
Philippe
sonne: whom
Paulus Aemilius
overcame for
Rome.

THE LIFE OF Galba.



*Iphicrates
saying what
manner of
man a Mercen-
nary sould-
dier should
be.*

*A Emilius
saying of
souldiers.*

*Platoes say-
ing of an
empe-
rour.*

*Demades
saying of A-
lexanders ar-
mie, after his
death.*

*The Empeire
of Rome
whereas like-
ned.*

Iphicrates the Athenian Captaine sayd, that a mercenarie souldier should be couerous, a louter, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the vallianter, and readier to put him selfe into any danger. But most men thinke, that souldiers should be as one entere strong body, that sturreth not of it selfe without the mouing of the general. And to approve this opinion, it is said that *Paulus Aemilius* aruiing in *Macedon*, and finding the souldiers full of words and curiositie (euerie man meddling with the affaires of the General) he made open proclamacion, no man so hardy to meddle with his office and affaires, but every man only to keepe his sword sharpe, and to be quicke of hand against the enemy: and for the rest, to referre all to him, who would take sufficient order for things of his charge and government. Therefore *Plato*, that saith it litle preuaileth to haue a good and wise Captaine, if the souldiers also be not wise and obedient, thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to haue men of a noble minde and good education, as otherwise it is meete for a Captaine to know how to direct and commaunde well, considering it is that which with lenity & mildnes doth mitigate all fury and choller: he hath diuers other examples and sufficient proofes to proue his words true, and namely, the great miseries and calamities which came to the *ROMANES* after the death of *Nero*, do plainly shew, that nothing is more dangerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great armie liuing licentiouslie and disorderly. For *Demades* after the death of *Alexander* the great, compared *Alexanders* armie, vnto *Cyclops Polyphemus* after his eye was put out: considering howe blindly and loofelie they were gouerned. Howebeit the Empire of *ROME* being deuided into fundrie factions at one selfe time, and rising against it selfe in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes and calamities fained of the Poets by the *TITANS*: not so much through the ambitiousnes of the Emperours, as by meanes of the couetousnes & infolency of the souldiers, who draue the Emperours out of their Imperiall seates one after another, as one naile driueth out another. And *Dionysius* also the tyraine of *SICILIA*, was wont to call *Pheraus*, who had bene onely tyrant of *THESSALY* tenne monethes space: a tyrant in a play, deriding his so sodaine change of state. But the Imperiall house of the *Cæsars* at *ROME* received foure Emperours, in lesse then tenne monethes space, the souldiers now putting in one, and then taking out another, as if they had bene

A bene in a play on a scaffold. So that, the *ROMANES* being thus grieuouſlie oppressed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to seeke to be reuenged of them that did oppress them. For they sawe one of them murder another, and him first and most iustlie of all other murdered, that had first of all corrupted the souldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the change of Emperours: and so deprauing a worthie deede of it selfe, which was their forsaking of *Nero*: and mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treason. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, being Captaine of the Emperours gard, which are called the *Prætorian* souldiers, together with *Tigellinus*, when he saw *Nero* in dispaire of him selfe & of his estate, & that he was ready to flie into *Egypt*: he perswaded the gard they shoulde call *Galba* Emperour, as if *Nero* had not bene at *ROME*, but fled and gone, and promised euerie one seuen thousande sive hundred Drachmas a peece. And to the rest of the souldiers that were disperſed vp and downe in garriſon vpon the prouinces, twelue hundred & fifty Drachmas a man. For the leauing of which summe, they could not possiblie doe it, but they must needes commit tenne thousand times more extortion to euery bodie, then *Nero* had done. This large promise made them presently put *Nero* to death, and shortly after him, *Galba* him selfe also. For the souldiers forsooke *Nero*, for the hope they had to receiue this promised gift: and shortly after they slew the second, which was *Galba*, because they receiued not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards also, in seeking who should fill feede them with like gifts, before they could obtaine their wished hope, one of them destroyed another by treason and rebellion. But now to set downe all things particularlie which hapned at that time, it were to wryte one whole entere historie: and therefore, I will content my selfe, not to passe ouer with silence the notableſt deedes and lamentable calamities which happened at that time vnto the *Cæsars*.

It is manifestly knowne to all men, that *Sulpitius Galba* of a priuate man, was the richest and wealthiest that came to be in the number of the *Cæsars*: who, though he came of a verie noble house, deriuing him selfe from the race and family of the *Seruij*, yet he was honored the more, because he was a kинne vnto *Quintus Catulus*, who for vertue and estimation, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise, he willingly reined his authoritie and power vnto others. So *Galba* thereby was somwhat a kинne vnto *Liuis*, the wife of *Augustus Cæsar*, and therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperours pällace, when he went to take possession of his Consulshippe. Moreouer, it is reported, that when he had charge of the armie in *Germanie*, he did valliantlie behaue him selfe. And in the gouernment of *LISIA* also, where he was Viceconsul, he did as honorable behaue him selfe, as any man whatsoever. Howebeit his meane and simple ordinary of dyet, voyde of all excessse, was imputed misery & niggardlines in him, when he was proclaimed Emperour: because the praise of sober & temperate diet which he would haue brought in vs, was then so raw a thing, that it was taken for anew & strange deuise. He was sent Gouernor also into *SPAYNE* by *Nero*, before he had leamed to be afraid of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, besides that he was of a courteous & gentle nature, his age moreover increased the opinion they had of him, that he was timorous and feartfull. For when the wretched officers of *Nero* did cruelly vex & torment the prouinces, and that it lay not in *Galba* any way to help them: yet was it some comfort to them, which were iudged & sold as slaues by the officers, to see that *Galba* did lament the miseries & calamities they endured, as if they had bene done vnto him selfe. So when any slanderous rymes were made against *Nero*, which were song vp and downe in euerie place: he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended, as *Neros* officers were. Therefore he was marvellously beloued in the contrie, with them that were acquainted with him: because he was then in the eighty yere of his government as Proconsul amongst them, at which time *Junius Vindex* being Proprætor of *GAULE*, rebelled against *Nero*, who as it is reported, had written vnto *Galba* before he entered into open action of rebellion. But *Galba*, did neither beleue him, nor also accuse & betray him, as diuers others which were gouernors of armies & prouinces did: who sent *Vindex* letters vnto *Nero*, which he him selfe had written vnto them, & so did as much as in them lay, to bind the enterprise, who afterwards being of the conspiracy did confesse they were traitors to them selves, as much as vnto him. Howebeit, when *Vindex* afterwards had proclaimed open warre against *Nero*, he wroote againe vnto *Galba*, & praied him to take the Imperiall crowne vpon him

*Nymphidius
Sabine, and
Tigellinus,
surprised N-
ro.*

*The hope of
gifts deſtroyed
the Empeire
of Rome.*

*The wealth
and nobility
of Galba.*

*Galbas wife
was a
strange
deuise.*

*Galbas was
sent
into
Spain.*

*Junius Vin-
dex rebelled
against N-
ro.*

and to become the head of a strong and mightie bodie (which were the GAVLES) that lacked A nothing but a head and Gouvernor, being a hundred thousand fighting men ready armed, and might also leaue a great number more of them. Then *Galba* consulted thereupon with his friends, & among them, some were of opinion that he should stay a while, to see what change and alteration would grow at ROME vpon this sturle. Howbeit *Titus Iunius*, Captaine of the Prætorian band, said vnto him: O *Galba*, what meaneth this so doubtful deliberation? Be not we wise men to call in question, whether we shall allowe of *Vindex* friendship, or accuse him? Yea, and with armes persecute him, that desired rather to haue thee Emperour, then *Nero* tyranne ouer the estate of ROME? Afterwardes *Galba* by bills set vp euerie where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchise such as would make sute for it. This rumor flying straight abroad, he gathered a great number of souldiers together, that were verie willing to rebell: and he was no sooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of state, but all the souldiers did salute him, by the name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the first, but accusing *Nero*, and lamenting the deathes of the noblest men whome he had cruellie put to death: he promised that he would imploy his best wit and discreffion to the seruice and benefite of his contrie, neither naming him selfe *Cæsar*, nor Emperour, but only Lieutenant to the Senate, and state of ROME. Now, that *Vindex* did wiselie to call *Galba* to be Emperour, *Nero* him selfe in his doings doth witnesse it. Who hauing alwayes made a countenance as though he passed not for *Vindex*, & that he wayed not the rebellion of the GAVLES: when it was told him that *Galba* was called Emperour, he being the at supper, for spight he ouerthrew the table. Moreover, though the Senate had iudged *Galba* an enemy, yet *Nero* to be pleasaunt with his friends, made as though he was nothing affrayed of it, and said, this newes made all for him, because he stood in neede of money, & also that it was a happy occasion offered him to helpe him withall. For sayd he, we shall soone haue all the GAVLES goodes, as the spoyle of a iust warre, after we haue once againe ouercomen and conquered them: and moreover, *Galbaes* goods also would quickly be in his hands, that he might sell them, considering that he was become his open enemy. So he presently commaunded *Galbaes* goods should be openly sold, to them that would giue most. *Galba* vnderstanding that, did also by found of trompet tell all *Neroes* goods he had in all the prouince of SPAYNE, and did also finde more men reader to buy, then there were goods to sell. Daily men rose against *Nero* in euery contry, who tooke *Galbaes* parte, *Clodius Macer* only excepted in AFRICK, and *Verginius Rufus* in GAVLE, both of them D hauing charge of legions appointed for the safe keeping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow seuerall directions by them selues, varying in minde & intent. For *Clodius Macer* hauing robbed much, & put diuers men also to death through his cruelty & couetousnes: he shewed plainly, that he swamme betwene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet kept it. *Verginius* also on the other side, being Generall ouer great & mighty legions, who had sundry times called him Emperour, & did in maner force him to take vpon him the name and Empire: he notwithstanding did euer answer them, that he neither minded to take the Empire vpon him, nor yet to suffer any other to do it, then such as the Senate should choofe and call vnto the same. This at the first somewhat amazed *Galba*. But when both the armies of *Vindex* and *Verginius* in spight of their Captaines (who could not stay nor keepe them backe, E no more then cochen can keepe backe the horse with their bridells) were ioyned in a great battell together, where were slaine twenty thousand GAVLES in the field, and *Vindex* also slue him selfe shortly after: it was geuen out, that the conquerors after so great a victory obtained, would copell *Verginius* to take vpon him to be Emperour, or else that they would take *Neroes* part againe. Then *Galba* being not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto *Verginius*, & perswaded him to ioyne with him, to hold vp the Empire & liberty of the ROMANES, & thereupon fled straight into a city of SPAYNE called *COLONIA, rather repeting him of that he had done, & wishing for his wonted peaceable & quiet life wherwith he was brought vp: then otherwise occupying him selfe about any necessary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterprise. Now it was about the beginning of sommer, and one day towards euening, there came to *Galba* one of F his slaves enfranchised, a SICILIAN borne, that was comen fro ROME in seven daies: who vnderstanding that *Galba* was alone, went presently to his chamber dore & opened it, & coming in

In this place
the Greeke
corruptly red
passion for
passion.

Sulpicius Gal-
ba, saluted by
the souldiers,
an Emperour.

Galba indged
an enemy by
the Senate of
Rome, and his
goods sold by
the crier.

Clodius Ma-
cer, Gouvernor
of Africke,
Verginius
Rufus, Go-
uernor of
Gaulle,
Verginius
Rufus called
Emperour.

Colonia a cite
of Spayne.
* Others read
Climia.

A in against the wils of the groomes of the chamber that stood at the dore, he told him that *Nero* being yet alieue, but sene no more, first the people of ROME, & then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperour: & that immediately after, newes came that *Nero* was dead, the which he hardly beleuing notwithstanding, went thither him selfe, saw his body layed out vpon the ground, & then made towards him with all speede to bring him these newes. These newes maruelously reuiued *Galba*, and a multitude of men thronged straight about his dore, which began to be coragious, seing him liuely againe, although the speede of the Messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two dayes after, *Titus* also arriued, with certaine other of the campe, who told *Galba* perticularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this *Titus* was called to great honor, and the slave enfranchised had priuiledge giuen him to wear rings of gold, and he was B called *Martianus Picellus*, who afterwards of all the enfranchised bond men, became the chiefest man about his Master *Galba*. In the meane tyme, *Nymphidius Sabinus* began at ROME, not couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the absolute gouernment of the Empire, perswading him selfe that *Galba* was so old, that he could hardly be brought in a lytter vnto ROME, being at the least three score and thirteene yeare olde: besides also, that the army of the P R E T O R I A N S which were in ROME, did beare him good will of long tyme, and their acknowledged none other Lord but him onely, for the large promise he had made them, for the which he receiued the thanks, and *Galba* remained the debtor. So he presently commaunded *Tigel- C linus*, his companion and Captaine with him of the army of the P R E T O R I A N S, to leaue of his sword: and disposing him selfe to banqueting and feasting, he sent for all those that had bene Consuls, Prætors, or Proconsuls of prouinces, and made them all to be inuited in the name of *Galba*. So there were certaine souldiers gaue out this rumor in the campe, that they should doe well to send Ambassadors vnto *Galba*, to praye him that *Nymphidius* might be their onely D Capitaine still, without any companion ioyned with him. Furthermore, the honor and good will the Senate bare him, calling *Nymphidius* their benefactor, and going dayly to visite him in his house, procuring him to be Author of all their decrees passed in Senate, and that he should authorize them: this made him hie minded, and the bolder by much, inasmuch that shortly after, they came to honor him in this sort, did not only hate and dislike his doings, but moreover he made them affrayd of him. Furthermore, when the Consuls had giuen to commo pursuants any commissions vnder seale, or letters patents signifying the decrees of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperour, by vertue of which letters patents, when the of- E ficers of the citie doe see the seale, they straight prouide the pursuants of coches and freshe horses to further their speede and hasty iorney: *Nymphidius* was very angrye with them; because they did not also come to him for his letters, sealed by him and his souldiers, to sende likewise vnto the Emperour. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to haue deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing them selues vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appease his anger. And to please the Commons also, he suffered them to put any of *Neroes* friends to death they could meete withall. Amonge other, they slue a Fensler called *Spicellus*, whome they put vnder *Neroes* statues, which they dragged vp and downe the citie. Another also called *Aponius*, one of *Neroes* accusers, they threw him to the ground, and draue carts ouer him I laden with stones. And diuers others also, whom they slue in that manner: of the which, some had done no maner of offence. Hereupon one *Mauricius*, one of the noblest men of the citie & so esteemed, sayd openly in the Senate. I feare me we shall wish for *Nero* againe, before it be long. So *Nymphidius* being comen in manner to the fulnes of his hope: he was very glad to heare that some repnyed at him, because he was the sonne of *Caius Cæsar*, that was the next Emperour after *Tiberius*. For this *Caius Cæsar*, when he was a young man, had kept *Nymphidius* mother, which had bene a fayer young woman, and the Daughter of one *Calpurnius*, one of Cæ- sars enfranchised bond men, whome he had gotten of a Laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this *Nymphidius* was borne before *Caius Cæsar* could knowe his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a Fensler called *Martianus*, with whome his mother F *Nymphidia* fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in ROME, and in deede *Nymphidius* was liker to him in fauor, then vnto any other. So, he confessed that he was the sonne of this *Nymphidia*, howbeit he did ascrib the glory of the death of *Nero* vnto him selfe; and

Nymphidius
Sabinus takes
vpon him to
be Emperour.

Honors done
to *Nymphidius*
by the
Senate, made
him grow too
bold and info-
rmit.

Neroes friends
slay as
Romans
by *Nymphidius*
commaunde-
ment.

The parents
of *Nymphidius*.

thought him selfe not sufficiently recompensed with the honors they gaue him, neither also A
with the goods he enioyed, neither for that he lay with *Sporus* whome *Nero* loued so dearly,
whome he sent for to *Neroes* funeralls whilest his bodye was yet a burning, and kept him with
him as if he had bene his wife, and called him *Poppaeus*. Furthermore, all this did not content
him, but yet secretly he aspyred to be Emperor, partly practising the matter in *Rome* it selfe,
by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were secretly his friends: and partly
also through one *Gellianus*, whome he sent into *SPAYNE*, to see how all things went there.
Howbeit after the death of *Nero*, all things prospered with *Galba*, sauing *Verginius Rufus* only,
who stood doubtfull yet, and made him sorely mistrust him, for that he was affrayd (besides
that he was generall ouer a great and puissant army, hauing also newly ouerthrowen *Vindex*,
and secretly ruling the best parte of the Empire of *Rome*, which was all *GAULE*, and then in
tumult and vprore, ready to rebell) lest he would harken vnto them that perswaded him to
take the Empire to him selfe. For there was no Captaine of *Rome* at that tyme so famous, and
offo great estimation as *Verginius*, and that deservfully, for that he had done great seruice to
the Empire of *Rome* in tyme of extremitie, hauing deliuered *Rome* at one selfe tyme from
a cruell tyranny, and also from the daunger of the warres of the *GAULES*. This notwithstanding,
Verginius persisting still in his first determination, referred the election of the Emperor
vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of *Nero* was openly known, the common
sort of souldiers were earnestly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the souldiers (other-
wise called a Colonel of a thousand men) went into his tent with a sword drawn in his hand,
and bad *Verginius* either determine to be Emperor, or els to looke to haue the sword thrust
into him. Yet after that *Fabius Valens*, Captaine of a legion, was sworne vnto *Galba*, and that he
had receiued letters from *Rome*, aduertising him of the ordinance and decree of the Senate
in the end, with much a doe, he perswaded the souldiers to proclayme *Galba* Emperor, who sent
Flaccus Ordeonius to succcede him, vnto whome he willingly gaue place. So, when *Verginius*
had deliuered vp his army vnto him, he went to meete with *Galba*, on whome he wayted, com-
ming on still towards *Rome*. And *Galba* all that time neither shewed him euill countenance,
nor yet greatly esteemed of him, *Galba* him selfe being cause of the one who feared him, and
his friends of the other, but specially *Titus Iunius*: who for the malice he bare vnto *Verginius*,
thinking to hinder his rising, did vnwittingly in deede further his good happe, and deliuered
him occasion to draw him out of the ciuill warres and mischieues, (the which lighted after-
wards vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. D
Furthermore, Ambassadors were sent from the Senate, and met with *Galba* at *NARBONA*, a ci-
tie of *GAULE*: where after they had presented their humble duecie, they perswaded him to
make all the haste he could possible to shew him selfe to the people of *Rome*, who were ma-
rueulous desirous to see him. *Galba* receiued them very graciously and courteously, & made them
great chere, howbeit very modestly notwithstanding. For notwithstanding that *Nymphidius*
had sent him diuers Officers, and store of *Neroes* moueables: yet he would neuer be serued
with any of them, at any feasts or bankets he made, with other then his owne stuffe, wherein
he shewed his noble mind, and how he could master all vanitie. But *Titus Iunius* shortly after
told *Galba*, that this noble mind and ciuill moderation, without pride or pompe, was to lowly E
a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine respect of honestie that knewe not it
selfe, and became not his greatnes and maiestie. So, he perswaded him to vie *Neroes* moneye &
stuffe, and to be sumptuous and princely in his feasts, without niggardlines. To conclude, the
olde man *Galba* began plainly to shew that he would be ruled by *Titus Iunius*: who about all
of them was extreme couetous, and besides too much giuen to women. For when he was a
young man, the first time he went to the warres vnder *Calpurnius Sabine*, he brought his Cap-
taines wife (which liked good fellowshipp) disguised like a souldier into the campe, into his
generalls tent (which the *ROMANES* called *Principia*) and there was somewhat bold with her.
Wherefore *Calpurnius* committed him to prison, but he escaped at his death. Another time,
when he supped with *Clodius Caesar*, he stole a silver pot. *Clodius* hearing of it, bad him againe to F
supper the next night: but he commaunded his men they should giue him drinke in an ear-
then cruse. Thus this theft (through *Caesars* pleasantnes) seemed rather a matter of sport, then
of

Verginius, a
famous Cap-
taine.

The condition
of *Titus*
Iunius.

A of anger: howbeit the faultes which he committed afterwards through extreame couetous-
nes of moneye, (at what time he ruled *Galba*, and bare all the waye about him) gaue vnto some
iust cause, and vnto others apparant culler of tragical mischieues, and greuous calamities.
For *Nymphidius*, so soone as *Gellianus* was returned out of *SPAYNE*, whome he had sent thither
to see what *Galba* did: he enforming him that *Cornelius Lacon* was Captaine of the gard and
house of the Emperor, and that *Titus Iunius* did all in all about him, and that he could neuer
be suffred to come neare *Galba*, nor to speake with him a part, because those which were about
Galba did mistrust him, & euer had an eye to him to see what he did, he was maruelously per-
plexed withall. Thereupon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and petty Captaines
of the campe of the *PRÆTORIAN* army, and perswaded them that *Galba* touching his owne
B person, was a good old and discreete man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne aduise &
counsel, but was ruled altogether by *Iunius* and *Lacon*, who marred all: and therefore, that it
were good before they came to be of greater power, and to haue such great authoritie in ma-
neging the affaires of the Empire, as *Tigellinus* had before, to send Ambassadors to the Em-
peror in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him,
he should be the better welcome vnto *Rome*, and to all men els besides. The Captaines vtter-
ly misliked this deuse. For they thought it too strange, and beyond all reason, to seeme to
teache an old Emperor, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: &
to appoynt him what seruants and friends he should keepe, and whome he should trust or
mistrust. *Nymphidius* perceiuing this, tooke another course, and wrote letters vnto *Galba* to ter-
C rifie him, one tyme sending him word that he was maruelous euill beloued of many in *Rome*,
and that they were ready to rebell against him: an other tyme also, that the legions of *GER-*
MANY were reuolted, and that he vnderstoode the like from the legions in *LYRY* and *SYRIA*.
And another tyme also, that *Clodius Macer* in *AFRICK* stayed all the shippes freighted with
corne that were bound for *Rome*. But in the ende, finding that *Galba* made no accompt of
him, and that he gaue no credit to his words nor writings: he determined first of all to set vp-
on him. Howbeit *Clodius Celsus*, borne in the cite of *ANTIOCH*, a wise man, and his faithfull
friend, dissuaded him maruelously not to doe it: declaring vnto him, that he thought there
was no one house nor family in *Rome* that would call *Nymphidius*, *Cæsar*. Howbeit in contrary
D manner, diuers others mocked *Galba* and specially one *Mithridates* of the Realme of *PONT*,
that sayd he was a bald writhen man. For the *ROMANES* (sayd he) haue him in deede now in
some estimation, but when they haue once seene him, they will thinke it a perpetual shame
and reproche to our tyme, that he was called *Cæsar*. So they thought it good to bring *Nym-*
phidius about midnight into the campe, and there openly to proclayme him Emperor. How-
beit the chiefe Tribune of the souldiers called *Antonius Honoratus*, gathered his souldiers to-
gether in the night, and before them all did first openly reprove him selfe, and then them, for
that they had lo often turned and changed in so short time, without any wit or discretion,
hauing no iudgement to chuse the best way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong
in that sort by some wicked spirit, which brought them out of one treason into another. And
yet (sayd he) our first change had some countenance of reason, to wete, the horrible vices
E and faultes of *Nero*: but now, wherein can we accuse *Galba*, to haue any countenance to fal-
sifie our faith vnto him? hath he slayne his mother: hath he put her to death? hath he shame-
fully played the tumbler or common player vpon a scaffold in the Theater? And yet for all
these vile parts, we neuer durst once beginneto forsake *Nero*, but gaue credit to *Nymphidius*'s
words, who told vs that *Nero* had first forsaken vs, and that he was fled into *EGYPT*. What
shall we doe? Shall we kill *Galba* after *Nero*? what, shall we kill him that is a kinne to *Livia*,
to make the sonne of *Nymphidius* Emperor: as we haue already slayne the sonne of *Agrippina*? Or
shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entred into this enterprise, and thereby to reuenge the
death of *Nero*, and to shewe our selues faithfull souldiers vnto *Galba*? All the souldiers yielded
straight to the Colonells words, and therewith went to their other companions to perswade
F them to keepe their faith & promise they auowed vnto the Emperor: so that they made ma-
ny of them reuolt againe from *Nymphidius*. Thereupon the noyse and cryes beeing great,
Nymphidius supposing (as some thought) that the souldiers did call for him, or els hoping be-
cause

Nymphidius
practiser.

The oration
of *Antonius*
Honoratus,
Tribune of
the souldiers,
vnto his ma-
iourous souldi-
ers.

Nymphidius
afflicteth to be
Emperer.

tymes to quenchethis tumult, to staye such as were yet wauering: he went thither him selfe **A** with great store of torche light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which *Cicero* *Varro* had made for him, and the which he had learned without booke to speake vnto the souldiers. But when he found the gates of the campe shut, and saw diuers men armed vpon the walls, he began to be affrayd: and comming nearer, asked them what they ment by it, and by whose commaundement they had armed them selues as they did. Answer was made him by them all, that they did acknowledge no other Emperour but *Galba*: the which he seemed to like of, and also commaunded them that followed him to doe the like, and therewithall drew nearer. Whereupon certaine of the souldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and suffred him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit alsoone as he was comen in, first there was a dart throwen at him, the which one *Septimius* that went before him receiued vpon his shield, & then others also came with their swords drawn in their hands to set on him, and followed him as he fled into a souldiers cabbone, where they slue him. Then they layed his body in an open place, and rayled it about, that euery man that would, might the next day see it. So *Nymphidius* being slayne in this fort, *Galba* vnderstanding of his death, commaunded that all *Nymphidius* friendes and confederators that had not bene slayne at that tyme, should for his sake be put to death, as in deede they were. Amongest them they slue *Cicero* that had made the oration for *Nymphidius*, and *Mithridates* also of *PONT*. Howbeit, though in deede they had deserued it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to commaund these men to be put to death in that fort, which were men of such qualitie and calling as they were, without due forme and order of lawe. For euery man stood in good hope vpon the comming in of this new Emperour, to haue seene another manner of gouernment, then they had yet seene: howbeit they were deceiued of their hope at the first choppe. But yet they misliked this most of all, when he commaunded them to kill *Petronius Tertullianus*, that had bene Consul, because he was *Neroes* faithfull friend. But nowe for the death of *Clodius Macer*, whome *Trebucianus* slue in *AFRICA* by his commaundement, and for *Foncius* that was also slayne in *GERMANY* by *Valens*: he had some reason to feare them, because they were in armes, and commaunded great armies. But for *Tertullianus* that was an olde man, naked, and vnarmed: truly he should haue put him to his triall by law, if he would haue ministred iustice, the which he promised to keepe at his first comming to the Imperial crowne. Herein they greatly reprobued *Galba*. Now, when he drew neare to *ROME* within fise and twenty furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of Maryners and sea faring men, that kept the high way on euery side, wandering vp and downe in euery place. These were the men whome *Nero* had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the ower and made them souldiers. So they were come thither to be suters to him; that he would allow them fill to be souldiers, and they pressed so arrogantly vpon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the newe Emperour, to see him, nor speake with him: but they fell to tumult and vprere, crying out to haue ensignes for their legion, and to be appoynted a place to lye in in garrison. *Galba* referred them ouer to another tyme, and bad them they should then let him vnderstand their demand. They told him againe, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereupon fell to plaine mutinie, & followed him with great cries: in fomuch that some of them stuck not to draw out their swords. **E** Then *Galba* commaunded the horsemen he had about him, to set vpon them. So there was not a man of them that resisted, but some of them were ouerthrowen, and troden vnder their horse feete: & others also slaine as they fled. This was a very euil signe and preface for him, to enter into *ROME* with such bloudshed, vpon so many poore mens dead bodies as lay slayne on the ground. Howbeit, where some before did despise and mock him for an old & feeble man, euery man then was affraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, because he would shew a great change and alteration from the vnreasonable vaine gifts and expenses of *Nero*: it seemeth he did many vncomely things. As when one *Cannus*, an excellent player on the recorder, had played all supper tyme, because it was a maruelous sweete Musick to heare: he prayd & commaunded it maruelously, and commaunded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he tooke a few crownes, & put them into his hand, saying, that it was not money of the common treasure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue straight commaundement that they should

Nymphidius
Sabine slaine.

The crueltie
of *Galba*.

Cornelius Tacitus
callet
him *Turpilianus*.

Galba entered
Rome with
murder.

The violence
of *Galba*.

A should require and call backe againe the gifts *Nero* had geuen, and bestowed vpon common players, minstrells, wrestlers, and people of such kinde of facultie and profession, and to leaue them only the tenth parte, But he got litle by this deuse. For the most parte of those that had giftes geuen them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that liue without any rule or order, and spent at night that which they get in the day: and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them to restore it againe. But this was an endles worke, for things had bene conveyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonor returned to *Galba* him selfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on *Titus Iunius*: who only made the Emperour straight laced to all others, whilest he him selfe tooke vnreasonably of all men, making portefalse of euerie thing that came to hand. For *Hesiodus* the Poet sayth:

*As well when the vessell is full that it is fill,
As when it is emptie, thirst craueth drinke still.*

Hesiodus say-
ing.

But *Iunius* perceiuing *Galba* to be olde and feeble, would wisely take his fortune and time, while time serued, supposing it almost to be at an end, so soone as he beganne to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much dishonor the poore old man, ouer greatlie abusing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefest and weightiest matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindering those, the which the Prince him selfe had a good desire to deale vprightly in, as to punish the officers of *Nero*. For he put some of them to death, among the which *Elius* was one, and certaine other, as *Polyclitus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobinus*: whereat the people maruelously reioiced, and cried out as they went to execution through the market place, that it was a goodly and blessed procession, and required *Tigellinus* of the goddes and men, that had bene chiefe maister and guide of all *Neroes* tyrannie. Howbeit the trimme man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed *Iunius* before: for afterwards he put poore *Tertullianus* to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated *Nero*, being as he was, & had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he played, when he was aliue. Whereas he that made *Nero* worthe of death, & that afterwards had also betrayed him: he was left alone, & nothing sayd vnto him, being a manifest prooffe to all others, that they should not dout to hope to obtaine any thing at *Titus Iunius* hands, so they fed him with gifts. For the common people of *ROME* neuer desired thing so much, as to see *Tigellinus* to be caried to execution: and they neuer left crying out to demand him in all assemblies of the Theater or shew place, vntil such time as the Emperour *Galba* did forbid them by proclamation, the which declared that *Tigellinus* would not liue long, because he was sicke of a consumption of the lungs, which by litle & litle did weare him to nothing: and *Galba* prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloodie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they seemed to laugh at it: and *Tigellinus* did sacrifice to the goddes for his health & safetie, and prepared a sumptuous feast. Where *Iunius* rising from supper, being set by the Emperour, went vnto *Tigellinus* to be merie with him, and tooke his daughter being a widow with him, vnto whom *Tigellinus* dranke, and offered her a gift of fise and twentie Myriades of siluer: and commaunded one of his chiefest concubines to take a carcanet from her necke she wore, and to geue it the other, being worth fiftene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done vprightly and with iustice, were reprobued and taken in euill part: as the thing that was graunted to the *GAVLES*, because they did rebell with *Vindex*. For men thought that they were not discharged of the subsidies & taxes they were wont to pay, and that they were made free of *ROME*, so much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by *Iunius* meanes, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the people hated the Emperour *Galba*. Howbeit the souldiers still liued in good hope, for the gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promised them, they should yet enioy as much as *Nero* had geuen them. But *Galba* vnderstanding that they complained of him, he spake a word meete for so noble and worthe a Prince as he was: that he v-
F sed to choole souldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the souldiers, it bred a maruelous mortall hatred in them against him: because they thought it was not only to take the gift away from them which they hoped presently to haue receiued, but that it was also a

Galba killed
Neroes ser-
uants and
officers.

The noble
saying of the
Emperour
Galba.
Galba offend-
ed the sould-
iers.

president to teach the Emperours that should come after him, what they should doe. Howbeit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian gard at ROME appeared not yet, but was secretlie kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maiestie and person of *Galba*, who kept them that were desirous to rebell, bicause they sawe as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did somwhat smother and keepe in the shew of their wicked intent. But they which had before serued vnder *Verginius*, and were at that time vnder *Flaccus* in GERMANIE, thinking them selues worthie of great reward for the battell they had won against *Vindex*, and hauing nothing geuen them in recompence: they would not bepleased with any thing their Capitaine sayd vnto them, neither did they make any accompt of *Flaccus*, bicause he coule not sturre himselfe, he was so plagued with the gowte, and besides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine sportes were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonells and Captaines (according to the maner of the ROMANES) made prayers vnto the goddes for the health and prosperitie of the Emperour *Galba*: there were diuers of them that made a noyse at the first, and afterwarde when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in the end the souldiers answered, if he be worthie. The legions in like maner vnder *Tigellinus* charge, did oftentimes vsue such insolent partes: whereof *Galbaes* officers did aduertise him by letters. Wherefore *Galba* being affrayed, & mistrusting that they did not only despise him for his age, but also bicause he had no children: he determined to adopt some young gentleman for his sonne, of the noblest house of the cite of ROME, and to proclaim him his successor in the Empire. At that time there was one *Marcus Otho*, of a noble house, but euer geuen to sensualitye and pleasure from his cradell, as much as any ROMANE could be. And as *Homer* oftentimes doth call *Parris*, the husbande of the fayer *Helen*, naming him by the name of his wife, bicause he had no other commendable vertue in him: euen so *Otho* came to be knownen in ROME, by marrying *Poppæa*, whome *Nero* loued when she was *Crispinus* wife, howbeit bearing some respect to his wife, and being affrayed also of his mother, he had intised *Otho* to be his bawde vnto her. *Nero* loued *Otho* dearly, and muche delighted in his companie, bicause he was so good a fellow and free of his fleshe: and was verie glad sometime to heare howe he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as *Nero* on a time was noyting him selfe with pretious oyles and perfumes, he cast a litle vpon *Otho* as he went by: who the next day made him a feast in his house, where sodainlie were thrust into the hall, diuers vessells of gold and siluer full of this perfumed oyle, that ranne out of them like conduit water, and did wette all the hall. So *Otho* hauing first possessed *Poppæa*, and abused her vnder hope of *Neroes* loue: he perswaded her to be diuorced from her husband. The which she did, and he receiued her home to his owne house, as his lawfull wife: not being so well pleased to haue parte, as he was sorie and angrie also to let an other enioy her. Now *Poppæa* her selfe (as it is reported) did not mislike this his gealouzie, for sometimes the woulde shut her dore against *Nero*, though *Otho* were not within: either bicause he would keepe *Nero* in breath, and in loue liking still, or else as some thought, bicause he would not haue *Cæsar* to her husbande, and likewise that he would not refuse him for her friend, bicause she was wantonly geuen. But for it is, *Otho* was in daunger of his life by marrying of *Poppæa*: and so was it also a strange thing, that *Nero* hauing put his wife and sister to death, only to mary *Poppæa*, he did yet pardon *Otho*, and saued his life. Howbeit it was for *Senecaes* sake that was his frende, through whose perswasion he was sent to the furthest parte of SPAYNE alongest the Ocean sea, to be Gouvernour of LVSIANIA. And there he gouerned so wisely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troublefome vnto the contry: knowing that this honorable charge was geuen him, only to mitigate and hide his banishment. Afterwarde when *Galba* had rebelled, he was the first of all the Gouvernours of the prouinces that ioyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both gold and siluer, vnto the mynt maister, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and so to be conuerted into currant coyne. Moreover he gaue of his officers vnto *Galba*, those which he thought the meetest men to serue a Prince: and otherwise, when he was tried, he shewed him selfe as faithfull and skilfull in matters of state, as any one that followed the Emperours traine. Insomuch as all the way he went many dayes iorney in coach with *Galba* him selfe, and did maruelouslie currie fauour with *Titus Iunius*, bestowing great gifts vpon him, and also entreteining him with plea-

Tumult amongst the
souldiers and
legions of the
Romans in
Germany.

Otho's mar-
riage.

Poppæa, O-
tho's wife.

Otho first
proprator in
to Lusitania.

fauour

A first species: but specially, bicause he willingly gaue him the vpper hād whereby he was assured to be the second person in credit about *Galba*. So in all that he did, he far excelled *Iunius*, for that he graited mens lures frackly & freely without one penny taking, & was betides easy to be spoke with of euery man that had any sute to him: but specially of the souldiers, whom he did greatly help & further, & caused diuers also to be called to honorable office, he himselfe partly mouing the Emperour for the, without any labor or sute, made vnto him, & partly also obteining the at *Iunius* hāds, & of the two infrachifted bondme of *Galba*, *Seclus* & *Aspasius*. For, these three men did beare all the sway & credit about the Emperour in the court. Moreover, alwaies when he intised the Emperour to his house, he bribed the Prætorian gard that waited vpon him, & gaue euery souldier a crown. Now this in sight, seemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperour with.

B though in deede it was a fine deuise to ouerthrow him, to bribe the souldiers in that sort as he did. So *Galba* consulting whom he should make his successor: *T. Iunius* preferred *Otho* vnto him, the which he did not simply of himselfe, nor without reward, but only with promise that *Otho* should marry his daughter if *Galba* did adopt him his sonne, & proclaim him successor in the Empire. Howbeit *Galba* did alway specially regard the common wealth before his priuat liking, & sought to adopt such a one, as should not so much please himselfe, as otherwise he should be profittable & meete for the Empire. But surely in my opinion, *Galba* would not make *Otho* his heire of his goods, considering what an vnreasonable speeder he was, & how sumptuous in all his things, & besides, far gone in det for he ought aboute fise thousand Myriades. So when he had heard *Iunius* coucell about this adoptiō, he gely without other answer, did put ouer his determination vntil another time, & made *Otho* only Cōsul at that time, & *T. Iunius* Cōsul with him, whereby it was straight supposed, that at the beginning of the new yere, he would proclaim him his successor in the Empire. Which was the thing the souldiers most desired of all other. But now, delaying still his determination, the legions of the ROMANES in GERMANIE, did rise & rebel against him al at an instant. For he was generally hated of all his souldiers, bicause he paid the not the gift he had promised them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleged for their cause of rising, that he had dishonorably reiected *Verginius Rufus*: and that the GAULES which had fought against the, were rewarded with great & rich priuileges, & they that tooke not part with *Vindex*, had bene grievously punished & put to death. Moreover, that *Galba* did only honor *Vindex* death after he was dead, as acknowledging his goodwill vnto him,

D offering publike oblatiōs & funeral sacrifices for him, as if by him only he had bene proclaimed Emperour. Now such speches & rumors ran through the cape amongst the, whē the first day of the yere came, which the ROMANES call the calends of Ianuary, on which day whē *Flaccus* had called the souldiers together, to sweare them to the Emperour according to the custome: they plucked down *Galbaes* images, & sware only in the name of the people, & the Senate of ROMANE. The captaines seeing what course they tooke, were as much afraid of the daunger to be without a head, as they stood doubtful of the mischief of their rebellio. So there stept vpon one amongst the & said, My fellows in armes, what do we meane? We neither choose any other Emperour, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperour at this present: whereby we shew plainly, that we do not only refuse *Galba*, but also all other to be our head & Emperour that may commaund vs. Now for *Flaccus* Ordeinens, that is but *Galbaes* shadow and image: I would wish we should let him alone there as he is. And for *Vitellius*, gouernour of the lower GERMANIE, he is not farre from vs, but one daies iorney only, whose father was Censor at ROMANE, and thrise also Cōsul, and that was in a maner a Peere and companion of *Clodius Cæsar* in the gouernment of the Empire: whose pouerty if any man mislike in him, is a manifest prooffe of his goodnes and magnanimity. Him therefore let vs choofe, & let the world know that we can tell how to choofe an Emperour, better then the SPANYARDS or LVSIANIANS. Some of the souldiers that stood by, confirmed these words, but others also misliked of the inlomuch that amōg the rest there was an ensigne bearer that stole secretly out of the cape, to cary *Vitellius* newes hereof, who that night made a great supper, & had great store of good cōpany with him. These newes rūning straight through his cape, *Fabius Vales*, colonel of a legiō, came the next morning with a great nūber of horseme, & was the first mā that named *Vitellius* Emperour, who before seemed to refuse that name, as one that was afraid to take the charge of so great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full

Others credit
about Galba.

Otho's pra-
dise, affraying
to the Em-
pire.

The legions
in Germanie
doe rebel a-
gainst Galba.

The souldiers
doe rebel a-
gainst Galba.

B B B B B

Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus, but not of Caesar. Vitellius named Emperor by the soldiers.

Galba adopted Piso his successor.

Enll. signs appeared on Galba.

Protoner prediction of Otho's Empire.

Otho, and Tiberius, who so called by the Romans. Otho bridled the Praetorian soldiers.

The preface of Ombrius the South-fayer, touching the reason predicted against Galba.

of wine & meate, he came out among the, & accepted the name of *Germanicus* which they gave him, & refused the name of *Caesar*. But therewithall incōtinently after, *Flaccus* souldiers, leaving their goodly popular oth which they had sworn in the name of the people & Senate, they all then tooke their othes faithfully to doe what it should please the Emperour *Vitellius* to command them. Thus *Vitellius* was chosen Emperour in Germany. So *Galba* hearing of this new change, thought it not good to deferre time any longer for the adoption he had intended, wherefore certainly vnderstanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with *Delabella*, & the most part of the with *Otho*, he neither liking the one nor the other, lodainly without any word spake to any man, he sent for *Piso*, (that was the younger sonne of *Craffus* & *Piso*, whom *Nero* had put to death) a young man faire conditioned, & shewed by his graue & modest countenance he had by nature, that he was indued with many noble vertues. *Galba* came downe presently fro his pallace, & went straight to the cape to proclaim *Piso* *Caesar*, & his succesor in the Empire. Howbeit at his setting out of his pallace, there appeared many great signes in the firmament which followed him. And moreover, when he was also come into his cape, & that he began to say without booke part of his oratio, & partly also to read it lightened all the while he spake, & there fel such a great shower of raine vpon it, & a maruelous thick mist in the cape, & ouer all the city, that mē might easily se the gods did not like this adoption, & that it would not prosper. The souldiers the felues shewed their discontentment by their heauy looks, & the rather, because at that time there was no spech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also, maruelled much for that they could gather by the countenance & words of *Piso* that *Piso* nothing reioiced at this great fauor, although he lacked not wit & vnderstanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found easely by *Otho*'s looks, many signes & proofes that he was maruelously offended in his mind, to see that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the mā that was first spokē of, & thought most worthwhile of all other, & being come also to nere vnto in now to see himselfe thus wiped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine prooffe that *Galba* had no good opinion of him, & that he maliced him in his hart, so that after that time he fell stood in feare of his life. For he being afraid of *Piso*, having also *Galba*, & being grieuouly offended with *T. Iunius*, he wēt his way full of diuers thoughts in his mind. For the Soothsayers, Astronomers, & Chaldeans which he euer kept about him, they did perswade him not to be discouraged for this, & to cast all hope aside; but specially one *Protoner*, in whom he had great confidence, because he had oftentimes before foretold and assured him, that *Nero* should not put him to death, but contrarily, that *Nero* should die first, & he himselfe suruiue him, & should become Emperour of Rome. Whereby *Protoner* hauing proued his first prediction true vnto him, he had him be bold, & feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly complained vnto him, did prick him forward the more, sighing to see him so euil delt with by *Galba*, & diuers of the chiefly, which bare great authority & credit about *Tigellinus* & *Nymphidius* who being the cast off, & discountenanced, came all vnto him, & stirred him vp the more. As amongst others, *Veturius* & *Barburius* chiefly, of the which the one had bene *Othio*, and the other *Tesserarius*: (for so the Romans call those that be their messengers, spials, & officers to the Captaines) who with an infranchised bondman of his called *Onomastus*, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted some souldiers with ready money, & other some with faire words, being of them felues euil inclined, & expected but occasion to vtter their malice. For otherwise, had the souldiers bene all of one mind, it had not bene an enterprize to haue bene brought to passe in foure dayes space (being no more betwixt the adoption and murder) to make a whole campe rebell in that sorte. For they were slaine the fifteenth day of Ianuarie, on which day *Galba* did sacrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his frends. But at that time the Soothsayer called *Ombrius*, when he had the intralls of the beastes sacrificed in his hands, & had looked vpon them: he spake not doutfully, but plainly, that he saw signes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in present danger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the goddes had put *Galba* into *Otho*'s hands: for he stood at that time behind *Galba*, & both heard & saw all that the Soothsayer did. So he seeming to be grieued withall in his minde, and his colour changing oft for the feare he was in: his infranchised bondeman *Onomastus* came and tolde him that the mafons and chiefe

A chiefe carpenters were come to speake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch word agreed vpon betwene them, at which tyme *Otho* should then goe vnto the souldiers. Then *Otho* sayd, that he went to looke to an olde house he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would shewe it vnto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call *Tiberius* house, into the market place, where the golden pillar standeth, where also the greatest high wayes of all *ITALIE* doe meete together. There certaine met him that first called him Emperour, which were not in all about three & twentie persons. Thereupon, though *Otho* was not vncontent as it appeared, notwithstanding he was so fine and effeminate a man, but rather resolute and stout in instant danger: yet feare so oppressed him at that time, that he would faine haue left his enterprize. Howbeit the souldiers would not suffer him, but compassing his litter rounde about with their armes, and their swords drawne in their hands, they commaunded the litter men to go forward. So *Otho* as he went hastening on his driuers, he often muttered to him selfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwise troubled, to see such a small nūber of men about him, that they durst venter vpon so hard an enterprize. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three & by foure in a company: all the which came and ioyned with him, & cried *Caesar, Caesar*, having their swords drawn in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to gard the field of *Mars*, knew nothing of this conspiracy, but being amazed and affraied with their loudaine comming, he suffred them to come in. So when *Otho* was come in, he found no man that resisted him. For they that knew nothing of the practise, being compassed in with those that were made priuy to it, & had known it of long time: being found straggling here and there, by one & by two, they followed the rest for feare at the first, & afterwards for good will. This was brought straight to *Galba* to the pallace, the Soothsayer being yet busie about his sacrifice: inso much that they which before gaue no credit to those diuinations, began then to maruell much at this heauenly signe. Then there ran immediately a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Therupon *Iunius* & *Lacon*, & certaine other of *Galba*'s infranchised bondmen, stoode to gard *Galba*'s person with their swordes drawn in their hāds. *Piso* also went out to speake vnto the souldiers that garded the Emperours person. Moreover, because the *ILLYRIAN* legion lay out of the campe in a place called *Vipsantus*: they dispatched away *Marius Celsus* with all speed, a very honest man, to get that place. *Galba* in the meane time stood in doubt whether he should come out of the pallace or not: for *Iunius* would not let him goe, but *Celsus* and *Lacon* perswaded him to go out. Inso much as they fell at great words with *Iunius*, that went about to dissuade him from it. In this flurre, there ranne a rumor that *Otho* was slaine in the field. Immediately after came *Tubius Atticus*, one of the noblest souldiers of all the Emperours gard, & shewed his sword drawn, crying that he had slaine *Caesar*'s enemy: and thrust through the prease, and got to *Galba*, and shewed him his sword bloodied. *Galba* looking him in the face, asked him who commaunded him to doe it. The souldier answered him: the faith & othe he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that stoode by cried out it was nobly done of him, & clapped their hands for ioy. Then *Galba* taking his litter, went out of his pallace to doe sacrifice to *Iupiter*, and also to shew him selfe openly: Howbeit he was no soner come into the market place, but he heard contrarie newes, that *Otho* was Lord and Maister of the whole campe, and armie. Then, as it happeneth in so great a prease of people, some cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would haue him to goe forward: others had him be affrayed of nothing, and others willed him to looke to him selfe. So his litter being thus turnoyled to and fro, as toft vpon the sea, sometime borne backe, other while caried forward: first of all they saw certaine horsemen, and then footemen also armed, comming from *Paulus* pallace, all of them together crying out with loud voice, hence, hence, priuat man. Then all the people set vpon a running, not flying disperedly, but in heapes vpon porches and stalls in the market place, as it had bene to haue seene some fight or sport. Then one called *Attilius* * *Sarcello*, ouerthrew one of the images of *Galba*, which was as it were a beginning of open warres. Others rounde about threwe darts on euerie side of him against his litter. But when they sawe they could not kill him, then they came neerer to his litter

Otho called Emperour.

Otho received of the Praetorian souldiers.

A flames full of a souldier.

Tutus for Galba.

Tactus dost call him Virgilia.

with their swords drawn in their hands; and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to defende him, sauing one man onely, whom the Sunne sawe that day, amongst so many throw-fands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome: and he was called * *Sempronius*. He hauing receiued priuately no manner of pleasure at *Galbaes* handes, but only to discharge his othe and duetie: stepped before the litter, and lifting vp a vine braunche he had in his hand (with which the ROMANE Capitaines doe vse to beate their souldiers that haue offended) he fell out with them that did fet vpon him, and prayed them to holde their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the ende when he saw they would not leaue, but that they fell to it in good earnest: he then drew his sword, and bare of the blowes as well as he could, vntill they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then *Galbaes* litter being ouerthrowen right in the place called *Curuius* lake: *Galba* lay on the ground armed in his curaces. The traitorous souldiers flew vpon him, and gaue him many a wounde: and *Galba* holding out his necke vnto them, bad them strike hardily, if it were to do their contrie good. So he had many wounds on his armes and his thighes, as it is reported: howbeit the souldier that slue him, was called *Camurius*, of the fifteenth legion. Others doe reporte that it was one *Terentius*, other also say *Arcadius*. And some other doe call him *Fabius Fabulus*: who hauing striken of his head, wrapped it in the lappe of his gowne, because he could not otherwise take holde of it, for that he was all balde. Howbeit his fellowes and confortes would not suffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done should be seene. Therefore he set it vpon the point of his launce, and so shaking the face of this poore olde man, (a wife and temperate Prince, and chiefe Bishoppe, and Confull) he ranne vp and downe (like madde women possessed with the spirite and furie of *Bacchus* at the feastes of *Bacchus*) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare blood. When his head was brought to *Otho*, it is sayd he cried out aloud: tuth, my fellowes, this is nothing: vnlesse you bring me also *Pisoes* head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * *Marcus*, who slue him hard by the temple of *Vesta*. So did they also kill *Titus Iunius*: who openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracie against *Galba*, and cried out to them that slue him, that *Otho* did not know they did kill him. This notwithstanding, the souldiers strake of his head, and *Lacois* also, and brought them both to *Otho* to receiue the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet *Archilochus* sayth:

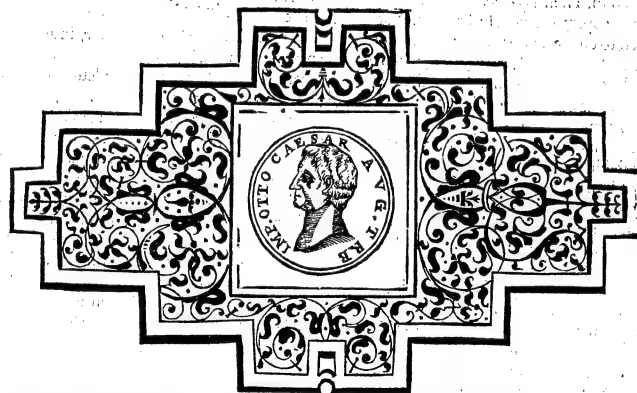
*Of seven peradventure slaine dead on the ground,
A thovrusd and vntill say, that they all gaue the vround.*

So there were diuers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murder, had bloodied all their handes and swordes, and so shewed them bloodied to haue rewarde also: but *Vitellius* notwithstanding made inquirie of them afterwarde, and caused them to be put to death. There came into the fiedle also, one *Marinus Celsus*, whome diuers men accused to haue perswaded the souldiers to aide *Galba*, and the common people cried out, and bad he shoulde be put to death. Howbeit *Otho* would not suffer them to kill him: and yet being afraied to contrarie the souldiers mindes, he tolde them they shoul not kill him so rashly, because he was first to learne some thinges more of him. So he commaunded them to binde him, and deliuered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Afterwards, the Senate were presentlie assembled: who, as if men had bene sodainlie chaunged from them they were, or as if there had bene new goddes, they all sware by the name of *Otho*, (the which othe he him selfe had before sworne vnto *Galba*, and did not keepe it) and called him besides, *Augustus*, and *Cesar*, the bodies of them that were slaine lying yet headles on the ground in the market place, all in their Confull robes. And as for their heades, the souldiers after they could tell no more what to doe with them, they folde the heade of *Titus Iunius* vnto his daughter, for the summe of two thousande five hundred Drachmas. And for *Pisoes* head, his wife through in-treatie, begged it of one called *Veranius*. On the other side, for *Galbaes* head, they gaue it vnto *Patrobis* and *Vitellius* seruantes: who, after they had vled it as vilelie as they coulde, deuise, they threwe it at length in a place, where their bodies are cast, whome the *Cesars* put to death, the which they call *Sestertium*. Nowe for his bodie, *Heluidius Priscus*, through *Ochoes* sufferance, caried it away, and *Argius*, one of his infranchised bondmen, buried it by night.

Thus

A Thus haue you heard the historie of *Galba*, a man that in nobilitie and wealth was inferior to few ROMANES, and in them both was the chieffest man of all his time, and had alway liued in honorable fame and estimation, in the raigne of fise Emperours. So that he ouercame *Nero* by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his owne force and power. For of them that stroue to make them felues Emperours at that time, some found no man that thought them worthe of it: others did put forth them felues, as thinking them felues worthe of it. Howbeit *Galba* was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vsing his name against *Vindex* boldnesse: whereby he procured, that his rising (which before was called innouation and rebellion) was then called ciuill warre, after that his faction came to haue a man to be their head; thought worthe to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not so muche desire to be Emperour for him selfe, as to doe good to his contrie and common wealth. But yet he erred, in seeking to commaunde the souldiers whom *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius* had spoyle by their flatteries: euen as in olde time *Scipio*, *Fabricius*, and *Camillus* did commaunde the souldiers of the Empire of Rome at that time. So he being now a vetie olde man, shewed him selfe a good Emperour and after the old sorte, in his behauiour towards the souldiers only: but in all other things else, being caried away with the couetousnes of *T. Iunius* and *Laco*, and of other his infranchised bondmen, he left none desirous to be gouerned by him, but many that were forie for his death.

THE LIFE OF Otho.



THE next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the Capitoll, and sacrificed, and there sent for *Marinus Celsus* to come vnto him, whom he curteously saluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cause of his imprisonment, then to remember his deliuerie. *Marinus Celsus* made him a wife and noble aunswere againe, and sayd that the matter for the which they would haue accused him vnto him, did witnes his behauiour, shewing him selfe faithfull vnto *Galba*, who neuer did him any pleasure. Thele words of them both did maruelouslie please the people: & so did they like the souldiers also wonderfully well. Moreouer, after he had verie fauorable and gracioulie taken order for matters in the Senate,

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* *Cornelius Tacitus* doth call him *Den-sus*.

The yellownesse and fidelitie of *Sempronius* in discharge of his othe to the Emperour *Galba*. The death of *Sempronius*. The death of *Galba*: & his wordes at his death.

* Others doe reced *Marcus*. The murdres of *Piso*, and *T. Iunius*.

The Senate swore by the name of *Otho*.

Cicero headed: sold at Rome.

Others moderation as the beginning of his raigue.

the rest of the time he had to be Consul, he employed partly about *Verminus Rufus*, and did also establish them Consuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignitie by *Nero*, or otherwise by *Galba*: and he also honored the oldest Senators and of greatest estimation with certaine Priesthoodes. Besides all this, he restored vnto all those Senators that were banished by *Nero*, and called home againe, all their goodes yet vnfold. Whereupon the chiefe Magistrates and noble men of the citie that quaked before for feare, supposing that he was not a man, but rather a deuill or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling and gracious taigne they were so lately entred into. Moreover, nothing pleased all the *Romans* together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men so muche, as that he did vnto *Tigellus*. For it was punishment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the punishment euerie man threatened him withall, as a thing due to the commonwealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his bodie was infected withall. Now, though the noble men thought his vnreasonable insolency and lust of the flesh, (following naughtie packes, and common strumpets, burning still in filthie concupiscence) an extreame punishment, comparable to many deaths, and being also no better then a dead man in maner, still following pleasure and sensualitye as long as he coulde: this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they shoulde see suche a wicked creature as he liue, that had put so many noble men to death. So *Otho* sent for him, who liued verie pleasauntlie at his houses in the contrie, by the citie of *Sinessa*, and had shippes euere ready vpon the sea coast, to fite if necessitie draue him to it. Thereupon he first sought to bribe him with money, which was sent with commission to apprehend him, and perswaded him to let him scape; but when he saw he could not frame him to his minde, yet he refrayned not to geue him gifts, and prayed him to geue him leaue to shauie his beard. The other graunted him. Then *Tigellus* tooke a razor, and did cut his owne throte. So *Otho* hauing pleased the people thus well, he sought not otherwise to be reuenged of his priuate injuries. Moreover, to currie fauour with the common people, he refused not to be called *Nero*, in any open assemblies at the Theaters. Also when certaine priuate men had set vp *Neros* images in open sight, *Otho* was not offended withall: but moreover *Clodius Rufus* writeth, that letters patents & commissions were sent into *Spain* by posts, subscribing the goodly name of *Nero*, with the name of *Otho*. Howbeit when it came to his eares that the noble men of *Rome* misliked of it, he left it off, and would wryte it no more in his letters. So *Otho* hauing begonne in this sorte to stablish his Empire, the souldiers maruelouslie troubled him. For they continually perswaded him to take heede to him selfe, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neere vnto him: the which they did, either for that in deede they bearing him good will, were affrayed some trecherie or treason would be secretlie practised against him: or else it was some fained deuise to set all together by the eares, and to bring it to ciuill warre. For when *Otho* him selfe had sent *Crispinus* with his seuenteenth legion to bring him certaine prisoners, and that *Crispinus* was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commission, hauing laden carts with armor and weapon for his souldiers: the desperatest and boldest men among them, began to crie out, and sayd that *Crispinus* ment no good in his hart, and that the Senate went about to make some change and sturre, and that his armor and weapons were not for *Cesar*, but against him. These wordes moued many mens consciences, and made them to rebell: so that some layed hold vpon the carts to stay them, others slue two Centurions out of hande, and *Crispinus* him selfe also that would haue stayed them. Thereupon all of them together, one incoring another, went directly to *Rome*, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, vnderstanding that there were foure score Senators at supper with the Emperour, they ranne straight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occasion offered them to kill all *Casars* enemies at a clappe. Hereupon all *Rome* was straight in armes, looking immediately after to be sacked and spoyled of all that euer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, *Otho* him selfe also being in great feare and distresse. For men might easelie see he was affrayed, because of his ghesstes he had bidden, not for him selfe, seeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not speaking a word vnto him, but staring on him still, and speciallie those that came and brought their wiues with them to supper.

So

A So *Otho* sodainly sent the Capitaines vnto the souldiers & commaunded them to speake with them, & to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the borde, and conueyed his ghesstes out of his pallace by secret posternes. So they saued them selues, passing through the souldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of *Casars* enemies. So the Emperour rising from his bedde, he pacified them with gentle wordes, the teares standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he sent them all away. The next morning he liberallie bestowed vpon euery souldier, a shewlande two hundred and fiftie Drachmas: and then he went into the market place, & there gaue great commendation to the common people for their readie good will they had shewed vnto him: howbeit, he said there were some among them, that vnder colour B and pretex of honestie, did commit many lewde partes, and made his goodnesse and grace towards them to be euill spoken of, and their constancie and faith also to be misliked of, and prayed them his grieft might be theirs, and that the offenders might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him alowde he should doe it. So *Otho* thereupon caused two of them only to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatlie offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loued and trusted him, marueled much to see this change. Other were of opinion, that it stoode him vpon to doe so, to winne the souldiers harts, because of the warre at hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all partes, that *Vitellius* had taken vpon him the authoritie to be Emperour, and posts came to him one in an others necke, to tel him that numbers of people came in daily to submit them selues vnto *Vitellius*. Others tolde him also, how the legions remayning in *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mysia*, had chosen *Otho*. Immediately after, frendly letters were brought him also from *Mutianus* and *Vespasianus*, the one of them being in *Syria*, and the other in *Iudea*, with great and mightie armies. Whereupon *Otho* geuing credit vnto them, wrote vnto *Vitellius*, and bad him beware how he meddled with any deeper enterprise, then became a priuate souldier: and that he would geue him golde and siluer enough, and a great citie, where he might liue quietly, and take his pleasure. *Vitellius* gently answered him at the first, and sported with him: but afterwards they falling out one with another, spitefull letters were sent betwixt either parties, one of them reproaching an other, not falsly but fondly, and foolishly detecting eche others vices. For in deede it was hard to iudge, which of them two was most licentiouslie geuen, most D effeminate, least skilfull, poorer, or most indetted before. Nowe at that time they talked of wonderful signes that had bene sene: howbeit they were but flying tales, & there was no man to iustifie them. But in the Capitoll there was the image of *Victorie* set vpon a triumphing chariot: the which euery bodie saw did let slacke the reynes of the bridles of the hories which she had in her handes, as though she could not stay them any more. The statue of *Caius Cesar* also within the lland, which standeth in the middelt of the riuer of *Tiber* at *Rome*, without any earthquake or storme of winde, turned of it selfe from the West to the East: the which (as it is reported) chaunced about the time that *Vespasian* began to take vpon him to be Emperour. Many also tooke the ouerflowing of the riuer of *Tiber* for an euill signe. For in deede it was at that time of the yeare when riuers do swell most, yet was it neuer so great before, neither had E it euer done so much hurt as it did at that time. For it had ouerflown her bankes, and drowned the most parte of the citie, and specially the corne market: in somuche that they suffered famine many dayes after in *Rome*. In all this sturre, newes came that *Cecinna* and *Valens*, (two of *Vitellius* Capitaines) had taken the mountaines of the *Alpes*: and moreover in *Rome*, *Dolabella* a noble man, was suspected by the Praetorian souldiers, that he practised some treason. Now *Otho*, either because he was affrayed of him, or of some other: he sent him to the citie of *Aquinum*, promising him he shoulde haue no other hurte. Then choosing the choycest gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, and did not deprime him of any ioy of his honor and dignitie. Moreover, he was verie carefull to see his wife and mother safe, that they shoulde not be affrayed of them selues. Besides all this, he appointed *Flauius Sabinus*, *Vespasians* brother, Governour of *Rome* in his absence: and did it for *Neros* sake, who had afore geuen him the same honor and authoritie the which *Galba* had taken from him: or els to make *Vespasian* see, that he loued & trusted him.

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Tigellus
killeth him
selfe.Otho at the
beginning of
his reigne,
ooke vpon
him the name
of Nero.Tumult a-
mongst the
Praetorian
souldiers.The death of
Crispinus.Others libe-
ralitie to the
souldiers.Vitellius re-
bellion.Small diffe-
rence between
Otho and Vi-
telli: mag-
ners of iustice.
V'Vander
sene as
Rems.The wonder-
full ouerflow-
ing of the ri-
uer of Tiber.

So he tarried behinde at BRESILL, a cite standing vpon the riuer of Po: and sent his armie before vnder the conduct of *Marius Celsus*, of *Suuetonius Paulinus*, and of *Gallus* and *Spurina*, all noble and great personages, howbeit they could not haue their wills to rule the armie as they woulde, bicause of the insolencie and stubbornes of the souldiers, who would haue no other Captaines but the Emperour only, saying that he, and none other, should command them. In deede, the enemies souldiers alio were not muche wiser, nor more obedient to their Captaines, but were braue and lustie vpon the selfe same occasion: howbeit they had this aduantage ouer the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres, and could away with paines and hardnes, and neuer thronge from it. Whereas the Prætorian souldiers that came from ROME, were fine mealed mouthed men, bicause they had bene long from the warres, & had liued at ease in ROME, and taken their pleasure in banketing & playes: and therefore in a brauery and idoly, they would needes haue men thinke that they did dained to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that when *Spurina* would haue compelled them, he was in daunger of death, and escaped verie narrowly that they slue him not. For they thucke not to reuile him, and geue him as fowle words as they could: calling him traitor, and cursing him, saying that he married all *Cæsars* affaires. Yea and there were some of them that hauing their full cuppes went in the night to his tent, to aske him leaue to depart, saying that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flowte they had geuen them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of PLACENTIA, did stand *Spurina* and his affaires to great purpose. For *Vitellius* souldiers coming hard to the walls of the cite, did mocke *Orhoes* men that were at the cranewes of the same, and called them fine daunsers, and goodly stage players, that had scene nothing but playes and feasts: and that for feats of armes, and battells, they knewe not what it meant: and that the greatest aife they euer did, was for that they strake of the head of a poore naked olde man, meaning by *Galba*: and that to come to fight a battell in the fild before men, their hartes were in their heeles. These vile words gallied them to the hart, and made them so mad withall, that they came of them selues to pray *Spurina* to commaund them what he thought good, promising that from thence forth they would neuer refuse any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon, there was a hotte assault geuen to the city of PLACENTIA, with great store of sundry engines. Howbeit *Spurinaes* men had the better, and hauing with great slaughter repulled the assailants, they faued one of the goodliest, the greatest, and most flourishing cities of all ITALIE. So *Orhoes* Captaines were farre more familiar, courteous, and ciuill to deale with cities and priuate men, then *Vitellius* souldiers were. For, of *Vitellius* Captaines, *Cecinna*, was neither for person nor maners accompanyable for the people, but strange, monstrous, & troublesome to see him only, a mightie made man wearing gallie gaskons, and coates with fleues, after the facion of the GAYLES, and spake in this attire vnder the ensigne bearers, and Captaines of the ROMANES. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted a horsebacke, gallantlike apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choycest men of armes of all the companies. The other, *Fabius Valens*, he was so couetous, that no spoyle of enemies, no polling of subiects, nor bribes taken of their friends and confederats, could quenche or satisfie his vnstatiable couetousnes: whereby it seemeth that this was the let, that coming on so slowly, he was not at the first battell. Howbeit others do blame *Cecinna* for it, that made too much haile, for the desire he had to haue the only honor of the victory to him selfe: & this was the cause, that besides his other light fautes, he also made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and season, and when it came to the poynt in deede, yet he fought it not out valiantly, so that he had almost cast all away. For when he had the repulse from PLACENTIA, he went vnto CREMONA an other great cite. And *Annius Gallus* going to aide *Spurina*, who was besieged in the cite of PLACENTIA: when he heard by the way that the PLACENTINES had the better, and that the CREMONENSES were in great daunger and distresse: he marched thither with his army, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that also, the other Captaines of either side came to aide their men. Howbeit *Cecinna* hauing layed a great number of his best souldiers well armed in ambushe, in certaine thicke groues and woddes: he commaunded his

The frowd-
nes of Orho
and Vitellius
souldiers.

Placitas: the
fertilitie
of all laine.

The praise of
Orhoes Cap-
taines, and
dispraise of
Vitellius Cap-
taines.

Fabius Val-
ens.

Cremona a
goodly cite.

A horsemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retyre lide and lide, making as though they fled, vntill they had drawn them within his ambush. So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambush vnto *Marius Celsus*, who came against them with his choyce men of armes, and did not followe them ouertrahly, but compassed in the place where the ambush lay, the which he raised, and in the meane time sent to his campe with all possible speede to his footemen to make haile thitherward: and it seemeth, that if they had comen in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched vpon the bellies of all *Cecinnas* armie, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should haue done. But *Paulinus* being comen too late to aide them, for that he came so slowly: he was burdened that he did not the duetie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenance he carried. Furthermore, the common souldiers accused him of treason vnto *Orho*, and stirred vp their Emperour against him, and spake verie bigge words of them selues, saying, that they had ouercomen for their owne partes, had not the cowardlines of their Captaines bene, who put them by the victory. So *Orho* did not trust him so much, that he would not make him beleue but that he mistrusted somewhat. Therefore he sent his brother *Titianus* to the campe, and *Proculus* with him, Captaine of the Prætorian garde, who in deede commaunded all, but in sight *Titianus* had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenaunt. *Marius Celsus*, and *Paulinus* followed after, bearing name of counsellers and frends only: howbeit otherwise they meddled with nothing, neither had any authoritie geuen them. On the other side, the enemies were in as much trouble as they; and those specially, whom *Valens* led. For when newes was brought of the conflict that was betweene them in this ambushe, they were angrie with him, bicause they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were slaine: inso much that he had much a doe to pacifie and quiet them, that they were so ready to haue flowne vpon him. So *Valens* at length remoued his campe, & went & ioyned with *Cecinna*. Howbeit *Orho* being comen to his campe at the towne of BABRACVM, which is a litle towne hard by CREMONA: he consulted with his Captaines whether he should geue battell or not. So *Proculus* and *Titianus* gaue him counsell to fight, considering that the souldiers were verie willing to it, by reason of the late victorie they had wonne, and wished him not to deferre it: for thereby he shoulde but discourage his armie, which was now willing to fight, and also geue their enemies leasure to tarie for their Chieftaine *Vitellius*, who came D him selfe out of GAYLE. But *Paulinus* in contrarie manner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power present, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas *Orho* looked for an other armie out of MYSTIA and PANNONIA, as great an armie as his enemies had already, so that he could tary his time, & not serue his enemies turne: and also, that if the souldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they shoulde then be much more incouraged, when they should haue greater companie, and should also fight with better safetie. Furthermore he perswaded them, that to delay time was for their auail, considering that they had plentie and store of all maner of prouision: where the enemies on thother side being also in their enemies contrie, their vittells would quickly faile them. *Marius Celsus* liked verie well of these perswasions. E And so did *Annius Gallus*, who was not present at this counsell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fall he had from his horse) but he was wrytten to by *Orho* to haue his opinion also. So *Annius Gallus* returned aunswere, that he thought it not best to make haile, but to stay for the armie that came out of MYSTIA, considering they were onwarde on their way. Howbeit *Orho* would not hearken to this counsell, but followed their mindes that concluded of battell: for the which were alleaged diuers occasions. But the chieftest and likeliest cause of all was, that the souldiers which are called the Prætorian gard (being the dayly gard about the Emperours person) finding then in effect what it was to proffesse to be a souldier, and to liue like a souldier: they lamented their continuing in ROME, where they liued at ease & pleasure, feasting and banketing, neuer feeling the discomforts and bitter paines of warre, and did therefore so earnestly crie out to fight, that there was no staying of them, as if they should at their first crie and setting forward, haue ouerthrowen their enemies. Moreover, it seemed also that *Orho* him selfe could no more away with the feare and doubt of the vncertaine successe

Paulinus, O-
rtho's Cap-
taines, accused
for a coward.

Retracum a
towne by Cre-
mona.

Orhoes con-
sultation of
giving battell.

Refreshment
souldiers ha-
me their
pleasures life
at Rome, fea-
ring the
paines and
fears of a
souldier.

*Secundus the
Orator, seere-
narie vices O-
tho the Empe-
rour.*

*Vitellius: a
drunkard and
glutton.
Otho: a wan-
ton and licen-
tious liver.
The rancor of
Bressilius in
hard by the
vices of Pa-*

to come, neither could any longer abide the grievous thoughts of the daunger of his estate, A he was so effeminate, and vnacquainted with sorowe, and paines. This was the cause that carried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put all at adventure. The matter is thus reported by *Secundus* the Orator, and *Othoes* Secretary. Others also doe report, that both armies had diuers determinations and mindes: as to ioyne all together in one campe, and ioyntly to choofe among them, if they could agree, the worstest man of all the Capitaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a place together, & there to suffer the Senators to choofe such a one Emperour, as they liked best. And sure it is verie likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called Emperours, was thought meete for the place they had: and therefore that these counsellors and considerations might easily fall into the ROMANES fouldiers heades, (who were B wife men and expert fouldiers) that in deede it was a thing for them iustly to milike, to bring them selues into the like miserable time and calamitie, which their predecessors before them had caused one another to suffer, first for *Sylla* and *Marius* sakes, and afterwards for *Cesar* and *Pompey*, and now to bestow the Empire of ROME either vpon *Vitellius*, to make him the abler to follow his drunkennes and gluttony: or else vpon *Otho*, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moued *Celsus* to delay time, hoping to end the warres without trouble and daunger: and that caused *Otho* also to make the more hast, being affrayed of the same. Howbeit *Otho* returning backe againe to BRESILIUS, he committed another fault, not only because he tooke his mens good wils from thē to fight, the which his presence, and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but because also he caried away with him, for the gard of his person, the valliantest fouldiers & most resolute men of all his host. A- bout that time there chanced a skirmish to fall out by the riuier of Po, because *Cecinna* built a bridge ouer it, & *Othoes* men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they saw they preuailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and drie wodde, all rubbed ouer with brimstone and pitche, and setting them a fire, they lent them downe the streame. When the barges were in the middelt of the freame, there Iodainlie rose a winde out of the riuier, which blew vpon this woddeflake they had prepared to cast among the enemies workes of this bidge, that first made it smoke, and immediately after fell all on a great flame, which did so trouble the men in the barges, that they were driuen to leape into the riuier to saue them selues: and so they lost their barges, and became them selues also prisoners to their enemies, D to their great shame and mockerie. Furthermore, the GERMANES vnder *Vitellius*, fighting with *Othoes* sencers, which of them should winne a litle lland in the middelt of the riuier: they had the vpper hand, and slue many of the sencers. There vpon *Othoes* fouldiers which were in BERIACVM, being in a rage withall, and would nedes fight: *Proculus* brought them into the fildes, and went and camped about fiftie furlong out of the citie, so fondly, and so to lide purpose, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the contrie thereabout full of brookes and riuers, yet they notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their campe to meete with their enemies the same day, and were driuen to march aboue a hundred furlong. Now *Paulinus* perswaded them to go fayer and softly, and not to make more hast then neede, and would not so soone as they should come, (being wearied with their iorney and trauell) let E vpon their enemies that were well armed, and besides had leasure & time enough to let their men in battell ray, whilst they were going so long a iorney with all their cariage. Now the Capitaines being of diuers opinions about this matter, there came a horsefman from *Otho*, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which *Otho* commanded them to make all the hast they could, and to loofe no time, but to marche with all speede towards the enemy. So when these letters were red, the Capitaines presently marched forward with their armie. *Cecinna* vnderstanding of their coming, was attended at the first, and Iodainlie forooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he founde the most parte of his fouldiers already armed, and *Valens* had geuen them their signall & word of bat- F tell. And in the meane time, whilst the legions were taking their places to set them selues in battell ray: they sent out before the choicest horsefmen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cause) that *Vitellius* Capitaines would turne on

Othoes

A *Othoes* side in battell. In somuch that when these men of armes came neare to meete with the yoward of *Othoes* armie: *Othoes* men did speake very gently to them, and called them compa- mions. *Vitellius* men on the other side tooke this salutation in euill parte, and answered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight. In somuch that those that had spokē to them, were quite discouraged: and the residue also beganne to suspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being ready to ioyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies side also, all was out of order: for the beasts of Carriage ranne in amongst them that fought, and so did put them mar- uelously out of order. Besides that also, the disaduauntage of the place where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from another, because of sundry ditches and trenches that were B betwene them, whereby they were compelled to fight in diuers companies together. So there were but two legions onely, the one of *Vitellius*, called the deuourer: and the other of *Otho*, called the helper, which getting out of these holes and ditches a part by them selues, in a good plaine euery ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of batell. *Othoes* fouldiers were men of goodly personages, strong, and valliant of their handes, howbeit they had neuer serued in the warres, nor had euer foughten battell but that. And *Vitellius* men on the other side, were olde beate fouldiers, and had serued all their youth, and knew what warres & battells ment. So when they came to ioyne, *Othoes* men gaue such a lusty charge vpon the first oner, that they ouerthrew, & slue all the first rancke, and also wanne the ensigne of the eagle, *Vitellius* men were so ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke hart againe C vnto them, and ranne in so desperately vpon their enemies, that at the first they slue the colone- nell of all their legion, and wanne diuers ensignes. And furthermore, against *Othoes* sencers, (which were accounted the valliantest men, and readiest of hande) *Varus Alphenus* brought his men of armes called the BATTAYN, which are GERMANES in the lower parte of GERMA- ny, dwelling in an lland compassed about with the riuier of Rhein. There were few of his fen- sers that stucke by it, but the most of them ranne away towards the riuier, where they founde certein ensignes of their enemies set in battell ray, who put them all to the sword, and not a man of them escaped with life. But aboue all other, none proued more beasts & cowards, then the Praetorian gard. For they would not tary till the enemies came to giue them charge, but cowardly turned their backs, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowen, D and so did both disorder them, and also make them affrayd. This notwithstanding, there were a great number of *Othoes* men who hauing ouerthrowen the yoward of them that made head against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were Conquerors, and so valliantly returned backe into their campe. But of their Capitaines, nether *Proculus*, nor *Paulinus*, durst returne backe with them, but fled another way, being affraid of the furey of the fouldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Capitaines. Howbeit *Annius Gallus* receiued them into the citie of BERIACVM, that came together after this ouerthrow, & told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But *Marius Celsus* gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to consultation what they should do in so great a calamitie, & E extreame slaughter of the ROMANES Citizens. For if *Otho* him selfe were an honest man, he should no more attempt fortune: considering that *Caro* and *Scipio* were both greatly blamed, for that they were the cause of casting away many men in AFRICK to no purpose, (though they fought for the libertie of the ROMANES) and onely of selfe will, for that they would not yield to *Iulius Caesar* after he had wonne the battell of PHARSALIA. For though fortune in all o- ther things haue power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, he can not pre- uent them to determine the best for their safetie. These perswasions straight caried away the Capitaines, who went presently to feele the mindes of the priuate fouldiers, whom they found all of them desirous of peace. So *Titianus* perswaded them to send Ambassadors vnto the e- F nemies to treat of peace: and *Celsus* and *Gallus* tooke vpon them the charge to goe thither, for to breake the matter vnto *Cecinna*, and *Valens*. But by the way they met with certen Centu- rions, who told them how all the army of the enemies were coming on wards on their way, to come directly to the citie of BERIACVM, and that their chieftaines had sent before to offer

*Battell be-
twixt the O-
thomians and
Vitellians.
Legions cal-
led by proper
names: De-
uourer, stile
ger.*

*The valliant
ness of the Bat-
taye in warres
Note the rim
service of
Fencers, and
not as fouldie-
ers they be.
The Ordnance
men in battell
by the Vitel-
lians.
The cowards
lines of the
first way
fouldiers.*

*Marius Cel-
sus was one
of the Otho
fouldiers per-
suading them
not to go to Vitel-
lius.*

*Othoes Cap-
taines doe
yield them
selues vnto
Vitellius.*

treaty of peace. *Celsus* and his companion *Gallus* being glad of this, prayed the Centurions A that they would returne with them vnto *Cecinna*. But when they were come neare vnto him, *Celsus* was in great danger of his life: bicaufethe men of armes which he had vnterhowne certain dayes before in an ambush, comming before, when they spied him, they flew vpon him with great howtes. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his compaign, stopped before him, and closed him in: and so did the other Capteines that cryed vnto them, they should do him no hurt. *Cecinna* vnderstanding what the matter was, roade thither, and passed the tumult of these men of armes: and then saluting *Celsus* very curteously, he was with him towards *Aberracum*. But nowe *Titianus* in the meane time, repeatinge vnto himselfe that he had sent Ambassadors vnto the enemies, he placed the desperat soldiers he had vpon the walls of the cite, and incouraged the rest also to doe the like, and to stand to the defense. But *Cecinna* came to the wal, & being a horsebacke, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more resistance, but those that were vpon the walles, saluted the souldiers, and they that were within the cite opened the gates, and thrust in amongst *Vitellius* men; who they coued them, and did no man any hurt, but curteously embraced them, and saluted each other. Then they all sware andooke their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, and so yielded themselves vnto him. So doe the most part of those that were at this battell, report the successe thereof: graunting notwithstanding, that they knew not euery thing that was done, bicaufe of the great disordred among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was stricken, with *Metrius Florus* that had beene Consul: he shewed me an olde man that when the field was fought in that place, was younge, and against his will was at the same battell on *Othos* parte. G Who told vs, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to suruey the number of those that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of those that came to view them. And sayd moreover, that he made inquirie of the matter, but he nether could imagine it him selfe, nor be satisfied by others. Now in deede it is likely, that in ciuill warres betwene contry men of one selfe cite, where one of the two armies is ouerthrowen, that there should be greater slaughter among them, then against the other enemies, bicaufe they take no prisoners of either side: for those they should take, would serue them to no good purpose. But after they were slaine, one to be layed on heapes so by another, that is a hard thing to iudge. But now to the matter. The newes of this ouerthrowe came first but obscurely vnto *Otho*, a common thing in a matter of so great importance: but afterwarde, when some D that were hurt came and brought him certen newes of it, it was no maruell then to see *Othos* friendes and familiers to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheere, and not to be discouraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the priuat souldiers shewed vnto him at that time, did passe and exceede all speech and education. For they forooke him not, nether went they to submit them selues to their enemies the conquerors, netherooke they any regard of them selues, to see their Emperour in that dispayre: but all of them ioyntly together went vnto his lodging, and called him their Emperour. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men represented in a triumph lying on the ground, & kissed his hands, with the reares ronning downe their cheekes, and besought him not to forsake and leaue them to their enemies, but to commaund their persons whilste they had one droppe of blud left in their bodies to doe him seruice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongst others, there was a poore souldier drawing out his sword, sayd vnto him: know, O *Celsus*, that all my companions are determined to dye in this fort for thee, and so Ioue him selfe. But all these lamentable things did neuer melt *Othos* hart: who looking with a stouwe countenance round about him, and casting his eyes euery where, spake vnto them in this maner. I thinke this a more happy day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you first chose me Emperour: to see you loue me so well, and doe me such honor, with so great shew of loyalty. But yet I beseech you not to deny me of a greater fauor, which is: to dye valiantly, and honorably for the sake of so many honest men as you be, and so good Citizens of Rome. If by your election you made me worthy to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne: F I must now needes shewe my selfe an Emperour, not sparing to spend my life, for your and my contries sake. I am certen that the victorie is not altogether myne enemies. For newes are come

Metrius Florus
knew not all
things that
were done at
the battell.

The great
delight of the
soldiers, vnto
the Empe-
ror *Otho*.

The wonder-
full courage of
a souldier of
Otho.
The noble co-
rage of *Otho*
before his
death, in his
oracion to his
souldiers.

A come vnto me, that our armies of *MYRIA* and *PANNONIA* are in their way comming to vs, and that they are not farre of from the Adriack sea. *ASIA*, *SYRIA*, and *ÆGYPT*, and the legions that make warre in *IVRY*, are all ours. The Senate taketh our parte, and our enemies wiues and children be in our hands. But this warre is not against *Annibal*, nor *Pyrrhus*, nor against the *CIMBRES*, to fight who should be owners of *ITALY*: but it is against the *ROMANES* them selues. For in this ciuill warre, both the Conqueror and vanquished doe offend their contry: for where the Conquerors haue benefit, the contry and common wealth alwayes receyeth losse. Assure your selues I had rather dye, then raigne Emperour: considering also that my life with victorie can not so much benefit the *ROMANES*, as the sacrifice of the same may doe my contry good, for the peace and quietnes of my contry men, keeping B *ITALY* thereby from seeing such another battell, as this hath bene. So when he had made this oration vnto them, and put those by, that would haue dissuaded him the contrary: he commaunded all the Senators and his friendes that were present, to auoyde. Then he wrote letters to them that were absent, and also vnto the cities wherethrough they passed, to vie them very curteously, and to see them safely conueyed. Then came his Nephewe *Cocceius* The Emperour
Others words
to his Nephew
Cocceius.
to him, who was yet but a younge boye, and he did comfort him, and bad him not to be afraid of *Vitellius*, for he had safely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as carefull of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his sonne, though he was desirous to doe it, vntill such tyme as he sawe the ende of this warre: to thend that if he ouercame, he shoulde quietly raigne Emperour with him: and if he were overcome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cause of his death. But this one thinge C only, I commaunde and charge thee, my sonne, euen as the last commaundement that I can giue thee: that thou doe not forget altogether, nether ouer much remember, that thine Vncle hath bene Emperour. When he had tolde him this tale, he heard a noyse at his dore: they were the souldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and would kill them, if they did not remayne with him, but would forsake their Emperour. Vpon this occasion he came out once againe among them, being affrayd lest the souldiers would doe the Senators some hurt, and made the souldiers giue backe, not by intreating of them, nor speaking curteously to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage: in somuch that they all thronge backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirst, and dranke a litle water: and hauing two swordes, he was prouing a great while which had the best edge. D In the ende, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his seruants, and liberally to giue out his money amonge them, to some more, to some lesse, not prodigally throwing it away without discretion, as being another mans money: but discretely gaue to euery man according to his desert. Then after he had dispatched them away, he laid him downe to sleepe al the rest of the night, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snore, he slept so soundly. In the morning he called one of his infranchised bondmen, whom he had commaunded to helpe to saue the Senators, and sent him to see if they were all safe, & gone. So when he vnderstoode that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: come on, said he then vnto him, looke to thy selfe I reade thee, and take heede the souldiers see thee not, E if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to kill my selfe. So assoone as his infranchised bondman was gone out of his chamber, he took his sword with both his hands, and setting the poynt of it to his brest, he fell downe vpon it, seeming to feele no other payne, sauing that he fetched a sigh: whereby they that were without, knewe that he had done him selfe hurt. Thereupon his friendes made straight an outcry, and all the campe and cite was incontinently full of teares and lamentation. The souldiers sodainly ran with a great noyse to his gates, where they bitterly bewailed, and lamented his death, falling out with them selues that they were such Villaines so slenderly to haue garded their Emperour, that they kept him not from killing him selfe for their sakes. So there was not a man of them that left his body, though the enemies were hard at hand: but hauing honorably buried him, and prepared a great stacke of wodde, they conueyed him armed to the fire of his funeralles, euery man thinking him selfe happy, that could first set his shoulders to the coffin to helpe to cary him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kissed his

Otho in his
death, seemed
to follow *Cato*
Pitius.

Otho shew him
selfe.

The funeralles
of *Otho* the
Emperour.

CCCC

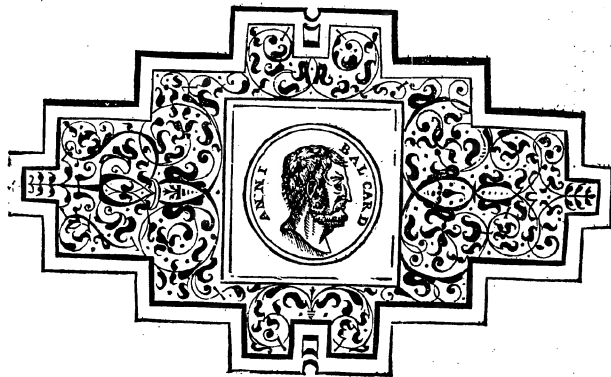
wound. Others tooke and kist his handes. Others that could not come neare him, honored A him, and did reuerence him a farre of, and some there were also that after the stacke of woode was set a fire, flue them selues hard by the fire: who had neuer received benefit by him that was dead, (at the least to any mans knowledge) nether had they any occasion to be affraid of him, that was Conqueror. And truly me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was so ambitiously giuen to raigne, as they vehemently desired to be commanded by *Otho*, and to obeye him: considering that their desire left them not euen after his death, but was so liuely rooted in their mindes, that in the ende, it turned to a deadly hate vnto *Vitellius*. But of this we will speake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried *Othoes* ashes, they did set vp a tombe for him, nether for magnificence of building, nor for glorious epitaphe, subject vnto enuy. For I haue seene his tombe in the citie of *Bresselles*, a meane thing, and the epitaph B vpon it translated out of Latine, sayeth no more but this: This is the tombe of *Marcus Otho*. He dyed being but feuen and thirty yere olde, and was Emperor but three moneths: & there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reprobued his life. For though he liued not much more honeste then *Nero*, yet he dyed farre more honorably. Furthermore, when *Pollio* one of the Capitaines would haue compelled his souldiers presently to haue taken their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, they fell out with him: and vnderstanding that there were yet remayning some Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely troubled *Verginius Rufus*. For they came to his dores armed, and called him by his name, & commanded him to take charge of them, and to goe as Ambassador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already ouercome, considering he refused it when they had ouercome: and also he was affraid to goe C Ambassador to the *GERMAINES*, bicause he had compelled them to doe thinges against their willes. Therefore he went out at his backe dore, and saued him selfe. So when the souldiers heard of it they were at length contented to be brought to be sworne vnto *Vitellius*, and so ioyned them selues with *Cecinnaes* souldiers, so they might be pardoned for all that was past.

The Emperor
Othoes tombe
in the citie
of Bresselles.
Othoes age
and raigne.

THE

THE LIVES OF ANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN,

Translated into French by *Charles de la
Sluce*, and englished by
Thomas North.



Annibal.

A If we doe call to mind the first *PYNNICK* warre the *CARTHAGINIANS* had with the *ROMANES*: we shall find many Capitaines, who by the glorie of their noble deedes, haue left great fame and renowne vnto their posteritie. Howbeit amongst all the Capitaines of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then *Hamilear, Annibals* father, otherwise surnamed *Barcha*, a valliant man doubles, and in his time a skilfull souldier as any was. The same *Hamilear* first of all made warre with the *ROMANES*, a longer tyme in *SICILIA* then was looked for, who had done greate hurte to his contrie and common wealthe. After that also in B the warres of *AFRICK* (at what tyme the mercenary souldiers through their rebellion did put the contrie of *CARTHAGE* in greate daunger) he did so valliantly appease the insurrection: that to euery mans iudgement, he was reputed the onely preferer of his contrie. Then he was sent *Gouernor* and *Captaine* into *SPAYNE*, and caryed with him at that tyme, (as it is reported) his sonne *Annibal*, beeing but a younge boye, where he did noble seruice. In fine, in the nyenth yeare of his aboade there in that prouince, he dyed fighting valliantly agaynst the *VETHEONS*. After his deathe, *Hafdrubal* his sonne in lawe, CCCCC ij

The portraie
of Annibal.

those miseries which their country afterwards came into. But giving place to the ambitious mind of a young man, they helped themselves on the heads of others, as afterwards fell out upon them. Therefore it is very necessary for wife Magistrates & good rulers of commonwealths, always rather to have an eye to the beginning of any matters, than to the end: & labor to decide all matters by advice & counsel, before they should take any thing in hand. Now the SAGUNTINES seeing their cities besieged by *Annibal*, & that against all reason & equity he made warres upon them: they notwithstanding valiantly defended the siege many monethes together. Yet in fine, though *Annibal* had many more men than they (having a hundred & fifty thousand men in his campe) & that the most part of their rampars were buttressed & overthrown: they liked rather to abide the sack of their city, then to yield themselves to the mercy of their mortal enemy. So some doe report, that SAGUNTUS was taken the eight moneth after siege was layed vnto it: But *Lanie* seemeth not to agree to that, neither to set downe any certain time of the continuance of the siege. Nowe, the taking of this so wealthy a citie, was a great furtherance diuers wayes to *Annibals* enterprises: For many cities taking example of the sacke of SAGUNTUS, who before mistaking so to be subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, were ready to rebell, they kept them selves quiet, and the souldiers also waxed lively and coragious, seeing the rich spoyle that were deuided in the campe. So *Annibal* sent great presents of the spoiles of the SAGUNTINES vnto CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefest men of the citie, and made them like the better of warres: whom he determined to leade with him against the ROMANES, not in SPAYNE, as many supposed; but into ITALIE it selfe. Whilest these matters were in hande, the Ambassadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the slender answer they had receiued, in manner at the selfe same time when they had intelligence of the sacke of SAGUNTUS: Hereupon the ROMANES greatly repented them selves, (though somewhat too late) for that they ayded not their friends and confederats in so great a danger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very sory for it, and therewith also maruelously offended, they deuided the provinces vnto the Consuls, to wete: SPAYNE vnto *Publius Cornelius*, and AFRIK and SICILIA also vnto *Titus Sempronius*. Afterwards, certain of the noblest men of the citie were sent ambassadors vnto CARTHAGE to make their complaints in open Senate for breache of the peace, and also to denounce vnto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaim open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of them selves. This was as brauely receiued of the CARTHAGINIANS, as lustely offered vnto them: but therein they were not so wel aduised, as the successe of that warren the ende sufficiently proved it to them. Now *Annibal* being aduertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CARTHAGE, and thinking with him selfe that it was time to goe into ITALIE, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the possible speede he could to prepare his shippes and things ready, and so required ayde of the cities that were his best friends and confederats, and commaunded that all the bands should meete him at newe CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appointed good garisons in places most conuenient, in AFRIK and SPAYNE, which he thought aboute al things els to be most necessary: because that when he should goe into ITALIE, the ROMANES should not winne it from him. Therefore he sent into AFRIK, twelve hundred horsemen, & thirteene thousand footemen, all SPANYARDS: and besides, he brought out of diuers parts of AFRIKES foure thousand souldiers, and placed them in garrison in CARTHAGE, obeynting both hostages and souldiers to his meanes. So he left the gouernment of SPAYNE to his brother *Hasdrubal*, and gaue him an army of fifty shippes of warre, two thousand horsemen, and twelue thousand footemen. These were the garisons he left in both those provinces. Nowe he thought them not sufficient to withstande the power of the ROMANES, if they bent their warres into SPAYNE, or AFRIK: but because he thought them stronge enough to stay the enemy from ouerrunning of the country: vntill that hauing brought his army by land, he had set foot in ITALIE. Moreover, he knewe that the CARTHAGINIANS were stronge enough to leade a new army if they lysted, and if neede so required, to send him ayde also into ITALIE. For, after that they had driuen away this so dangerous a warre, procured against them through the spight of the mercenary souldiers, hauing euer after obtained victorie first vnder

VPon can-
sell for guar-
ners to pre-
uent things at
the beginning

Annibal was
the cite of
Saguntus.

P. Cornelius,
and *T. Sem-
pronius* Con-
suls.

*VV*arres pro-
claimed by
the Romanes,
with the Car-
thaginians.

A the conduct of *Hannibal*: secondly, vnder *Hasdrubal*: and lastly, vnder *Annibal*: they were growen to such grames & strength, that at what time *Annibal* came into ITALIE, their Empire & dominions were maruelously enlarged. For they had all the coast of AFRIKES, which reacheth ouer against the sea Mediterraneum, from the aduers of the Philenians (which be not farre from the great Syre, vnto *Hercules* pillars: and containeth in length two thousand paces. So, after they had passed the straight which deuideith AFRICA from BYZANT, they possessed almost all SPAYNE, to the mountaines Pyrenei: which doe deuide SPAYNE from GAULE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRIKES, and SPAYNE, *Annibal* returned againe to newe CARTHAGE, where his armie was readie for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer, he called his men together, and incoring them with great and large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALIE: & made great accompt vnto them of the frendshippes of the GAULES, and in the end he had them be of good courage, and set lustely forward. Thereupon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and brought his armie all alongest the coast, vnto the riuer of Iberus. It is reported, that the next night following, *Annibal* dreamed he saw a young man, of a maruelous terrible looke & stature, who bad him follow him into ITALIE: but afterwards, that he saw a snake of a wonderful greatnes, making a maruelous noyse: & being desirous to understand what the same might signifie, it was told him that it betokened the destruction of ITALIE. It is not to be marueled at, though the great care & thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALIE, made his mind to run of such fantasies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destruction, or such other calamities of warre. For they are things that happen often, as *Cicero* the Orator faith: that our thoughts & words do beget such things in our dreame, as *Ennius* the Poet wryteth of *Homer*: to wit, like to those his minde most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now, after *Annibal* had passed ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that he had also won the GAULES haris with bountifull gifts: in few dayes he came to the riuer of Rhone. The head of the riuer of Rhone, is not farre from the heades of the riuers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred farlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at GENEVA. Then it runneth from thence towards the West, and deuideith the GAULES a pretie way: and then being increased by the riuer of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other riuers in the ende it falleth into the sea with diuers heades, betwext the VOLCES, and the CAVARIANS. The VOLCES, at that time inhabited both the sides of the riuer of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richest of all the other GAULES. They hauing vnderstanding of *Annibals* coming, passed ouer the riuer, and armed them selves, & prepared on the other side to stoppe the CARTHAGINIANS; that they should not passe ouer. Now, though *Annibal* had wonne all the other GAULES, yet those he could neuer winne neither by gifts, nor threats, to cause them rather to proue the frendshipp of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore *Annibal* perceiving he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commaunded *Hanno* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, secretly to passe ouer the riuer of Rhone, with parte of the armie, and so to set vpon the GAULES on the sodaine. Thereupon *Hanno* as he was commaunded, made a long iorney, and hauing passed ouer the riuer at passable fords: he shewed him selfe hard by the enemies campe, before they saw him, or that they knewe what it was. The GAULES hearing their shoutes and cries behinde them, and hauing their hands full of *Annibal* before them, who had many boies ready to passe ouer his men: they hauing no leasure to consult of the matter, neither to arme them selves to stande to defense, left their campe, and fled for life. So they being driuen from the other side of the riuer, the rest of the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS passed ouer it with safetie. In the meane time, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, that but a little before was come vnto MAXILIA, still heard newes of *Annibals* armie. Wherefore, to be more assured of the matter, he sent a bande of choyce horsemen to discouer what the enemies intent was: who making great speede as they were commaunded, met by chance with fise hidred horsemen of the NUMIDIANS, whom *Annibal* had also sent to bring him word of the ROMANES armie. So, they first sodainly gaue charge vpon the NUMIDIANS, and after a hotte and valliant conflict betwene both the parties, in the end the ROMANES ouercomming them, they made them flee, but with great losse of their men: howbeit the greatest losse and slaughter fell vpon the enemies. So *Annibal* by

The ground
of the domi-
nion of the
French,
being place
in Italy.

Annibal de-
termineth to
inuaide Italy.

Annibal
dreameth of
the riuer of
Iberus.

The head
of
the
riuer
of
Rhone.
Arar fl.

The Volca-
people then
inhabited
on
both the sides
of Rhone.

P. Cornelius
Scipio Consul
sent against
Annibal, and
arrived at
Maxilia.

this meane founde where the ROMANES lay, and stood in a great doubt with him selfe, whether he should keepe on his way into ITALIE, or else lead his armie against the Consul that then was, and so to proue his happe & successe. At length, debating many wayes in his mind, and vncertaine which way he would determine: the Ambassadors of the BOTIANS perswaded him to leaue all other deuises, and to goe on into ITALIE. For before that *Annibal* had passed ouer the mountaines Piræne, the BOTIANS hauing by craft taken the ROMANES Ambassadors, and done great mischiefes vnto *Manlius* the Prætor, and intised the INDIANTIANES also: they were reioyced from the ROMANES, and tooke parte with *Annibal*, and onely because the ROMANES had replenished the cities of PLACENTIA and CREMONA with people, and had made them Colonies to ROME. So *Annibal* being ruled by their counsell, raised his campe, and keeping the riuers side, still going against the riuers: in few dayes he came to the place which the GAVLES doe call the Iland, the which the riuier of Arar and Rhodanus commeth from diuers mountaines doe make there. So at this present, there is the famous citie of LION in GAVLES, which they say was built long time after, by *Plautus Munatius*. From thence he came to the contrie of the ALLOBROGES, and hauing pacified the variance betwix two brethren for the realme, he came through the contrie of the CASTINIANS and VOCONTIANS, to the riuier of Durance. The head of this riuier commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a swifft streame, falleth into the riuier of Rhone: & as it oftentimes chaungeth her course, so hath it in manner no passable forde. Yet *Annibal* hauing past it ouer, he led his armie vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine contries, as farre as he coule: howbeit as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Infomuche that some which were liuing at that time, did affirme, that they heard *Annibal* him selfe say, that he had lost aboute thirte thousand men, and the most parte of his horsemen. For he was forced not only to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaine, but also compelled to make wayes through the straights: so that in certaine places of the highest rockes, he was driuen to make passages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had passed the Alpes in fifteene dayes space, he came downe into the valley, not farre from the citie of TVRINE. Whereby it seemeth to me, that he passed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one side of it hath the riuier of Druentia, and on the other side it goeth downe to the city of TVRINE. Now it is hard to say truly, what number of men he had when he was comen into ITALIE: because of mens diuerities of opinions. For some wryte, that he had a hundred thousand footemen, D and twentie thousand horsemen: others also write, that he had twentie thousand footemen, and fixe thousand horsemen, all AFRICANS and SPANIARDS. But others, reckoning the GAVLES and LIGURIAS, doe count foure score thousand footemen, and tenne thousand horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his armie was so great, as the first men report, and specially hauing passed through so many contries, and also receiued such losse as he had: neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters doe make it, if a man will consider the famous employes and great enterprises he did afterwards. So that I like their opinions best, which keepe the meane betwene them both: considering that he brought into ITALIE, the better parte of foure score thousand footemen, and tenne thousand horsemen; the which he had leauid in SPAYNE: as it is manifestly knowne also, that a great number of the LIGURIANS and GAVLES came to ioyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the ROMANES, that gaue no place nor grounde vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. So *Annibal* being comen from TVRINE, into the contrie of the INSEBRIANS: he was met withall by *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who marching with wonderfull speede from MASSILLA, and hauing passed the riuers of Po and Tefin, he camped not farre from the enimie. So shortly after, both the Generalls being comen into the field to view eche others campe, the horsemen of either side grew to skirmish, which continued long, and was not to be discerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the ROMANES seeing the Consul hurt, and also that the horsemen of the NYMIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compass them in: they were driuen to geue ground, and so pretily retried, defending the Consul the best they coule to saue him, and so at length recovered their campe. It is reported that *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, was saued at that time through his sonnes helpe, who afterwards was called AFRICAN, and at that time was

The Balaie
& Infirmitie,
resend from
the Romans,
& take parte
with Annibal.

Inquidant,
built by Val-
cus Munat-
ius.

Annibal
made wayes
through the
wilder of the
mountaines,
by force of
fire and vine-
ger.
The valley of
Taurinus.
Annibal
comming in-
to Italy by
Dienant,
not farre from
Turine.

Annibal's ar-
my in Italy.

Annibal's first
conflict with
the Romans,
and victory.
P. C. Scipio
Conful hure,
and saued

A but a young stripling: whose praise though it was wonderfull in so greene a youth, yet it is likelie to be true, because of the famous and valliant actes he did afterwards. Nowe *Scipio* hauing proued how much his enimie was stronger then him selfe in horsemen: he determined to place his campe so, as his footemen might be in best safety, & also fight with greatest aduantage. And therefore the next night following he passed the riuier of Po, and made as litle noyse as he coule, and went vnto PLACENTIA. The like shortlie after did T. *Sempronius Longus*, who had bene restored from banishment by the Senate, and sent for out of SICILIA: because both the Consuls should gouerne the common wealth by one selfe authoritie. *Annibal* also followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his campe neere vnto the riuier of Trebia: hoping that because both camps lay so neere together, some occasion would be offered to fight, the which he chieflie desired, both because he coule not long maintaine warre for lacke of vittells, as also that he mistrusted the fickleness of the GAVLES. Who, like as they soone fell in league and frendship with him, drawn vnto it with hope of change, and with the same allo of his victorie obtained: so he mistrusted that vpon any light occasion (as if the warre should continue any long time in their contrie) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the ROMANES, against him, as the only author of this warre. For these respectes therefore, he deuised all the meanes he coule to come to battell. In the meane time, *Sempronius* the other Consul, met with a troupe of the enemies, laden with spoyle, stragling vp and downe the fieldes, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like successe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall: he had good hope of victorie, if once both the armies might come to fight. Therefore being maruelous desirous to doe some notable enterprife before *Scipio* were recovered of his hurt, and that the new Consul should be chosen: he determined to ioyne battell against the will of his other colleague and fellowe Consul *Scipio*, who thought nothing could be to lesse purpose, then to put all the state and common wealth in iopardie, speciallie hauing all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field against him. Now, *Annibal* had secret intelligence of all this variance, by spials he had sent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politike and futtle as he was, found out a place straight betwene both camps, couered ouer with bushes and briers, and there he placed his brother *Mago* to lye in ambush, with a companie of chosen men. Then he commaunded the horsemen of the NYMIDIANS, to scurrie to the trenches of the ROMANES, to intise him to come to battell; and thereupon made the residue of his armie to eate, and so put them in verie good order of battell, to be readie vpon any occasion offered. Now the Consul *Sempronius*, at the first tumult of the NYMIDIANS, sodainly sent his horsemen to encounter them, and after them put out six thousand footemen, and in the ende, came him selfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middest of winter, and extreame cold, and speciallie in the places inclosed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Nowe the NYMIDIANS as they were commaunded, intised the ROMANES by litle and litle on this side the riuier of Trebia, vntill they came to the place where they might discern their enignes: and then they sodainly turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NYMIDIANS, oftentimes to flie of set purpose, and then to stay vpon the sodaine when they see time, to charge E their enimie more hotly and fiercely then before. Whereupon *Sempronius* incontinently gathered his horsemen together, and did set his men in battell ray, as time required, to geue charge vpon his enimie, that stayed for him in order of battell. For *Annibal* had cast his men into quadrons, readie vpon any occasion. The skirmish beganne first by the light horsemen, & afterwards increased hotter by supplie of the men of armes: howbeit the ROMANES Knights being vnable to beare the thocke of the enemies, they were quickelie broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with such furie & noble corage, that they had bene able to haue resisted, so they had fought but with footemen onely. But on the one side, the horsemen and Elephants made them affraid, and on the other side the footemen followed them with luste-ly, and fought with great furie against famished and frozen men. Wherefore the ROMANES F notwithstanding, suffering all the miseries that vexed them on euery side, with an vnspicable corage and magnanimitie; such as was aboue their force and strength, they fought fully vntill that *Mago* comming out of his ambush, came and sodainly assailed them with greathowres

from his en-
emies by his
sonnes, who
was after-
wards called
African.
Pudus ff.

P. Cornelius
Scipio, and
T. Sempron-
ius Longus,
Consuls a-
gainst Annib-
ul.
Trebia ff.

Annibal's listed
by Annibal
to entrappe
Sempronius.

Annibal
fought with
Sempronius
the Consul, at
the riuier of
Trebia.
The Nymidi-
ans casting
flings.

Annibal's
victorie of the
Conful Sem-
pronius.

Arctus ff.

Annibal's
one of his
eyes in the
maillies, by
the ruer of
Arctus.

Menes Cor-
tinesse
Lucas Thra-
sime.

The indige-
nence of a
soldier.

and cries, and that the middle Squadron of the **CARTHAGINIANS** also (through *Annibals* A
cōmaundement) flew vpon the **CENOMANIANS**. Then the **ROMANES** seeing their confederats
flie, their hearts were done, and vterly discouraged. It is sayd that there were tenne thousande
foote men of the **ROMANES** got to **PLACENTIA**, and came through the enemies. The rest of
the armie that fledde, were most parte of them slaine by the **CARTHAGINIANS**. The Conful
Sempronius also escaped verie narrowlie from the enemies. The victorie cost *Annibal* the setting
on also: for he lost a great number of his men, and the most parte of all his Elephanes were
slaine. After this battell, *Annibal* overcame all the contrie, and did put all to fire and sword,
and tooke also certaine townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the con-
trie men flie, that were disorderlie gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the
spring, he brought his army into the field sooner then time required: & meaning to goe into **B**
THUSCAN, he was driuen backe by a great tempest at the verie toppes of the height of the **Ap-
penine**, and so compelled to bring his armie about **PLACENTIA**: howbeit shortly after he put
himselfe againe into the fields for diuers vrgent & necessary causes. For had he not faued him
selfe by that policie, he had almost bene taken tardie by the ambush of the **GAYLES**: who be-
ing angry with him that the warre continued so long in their contrie, they fought to be reu-
enged of him, as the only author & occasion of the warre. Therefore perceiuing it was time for
him to auoyde this daunger, he made all the hast he could to leade his armie into some other
prouince. Furthermore, he thought it would increase his estimation much among straungers, &
also greatly encourage his owne people, if he could make the power of the **CARTHAGINIANS** to
seeme so great, & also their Captaine to be of so noble a courage, as to dare to make warre so **C**
neere to the cite of **ROME**. All things therefore set a part, he marched with his campe by
the mountaine **Appenine**, and so coming through the contrie of the **LIGURIANS**, he came into
THUSCAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion contrie, & to the marishes about
the river of **Arnus**. The river of **Arnus** at that time was very high, and had ouerflown all the
fields thereof. *Annibal* therefore marching with so great an army as he had, could not a-
uoyde it, but that he must needs lose a number of his men & horse, before he could get out of
those euill fauored marishes. In such manner that he him selfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of
the great paines he had taken day & night without sleepe or rest, and also through the euill ayer:
though he was caried vpon a high Elephants back, which only was left him of all that he had
brought with him. In the meane time, **C. Flaminius** Conful, to whom the charge of *Septronius* **D**
army was geuen: he was come vnto **ARETIVM** against the Senates minde, who were marue-
lously offended with him, because he left his copanion **Cn. Seruilius** at **ROME**, & went vnto his
prouince by stealth as it were, without the furniture of a Conful & his officers. This was a very
hasty man of nature, & one whom the people had brought to that dignity & office: so that he
was become so proud & insolent that men might see he would hazard all things without wit
or iudgement. *Annibal* hauing intelligence hereof, thought it the best way to anger the Con-
sul, & to do what he could possible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Conful should
come to ioyne with him. Therefore, he marching forward with his campe through the contrie
of **FESVLA**, & **ARETIVM**, he burnt & spoiled all the contrie thereabout, & filled them all with
feare, neuer leauing to destroy all before him, vntill he came to the mountaines **Cortoneses**, **B**
& so to the lake called **Thrasimene**. When he had viewed the place, he went about to surpris
his enemy by some ambush: whereupon he conueied certain horsemen vnder the hills, hard by
the straight that goeth vnto **Thrasimene**, and behind the mountaines also, he placed his light
horsemen. Then he him selfe with the rest of his army came downe into the field, supposing that
the Conful would not be quiet: and so it fell out. For his stirring heades are easily intrapped,
& fall into the enemies ambush, & oftentimes do put all in hazard, because they will follow no
counsel nor good aduise. **C. Flaminius** therefore, seeing their contrie vterly spoiled, the corne
disseined and cut downe, and the houses burnt: he made great hast to lead his armie against
the enemy, contrarie to all mens minds, who would haue had him taried for his companion
Cn. Seruilius the other Conful. So euen at sunne set, when he was come to the straights of
the lake of **Thrasimene**, he caused his campe to stay there, although his men were not wea-
rie with the long iorney they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day,
making

Battell be-
tweene Anni-
bal and C.
Flaminius
the Conful,
by the lake
of Thrasime-
ne.

The Romanes
were so ter-
rified in fight,
that they
heard not the
noise of an
earthquake,
C. Flaminius
the Conful
slaine.

Plutarche in
the life of Pa-
bius Maxi-
mus, addeth
to auery
prisoner.
Annibals
cradles to
dissimble
vnto him.
The newvall
disposition of
Annibal.

Extremes
by counsell
didaine death

The office of
Dictators,
what effect.

Q. Fabius
Maximus,
created Dic-
tator.

A making no view of the contrie, he went ouer the mountaines. Then *Annibal* who long before
was prepared for this, did but stay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he saw the **RO-**
MANES come into the plaine, he gaue a signall vnto all his men to geue charge vpon the ene-
mie. Thereupon the **CARTHAGINIANS** breaking out on euerie side, came before and be-
hinde, and on the flanks to assaile the enemy, being shut in betwene the lake and the moun-
taines. Now in contrarie manner, the **ROMANES** beginning to fight out of order, they fought
inclosed together, that they could not see one another, as if it had bene darke: so that it is to
be wondered at, how, and with what minde they fought it out so long, considering they were
compassed in on euerie side. For they fought it out about three howres space, with such fury
and courage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that present time, neither
B did they offer to flie or stirre a foote: vntill they heard that the Conful **C. Flaminius** going from
rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was slaine by a man of armes called **Ducarius**. Then
when they had lost their Generall, and being voyde of all hope: they fled, some towards the
mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which diuers of them flying, were overtaken
& slaine. So there were slaine * fifteen thousand in the field, & there escaped about ten thou-
sand. Furthermore the report went, that there were six thousande foote men which forcible
(at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there stayed on a hill till the battell
was ended, and at length came downe vpon *Annibals* promise: but they were betrayed, and
slaine, euery mothers sonne of them. After this great victorie, *Annibal* did let diuers **ITALIAN**
prisoners goe free without ranfome paying, after he had vied them maruelous curteouslie:
C because that the fame of his clemencie & curtesie should be knowne vnto all nations, whereas
in deede his owne nature was contrarie to all vertues. For he was hasty and cruell of nature,
and from his youth was brought vp in warres, and exercised in murder, treason, & ambushes
layed for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor ciuill gouernment. So by this meanes
he became one of the cruelliest Captaines, the most furtell, and craftiest to deceiue and intrap
his enemy, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemy: so those whom
he could not overcome in warre by plaine force, he went about to intrappe by slight and po-
licie. The which appeareth true by this present battell, and also by the other he fought against
the Conful *Sempronius*, by the riuier of **Trebia**. But let vs returne to our matter, and leaue this
talke till another time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow and death of the Conful **Fla-**
minius was reported at **ROME**, hauing lost the most parte of his armie: there was great mone
and lamentation made through all the cite of **ROME**. Some bewailing the common miserie
of the common wealth, others lamenting their priuate particular losse, & some also sorowing
for both together. But in deede it was a woefull sight, to see a world of men & women to run
to the gates of the cite, euerie one priuily asking for their kinne and frends. Some do write,
that there were two women, who being very forie and pensife, dispaire of the safetie of their
sonnes, dyed sodainly for the extreame ioy they had, when beyond their expectation & hope
they sawe their sonnes aliue and safe. At the selfe same time, **Cn. Seruilius**, the other Conful
with **C. Flaminius**, did send him foure thousand horsemen, not vnderstanding yet of the bat-
tell that was fought by the lake of **Thrasimene**. But when they heard of the ouerthrow of
E their men by the way, and therefore thought to haue fled into **VMBRIA**: they were compas-
sed in by the horsemen of the enemies, and so brought vnto *Annibal*. Nowe the Empire of
ROME being brought into so great extremitie and daunger, because of so many small losses
one in the necke of another: it was ordeined, that an extraordinary Gouernor or Magistrate
should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an office specially vied to be referred for
the last hope and remedie, in most extreame daunger and perill, of the state and common
wealth. But because the Conful *Seruilius* could not returne at that time to **ROME**, all the waies
being kept by the enemy: the people contrarie to their custome, created **Q. Fabius** Dictator,
(who afterwards attained the surname of *Maximus*, to say, verie great) who likewise did name
M. Minutius Generall of the horsemen. Now this *Fabius* was a graue and wise counsellor, and
F of great authoritie and estimation in the common wealth: in such manner as the citizens had
their hope and confidence in him onely, perswading them selues, that the honor of **ROME**
might be better preferred vnder the gouernment and conduct of such a Generall, rather then

under the government of any other man whatsoever. So *Fabius* knowing it very well, after he had carefullie and diligentlie given order for all things necessarie: he departed from *Rome*, and when he had receiued the armie of the late Consul *Cn. Seruilius*, he added vnto them two other legions, and so went vnto the enemy. Nowe *Annibal* was gone from the lake of *Thrasymene*, and went directly towards the cite of *Spoletum*, to see if he could take it at the first assault. But when he saw that the townes men stood vpon the rampers of the walls, and valliantlie defended them selues: he then left the towne, and destroyed the contrie as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into *Apulia*, through the marches of *Asconia*, and the contries of the *Marsians* and *Pelignians*. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the cite of *Apsy*, not farre from the campe of the enemy, to thend to drawe out the warre at length. For the rashnesse and foolhardines of the former Captaines affore time, had brought the state of *Rome* into such miserie: that they thought it a victorie vnto them, not to be overcome by the enemy, that had so often overcome them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the chaunge and alteration of the Captaine. For, though *Annibal* had set his men in battell ray, and afterwards perceiuing his enemy sturred not, went and destroyed the contrie, hoping thereby to intise the Dictator to fight, when he should see the contrie of his confederates so spoyled, as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moued withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. *Annibal* was in a maruelous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often removed his campe, to the ende that going diuers wayes, some occasion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemy, or else to geue battell. So when he had passed the mountaine Appennine, he came vnto *Samnium*. But because shortly after, some of *Campania*, who haue bene taken prisoners by the lake of *Thrasymene*, had bene set at libertie without ranfome: they putting him in hope that he might take the cite of *Capua*, he made his armie march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the contrie, to bring him vnto *Casertum*. Nowe the guide overhearing *Casertum*, vnderstoode it *Casilinum*, & so mistaking the found of the word, brought the armie a cleane contrary way vnto *Calentinum*, and *Calenum*, and from thence about *Stella*. So when they came into a contry enuironned about with mountaines and riuers, *Annibal* knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guide to death. *Fabius* the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patientlie, and was contented to geue *Annibal* libertie to take his pleasure which way he would: vntill he had gotten the mountaines of *Gallicanum*, and *Casilinum*, where he placed his garrison, being places of great aduantage and commoditie. So the armie of the *Carthaginians* was in manner compassed in euery way, and they mult needes haue dyed for famine in that place, or else haue fled to their great shame and dishonor: had not *Annibal* by this stratageme prevented the danger. Who knowing the danger all his armie stood in, and hauing spied a fit time for it: he commanded his souldiers to bring forth two thousand oxen which they had gotten in spoyle in the fields, hauing great store of them, and then tying torches or fire linkes vnto their homes, he appointed the nimblest men he had to light them, and to driue the oxen vp the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe of the first watch. All this was duly executed according to his commandement, and the oxen running vp to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them fayer and softly. Now the *Romans* that had long before placed a strong garrison vpon the mountaines, they were affrayed of this strange sight, and mistrusting some ambushe, they forthwith forooke their peeces and holdes. *Fabius* him selfe mistrusting also that it was some stratageme of the enemy, kept his men within the campe, and could not well tell what to say to it. In the meane time, *Annibal* got ouer the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of *Swellia*, which the contrie men doe call the tower of the bathes, and brought all his armie safe into *Alba*: and shortly after, he marched directlie as though he would goe to *Rome*, howbeit he sodainlie turned out of the way, and went presentlie into *Apulia*. There he tooke the cite of *Glerenum*, a verie riche and wealthie towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him harde, and came and camped by *Laurinum*, not farre from the *Carthaginians* campe. So he being sent for to *Rome* about waichtige

Histories of
Captaines
oftentimes
very hurtfull.

The guide
cruelly put
to death by
Annibal.

Annibals
stratageme
in the moun-
taines of *Gal-*
licanum, and
Casilinum, a-
gainst *Q. Fa-*
bius Dicta-
tor.

Certaine
bathes at
Swellia, called
the tower of
the bathes.
Glerenum: a
cite in *Apu-*
lia.

Affaires of the state, there was no remedy but he must needs depart thence with all the speed he could: howbeit before he went, he left *Attarod* his brother in law, General of the horsemen, his Lieutenant of all the armie, and commanded him in his absence to be obedient to *Fabius*, not to meddle with the enemy. For he was fullie bent to follow his first determination, which was not to vex the enemy, nor to fight with him, though he were provoked to it. Howbeit *Attarod* little regarding the Dictators commandements, his backe was no longer turned, but he set vpon a companie of the enemies dispersed in the fields at morning, and slew a great number of them: and fought with the rest, euen vnto the campe. The rumor of this battell flew straight to *Rome*, and there was such great exultation of it, that it was esteemed as a victorie: and the common people went to it full of ioy, that they straight made the powder of the Lieutenant, equall with the Dictator *Fabius*: the which was neuer heard of before. *Fabius* patiently bearing this extreme iniurie with a noble courage, hauing noway defended in the returned againe vnto the campe. Thus there were two Dictators upon one selfe time (a thing neuer seene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the army betweene them both, the one commanded his army a parte, as the Consuls were wont to doe before. *Attarod* thereupon grew to such a pride and haughty mind, that one day he went to geue battell, and made not his companion *Fabius* a counsell withall, the which *Annibal* hauing so often overcome, durst scantlie haue enterprised. So he led his army into such a place, where the enemy had compassed them in: insomuche that *Annibal* thus shew as his pleasure, without any hope left them to escape, if *Fabius* had not come in time (as he did) to aide them, rather bespeaking the honor of his contrie, then remembering the priuate iniurie he had receiued. For he coming fresh with his armie to the battell, made *Annibal* affrayed, that the *Romans* legions had libertie to retire with safetie. Whereby *Fabius* wanne great fame for his wisdom and valliantnesse, both of his owne souldiers, as also of the enemies them selues. For it was reported that *Annibal* (should say, returning into his campe: that in this battell he had ouercome *M. Minutius*, but withall, that he was also overcome by *Fabius*. And *Minutius* selfe also confessing *Fabius* wisdom, & considering that (according to *Hesiodus* saying) it was good reason to obey a better man then him selfe: he came with all his armie vnto *Fabius* campe, & renouncing his authority, came and humbly saluted *Fabius* as his father, and all that day there was great ioy, and reioycing among the souldiers. So both the armies being placed in garrison for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Consuls created: *L. Paulus Aemilius*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Consul. So they had libertie and commission to leaue a greater armie then the Generalls before them had done. Whereby the legions were newly supplied, and also others added vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Consuls were come into the armie, as they were of seuerall dispositions, so did they also obserue diuers manners in their government. *Lucius Paulus*, who was a wise and grave man, and one that purposed to followe *Fabius* counsell and facions: he did desire to drawe out the warre in length, and to stay the enemy without fighting. *Varro* on the other side was a haughty man, and venturous, and desired nothing but to fight. So it chaunced, that no long after it was known, to the great cost and danger of the cite of *Rome*, what difference there was betwext the modestie of *Aemilius*, and the foolhardinesse of *Varro*. For *Annibal* beinge affrayed of some sturte and tumult in his campe for lacke of victuals, he departed from *Glerenum*, and goinge into the warmest places of *Apulia*, came and camped with all his armie, by a village called *Cannae*. So he was followed with both the Consuls, who came and camped feuerallie harde by him, but so nere one to another, that there was but the riuier of *Aufide* that parted them. This riuier as it is reported, doth alone deuide the mountayne of the Appennine, and takeh his head on that side of the mountayne that lyeth to the sea side, from whence it runneth to the sea Adriaticum. Nowe, *Lucius Paulus* findinge that it was impossible for *Annibal* beinge in a strange country to mayntayne so great an armie of such fundre nations together: he was fullie bent to traecte time, and to auoyde battell, perfwadinge him selfe that it was the right and onelie way to overcome him, being as muche to the enemies disadvantage.

Two Dicta-
tors together
never heard
of before.

L. Paulus
Aemilius,
and *C. Ter-*
entius Varro,
Consuls.

The difference
betweene
Paulus, and
C. Terentius.

Aufide.

DDDD

as so maruelous profitable and beneficial for the common wealth. And sure if C. Terentius Varro, had carried that minde, which beneuolt of all doubt, that Annibals armie had bene ouerthrowen by the ROMANES, without shoke shaking. Howbeit he had such a light head of his owne, and was so fickle minded, that he neither regarded wise counsell, nor Paulus Aemilius authority: but as contrary manner would fall out with him, and also complaynd before the souldiers, for that he kept his men pent up, and idle; whilest the enemy did pursue his meane to the field in battell ray. So when his tyme came, that he was absolute to commaunde the whole armie; (for they both had absolute power by turnes) he passed out the riuier of Aufide by breake of day; and gaue the signall of battell without the priuilege of his companion Aemilius, who rather followed him against his will, then willingly, because he could doe none otherwise. So he caused a skarlet coate of armes to be put out before him in the morning, for signall of battell. Annibal on the other side as glad of it as was he: he possible as he had occasion offered him to fight, (considering that the contrarie delaying of battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his armie ouer the riuier, and had straight put them in verie good order. For he had taken great spoiles of his enemies to furnish him selfe with verie braunces. Nowe the armie of the ROMANES stoode Southward, in such a manner that the Southwinde (which the men of the contrie call Venturnus) blew full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie manner had the vantage of the winde and Sunne vpon their backs; and their battell stoode in this manner. The AFRIKANES were placed in both the wings; and the GAULS and SPANYARDS set in Squadron in the middle. The light horsemen first beganne the skirmithe, and after them followed the men of armes: and because the space betweene the riuier and the footemen was verie narrow, so as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So the horsemen of the ROMANES being ouerthrowen, the footemen came with such a lubie charge to meete the charge, that they thought they should not haue day enough to fight. Howbeit the earnest desire they had to overcome their enemies, made their overthrowe more miserable, then their ioy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAULS and SPANYARDS, (which as we haue sayd before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withstand the force of the ROMANES, they retired towards the AFRIKANES in the wings. The ROMANES perceiuing that, ran vpon the enemy with all the fury they could, and had them in chafe and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middle of them. Then the CARTHAGINIANS that were in both wings, came & compassed them in before they were aware. Moreover, there were six hundred of the NUMIDIAN horsemen, that cullerably fled into the Consul, who receiued them very courteously, & placed them in the reuerend of the army. They seeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, & did suddenly geue them charge. Then the army of the ROMANES was vterly ouerthrowen, & Annibal obtained victory. Linie writeth that there were slaine in this battell forty thousand footmen, and about two thousand seven hundred horsemen. Polybius saith, that there were many more slaine. Well, letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the ROMANES had neuer greater losse, neither in the first warre with AFRICE, nor in the seconde by the CARTHAGINIANS, as this ouerthrowe that was geuen at CANNES. For there was slaine, the Consul Paulus Aemilius him selfe, a man verie doubtlesse deserving great praise, and that serued his contrie and common wealth euen to the hower of death: Cn. Scruilius, Consul the yeare before, he was also slaine there, and many other that had bene Consuls, Pretors, and others of such like dignitie, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other Senators and honest citizens, and that such a number of them, that the verie crueltie it selfe of the enemy was satisfied. The Consul Terentius Varro, who was the onelie author of all this warre and slaughter, seeinge the enemy victorie euery waye, he saved him selfe by flyinge. And Tadius a Chieftaine of a bande, comming through his enemies with a good companie of his men; he came vnto CANSIVM. Thither came also about tenne thousand men, that had escaped from their enemies, as out of a dangerous forme: by whose consent, the charge of the whole armie was geuen vnto Appius Fulcherus, and also vnto Cornelius Scipio, who afterwards did ende this warre. Thus was the ende of this battell fought by CANNES: Newes flew straight to ROME of this ouerthrowe,

Battell at Cannas.

A Phraegones of Annibal.

* Phraegones in the life of Fabius, sayeth that there were fiftie thousand slaine, and fourteene thousand taken prisoner. Paulus Aemilius Consul, slaine at the battell of Cannas. Great slaughter as the battell of Cannas.

At the which though they iustly filled all the cite with sorrowe and calamitie, yet the Senate and people of ROME kept alwayes their countenance and greatnes, euen in this extreame miserie. In such a manner that they had not only good hope to keepe their city safe, but furthermore they leauiued a new army & made young men to beare armor, & yet left not SICILIA and SPANYA vnprouided in the meane time: so that they made the world to wonder at them, to consider these things how they could in so great calamitie & trouble haue so noble hardnes, & such wise counsell. But to let passe the former ouerthrowes, & great losses they sustained at TACINVM, at TEBRIA, and at the lake of Trasimene: what nation or people could haue borne this last plague, whereby the whole force & power of the ROMANES was in manner vterly destroyed and ouerthrowen; and yet the people of ROME so held it out, & that with so great wisdom & counsell: that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Besides, to help them the more, Annibal being conqueror, trifling time in taking his leisure, & refreshing his army, he gaue the ROMANES leasure that were overcome to take breath againe, & to restore them selues. For doubtlesse, if Annibal being conqueror, had immediately after the victorie obtained, brought his armie directly to ROME: surely the ROMANES had bene vterly vidone, or at the least had bene copelled to haue put all in venter. So, it is reported, that Annibal oftentimes afterwards repented him selfe he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counsell which waded him to let his souldiers rest, then Mahabals aduise, general of his horsemen; who would haue had him gone straight to ROME, and so to haue ended all this warre. But he seeinge Annibals delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now common in euery mans mouth: C. Annibal, thou knowest how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to vie victory. But what all things are not (as Nestor saith in Homer) geuen to men all together. For some had no skill to overcome, others knew not how to follow their victory, & some also could not keepe that they had won. Pyrrhus king of the EPIROTES that made warre with the ROMANES, was one of the famouslest Captaines that euer was yet; as men write of him, though he was maruelous fortunate to conquer realmes, he could neuer keepe the. Euen so in like manner, some Captaines haue bene indued with excellen vertues, & yet notwithstanding haue bene insufficient in martiall faies, deseruing praise in a Captaine: as we may read in diuers histories. Now after this battell fought by CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALATINIANS, the SAMNITIANS, & after this also, the BRYTIANES & LYCANIANS, & diuers other nations & people of ITALY, carried away with the fame of this great victory: they all came & yielded vnto Annibal. And the city of CAPVA also, (the which Annibal was desirous to haue won long before) forsaking their old friends & confederates, made new league & friendship with Annibal, the which wan him great estimation with other nations. For at that time the city of CAPVA was very populous & of great power, & the chieftest city of estimation of all ITALY, next vnto ROME. Now to tel you in few words what is reported of CAPVA, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the THYSCANIANS, the which was first called, VLTIVNYM, & after that CAPVA, by the name of their Gouvernor called Capiturus: or thierwife, (as it is most likely) because of the fieldes round about it. For on euery side of it, there are goodly pleasant fieldes, full of all kindes of frutes growing on the earth, called in Greeke, Kepti. Furthermore, all the contrie is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the sea there dwell the SYSSANTIANS, the CYMANIANS, and the NEAPOLITANS. On firme land also towards the North, are the CALENTINIANS, and the CALABIANI. On the East and South side, the DAYNIANS and NOLANIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a strong situation, and on the one side is compassed in with the sea, and on the other side with great high mountains. Now the CAMPAINIANS flourished maruelously at that time: and therefore, seeing the ROMANES in manner vterly vidone by the battell they had lost at CANNES, they quickly tooke parte with the stronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore, besides that they made league with Annibal, they receiued him into their city with great triumphe, hoping that the warre being ended, they should be the chieftest & wealthiest of all ITALY. But marke how men are commonly deceived in their expectation. Now, when Annibal came into the city of CAPVA, there was a worlde of people that went to see him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had wonne of the enemy. So being come into the cite, they brought him vnto Pacurnus house, his verie familiar frende,

The consents of the Romanes in extremities.

The Romanes last victory: great battell in Annibal, at Tabinum, at TEBRIA, and at the lake of Trasimene.

Mahaball general of Annibals horsemen. Mahaball saying to Annibal.

Pyrrhus could not keepe the realmes he conquered.

The cite of Capua, how so called.

who was a man of great wealth and authority, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he A made him a notable banker, to the which no citizens were bidden, saving only *Isidellus Taurus*, a stout man, and the sonne of *Paculus* his host: who through his fathers meanes, with much a doe, was reconciled to *Annibal*, for that *Annibal* hated him as he did, because he followed *Decius Magnus*, who alwayes tooke the ROMANES parte. But now, let vs consider a litle I pray you, how great men sometime vnwares are subiect to great daungers and misfortunes.

For this young man dissembling his reconciliation with *Annibal*, watching time & occasion now with standing to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feast, while they were making merie: he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor and good will againe of the ROMANES, the which they had lost through their great wickednesse. Then he tolde him howe he was determined to kill *Annibal*, the enemy of his contrie, and all ITALIE besides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authority, was maruelously amazed withall, to heare what his sonne said: wherefore imbracing him with the teares running downe his cheekes, he praised him to leaue of his sword, and to let his gheft be safe in his houle. The which his sonne in the end yielded to with great a doe. Thus *Annibal* hauing before with stood all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of the GAVLES, and hauing brought with him also a great army from the sea, and the furdert parte of SPAYNE, through so many great and mightie nations: he escaped killing verie narrowlie by the hande of a young man, whilet he was at the table making merie. The next morning *Annibal* had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promises, and tolde them many things, which the CAMPANIANS easily beleued, and therefore flattered them selues, that they should be Lords of all ITALIE: howbeit they reckoned beside their hoast. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit them selues to *Annibal*: that it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their cite, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembered, nor regarded their libertie.

And this appeareth plainlie by one example I will shew you amongst many. *Annibal* willed them to deliuer him *Decius Magnus*, the head of the contrarie faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not onely obeyed with all humilitie, but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the presence of all the people: who, because he woulde not forsake the auncient league and friendship with the ROMANES, had shewed him selfe a more faithfull citizen to his contrie and common wealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whilet these thinges passed thus in CAPVA, *Mago* (*Annibals* brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his contrie men, which they had wonne of the enemies: and with all, before the Senate to declare the noble exploit of armes done by *Annibal*, and to proue the words true he spake, he poored out at the coming in of the Senate house, the golden rings which had bene taken from the ROMANES Knights: of the which there were (as some doe report) aboute a bushell full, and as other some doe wryte, aboute three bushells and a halfe. After that, he praised a new supply for *Annibals* army: the which was granted him by the Senate with greater ioy, the afterwards it was sent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perswading them selues by the things present, that the warre woulde fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fayer: they thereupon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide *Annibals* attempts, by leauing of souldiers. Now no mā withstood this new supply to be sent to *Annibal*, but *Hanno*, a perpetuall enemy of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS wayed not his counsell and aduise then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsell for them, as oftentimes before he had vsed the like. So when *Annibal* had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his campe before the cite of NOLA, hoping they would yeeld of them selues without compulsion. And certeinlie so had it come to passe, had not the sodaine coming thither of *Marcellus* the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the sedition, & repulsd the enemy that was coming into the cite, by a saile he made vpon him at three feuerall gates, chasing & killing them euen to their campe, with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and valliant souldier *Marcellus*, who with a noble courage made the world knowe that *Annibal* was not inuincible. *Annibal* perceiving that there was no other way, but to let NOLA alone till an other time: he came to ACERRAS, and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going

Conspiracy against Annibal as Capua.

Marcellus with the Annibal as the cause of Pledge.

further

A further with greater power vnto CASTILINVM, a fit place to offend the CAPVANS, he went about to win them that lay there in garrison: but when he saw that neither his fayer promises, nor otherwise his threats coulde preuaile, he left parte of his armie to besiege the cite, and bestowed the residue in garrisons before the winter season. Howbeit he chose for his chiefeft seate and strength the cite of CAPVA, which stood verie pleasauntlie, and had plentie of all thinges. There it was that *Annibals* souldiers being yeld to lye hard, and easely to away with colde, hunger, and thirst, became then of valliant men, rancke cowardes: of strong men, weaklings: and of seruiceable and ready men, timorous and effeminate persons, through the daily pleasures they enjoyed at will. For sweeter inticing pleasures, do corrupt the strength and courage of the mind, and mans disposition alio vnto vertue: moreover they spoile his wit, and take all good counsell from him, all which thinges are dangerous for men. And therefore Plato rightlie calleth pleasure, the bayte of all euils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS more, then otherwise the highest Alpes, and all the armies of the ROMANES did. For one onlie winter passed ouer in suche pleasure and wantonnes, was of such great force to extinguish the vehement courage in the souldiers: that when they were brought into the fildes at the beginning of the spring, sure you would rightlie haue sayd that they had forgotten all martiall discipline. Thus the winter being passed ouer, *Annibal* returned againe to CASTILINVM, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeeld vnto him, after they had abidden so long a siege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extremity, before they would yeeld to their so cruell an enemy, although they lacked vittells. Wherefore living first by spelt, or beere barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had received of the ROMANES by the riuier of Vulturnus: they held it out so long, that *Annibal* in the end being angry with the continuance of the siege, he was content to take the cite vpon composition, the which he had refused before. Now this warre, in the which the CARTHAGINIANS had alwayes had great victories and good fortune, and receiued any losse worthy of memorie: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great change and alteration. For the league that was made with *Philip* king of MACEDON, and the newe aide and supplie that was sent from CARTHAGE, and the taking of PETILIA, CONSENTIA, & of other cities of the contrie of the BRYTTIANS, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other side, the great victories which the ROMANES had won vpon the enemies in SPAYNE, & SARDINIA, did greatly encourage them, and gaue them also good hope that their affaires would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent Captaines, *Fabius Maximus*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Marcus Marcellus*, a man most worthy of praise for martiall discipline: who so wisely gouerned the affaires of the state, that *Annibal* found he should make warre with an enemy, no lesse politike and wise, then hardy and valliant. For first of all, he was driuen from the cite of CVMES, with great slaughter of his men, by *Sempronius Gracchus*, and forced to raise his siege: and thortile after he was ouercomen by *Marcellus*, in a battell he fought at NOLA. For there were slaine about a thousand ROMANES, & six thousand CARTHAGINIANS, slaine, & taken flying. Now it is easily seene what great importance that batel was of: because *Annibal* immediately vpon it, raised his siege from NOLA, & went into APVLIA to winter his army there. By this meanes came the ROMANES to recouer againe, as out of a great sicknes, and sent a great power against the enemy: and were not content only to keepe their owne, but they durst also inuade others. So their chiefeft intent was, to besiege the city of CAPVA, for the iniurie they had but lately receiued of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the batel was fought at CANNE, they forooke the ROMANES, & in their greatest extremity & misery, & tooke part with *Annibal* that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleasures their city had receiued in old time by the ROMANES. On the other side the CAMPANIANS, knowing they had made a fault, & being afraid of this new preparatio of the ROMANES: they sent to *Annibal* into APVLIA, to pray him to come & aide their city (being of the number of his confederats) in their greatest necessity. *Annibal* departed out of APVLIA without delay, & came on with great torneys into

F CAMPANIA, & caped by TIFATA ouer CAPVA, whereby he rather deferred till another time, the preuented the plague haging ouer the CAMPANIANS heades. So spoiling the cōtry roūd about NAPLES, he began to take cōceit of a new hope, that he might take the city of NOLA by treason,

Annibals souldiers merred with ease at Capua.

Pleasure, the bayte of all euils.

One winters ease spoiled a souldier, and made him a coward.

The hard siege of the Castellians in line, during Annibals siege. Annibals good fortune began to faile him.

Three famous Captaines of the Romans Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, Marcus Marcellus.

The vicissitudes of the Romans against Annibal. The marke in the life of Marcellus, sheweth of five thousand CARTHAGINIANS slaine, and only of five hundred ROMANES.

Two satelins
in 2000.

The cite of
Tarentum
delivered vnto
Annibal by
treason.

Tarentum
v. note by
Annibal.

For in NOLA, the people and Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were likewise in diuers other cities of ITALIE. The common people desirous of change, favored *Annibal*: and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of ROME. So when *Annibal* went to take the cite of NOLA, *Marcellus* met him with his army in battell raye, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, euen at the first meeting. There the ROMANES ouercame, and draue the enemy with such manhood and readines: that if the horsemen which had taken another way had come in time, as *Marcellus* commaunded them: no question the CARTHAGINIANS had bene vnterly ouerthrowen. *Annibal* after he had retired his army into his campe with great slaughter, he shortly after departed thence, & went into the contry of the SALENTINIANS. For certaine young TARENTINES that had bene prisoners in former battells, where the ROMANES had bene ouerthrowen, and that were afterwards deliuered free without ranfome: they to shew them selues thankful, had put *Annibal* in hope to deliuer him the city of TARENTVM, so he would but bring his army before the city. *Annibal* intified by their promises, did what he could to obtaine it, because he might haue some city vpon the sea in his power, the which he had desired of long time. And in deede, of all the cities vpon the sea coast, there was none so meete as TARENTVM, to bring aide out of GRECE thither, & also to furnish the cape with many things that were to be occupied daily. So, though this thing was drawn out in length, by the garrison of the ROMANES that valliantlie resisted: yet *Annibal* neuer gaue ouer his enterprife, vntill that *Nico* and *Philomenes* the authors of the treason, had deliuered him the cite into his hands. The ROMANES kept only the castell, the which is in manner enuironned with the sea on three sides: and on the fourth side, that lay vpon the firme lande, it was verie strong with rampers and bulwarkes. *Annibal* perceiving that he could doe no good on that side, because of their great strength: he determined to shut vp the mouth of the hauen of TARENTVM, hoping that was the only way to make the ROMANES yield, when their vittells should be cut from them. Yet the enterprife seemed very hard, because the enemies had all the straights of the hauen in their power, and the shippes also that should besiege the issue of the hauen, were shut vp in a litle narrow place, and were to be drawn out of the hauen, at the foote of the castell, to bring them into the next sea. But when neuer a man of the TARENTINES could deuise how to bring this enterprife to passe: *Annibal* him selfe perceived that these shippes might be drawn out of the hauen with certaine engines, & then to cart them through the city to the sea. So hauing few cunning workmen in hande with the matter, the shippes within few daies after were taken out of the hauen, and caried into the sea, and then came and shewed before the barre of the hauen. Thus the cite of TARENTVM being won againe, after the ROMANES had kept it the space of a hundred yeares: *Annibal* leauing the castell besieged both by sea and land, he returned vnto SAMNIVM. For the Consuls of the ROMANES had spoyled and stripped the CAMPANIANS that went out to forrage, and hauing brought their army before CAPVA, they determined (if it might be) to win it by siege. Wherefore *Annibal* being very sorry for the siege of CAPVA, he came with al his army against the enemy: & seeing shortly after that the ROMANES did not refuse to fight, they both marched forward. And doubtles to fight it would haue proued a bloody battell, had not *Sempronius* army seuered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA vnder the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius*, after they had lost *Sempronius Gracchus* in the cōtry of LVBE. For, they seeing this army farre off, before they could know who they were, the ROMANES & CARTHAGINIANS both were affraid, & so retired into their campe. Afterwards the Consuls went into severall cōtries, the one into LVBE, and the other towards CVMES, to make *Annibal* remoue from CAPVA who went into LVCANIA, & found occasiō to fight with *M. Centenius*, who very fondly & desperately did hazard his army left him in charge, against a fittell and dangerous enemy. The battell being begon, *M. Centenius* was slaine valiantly fighting, & few other escaped. After this also, there hapned another losse. For *Annibal* returning shortly after into APVLIA, he met with another army of the ROMANES, the which *Fabius* the Prætor led, who also intrapped that army by ambushes, & slew the most of the: so that of twenty thousand me, two thousand scant escaped the edge of the sword. In the meane time the Consuls perceiving that *Annibal* was gone, they came with all their army vnto CAPVA, & did besiege it rouf. This being come to *Annibals* care, he came with his

his army into CAMPANIA, in very good order, & wel appointed: & at his first coming, he set vpon the campe of the ROMANES, hauing first willed the CAMPANIANS at the selfe same instant to make a false out on the. The ROMANE Consuls at the first tumult of their enemies, deuoted the army betwene them, and went against them. The CAMPANIANS were easily driuen againe into the cite: howbeit against *Annibal*, the battell was very bloody. For if euer he proued him selfe a valiant Captaine or noble souldier, that day he shewed it. He attempted also to surprise the ROMANES by some stratageme. For as his men were about to breake into the ROMANES campe, he sent one thither that had the Latine tongue excellently well, who cryed out, as by commaundement of the Consuls, that the ROMANES should saue them selues in the next Mountaines, considering they had almost lost all their campe and strength. This crye made on the sodaine, had easily moued them that heard it, if the ROMANES being thoroughly acquainted with *Annibals* fittelties, had not found out his deceit. Wherefore, one of them incraging an other, they made the enemy retire, and compelled him in despite of his heard to flie into his campe. When *Annibal* had done what he could by all deuise and practise possible to rayse their feege from CAPVA, and perceiving all would not serue, being tory for the daunger of his confederats: he then determined to call a counsell, the which he had passed ouer a long time, hauing referred it for the last refuge. For he trusted vp his cartiage, and marched away with his army, and as quietly as he could he passed ouer the riuier of Vulturius, and coasting through the contries of the SIDICINIANS, ATIPANTIANS, and CASSINIANS, he came to ROME with ensignes displayed, hoping thereby he should make them rayse their feege, being so earnestly bent to winne CAPVA. This flying straight to ROME by cutters, they were so affrayd there, as ROME was neuer in the like feare it stood in then. For they saw their mortall enemy come to them with ensignes displayed, whome they had so often proued, almost to resist being absent, threatening to bring the Senate and people of ROME into subiection. So all ROME being in feare and tumult, it was ordeined that *Fulsius Flaccus* (one of the Consuls lying before CAPVA) should be sent for home. And that the new Consuls, *Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cornelius Centimallus*, should lye in campe out of the cite: and that *C. Calpurnius* Prætor, should put a stronge garrison into the capitol, and also that the Citizens that had borne any office or dignitie, should be appointed by their countenance and authoritie, to pacifie the sodaine tumults that might happen in the city. So *Annibal* marched forward without staying, till he came to the riuier of Anienes, and there camped within 24. furlong of ROME: and shortly after that, he came with two thousand horse to neare vnto ROME, that riding from the gate Collina, vnto *Hercules* temple, he had leysure to view at his pleasure, the situacion and walles of so great a cite. *Fulsius Flaccus* seeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certen men of armes of the ROMANES against him: who coming with great furie to giue charge vpon him as they were commaunded, they easily sent him packing. The next morning, *Annibal* brought his army out of the campe, and did set them in battell raye, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The ROMANES on the other side did the like. So, both armies marched one against the other with such life and corage, that to see them, E they appeared men that feared no daunger, so they might obtaine the victorie that day. For on the one side, the CARTHAGINIANS were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended vpon this battell, as beeing the last they should fight. The ROMANES in contrary manner, they were to fight for their contry, libertie, and their goods, to see whether they could keepe them, or that they should come to their enemies hands. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memorie. For, as they were ready set in battell raye, tarying but for the signal of battell to giue charge: there fell such a wonderful great shower and storme vpon them, that both of them were driuen in spight of their teethes, to bringe backe their army into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, vnto the which it seemed the battell had bene deferred: when they had againe both of the set their men in battell raye, there fell the like storme vpon them, the which did as much hurt the ROMANES & CARTHAGINIANS, as the first: so that it forced them onely to looke to saue them selues, and not to thinke otherwise to fight. *Annibal* perceiving this, he turned to his friends and told them, that

Annibals stratageme.

Vulturius fl.

Sulpicius Galba, *Cornelius Centimallus*, *Centimallus*.

Anienes fl.

Annibal commeth 21. in made Rome.

A wonder.

the first time he thought not to winne Rome, and that at the second time the occasion was taken from him. So there was a thinge that greatly troubled *Annibal* and that was this. That though he came so neare to Rome, with an army of horsemen and footemen: yet he heard that the ROMANES had sent ayde into SPAYNE, and that they had redeemed the contry where he had bene, at a farre greater prise then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused all the goldsmithes and bankers shoppes of the ROMANES citizens to be sold by the Cryer. But afterwards, casting with him selfe what a hard enterprise it was to take the citie of Rome, or els being affrayde to lacke vittells: (for he had stored him selfe only but for tenne dayes) he rayed his campe, and removing thence, came to the holy woode of the goddesse *Feronia*, and rifled the rich temple there, and afterwards went thence into the contry of the BRYTIANES and LYCANIANES. The CAPYANES hauing intelligence thereof, being left out of all hope: they yelded vp their citie vnto the ROMANES. The citie of CAPYA being thus yelded vp, and brought againe to the subiection of the ROMANES, it was of great importance to all the people of ITALY, and withall brought a great desire of chaunge. *Annibal* him selfe also following euill counsell, did spoyle and destroy many cities he could not keepe: whereby he did sturre vp the harts of diuers nations against him. For where before when he was Conqueror, he had often let prisoners goe without ransom paying, through which liberalitie he had won the harts of many men: euen so at that present time, his barbarous crueltie made diuers cities (miskliking to be subiect to the CARTHAGINIANES) to rebell against him, and to take part with the ROMANES. Amongest them was SALAPIA, the which was yelded vp vnto the Consul *Marcellus*, by *Blacius* meanes, chiefe of all the ROMANES faction: and a band also of choyce horsemen which was left there in garrison, were in manner slaine every man of them. This is the citie where *Annibal* fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reprove his immoderat lust and lasciuiousnes. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continence of this Capitaine, say that he did neuer eate lying, and neuer dranke aboue a pint of wine, nether when he came to make warre in ITALY, nor after that he returned into AFRICK. Some there be also that say, *Annibal* was cruell, and vnconstant, and subiect to diuers such other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chastitie or incontinence. But they report that his wife was a SPANYARD, borne in CASTYLO, a good towne: and that the CARTHAGINIANES graunted her many things, and trusted her very much, because of the great faith and constancie of that nation. Now *Annibal* after he had lost (as we haue told you) the citie of SALAPIA: he found the meanes to cry quittance, and to make the ROMANES lose more then he had lost. For at the selfe same time, *Fulvius* Viceconsul, lay besieging of HERDONEYA, hoping to winne the citie without resistance. And because he stood in no feare of any enemy round about him, (for *Annibal* was gone into the contry of the BRYTIANES) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affayres, contrary to the nature of the ROMANES Capitaines. *Annibal* being aduertised thereof by spials, would not lose such a goodly opportunity: and therefore comming into APVLLIA with his armye ready, he came so hastily vnto HERDONEYA, that he had almost stollen vpon *Fulvius*, vnprovidid in his campe. Howbeit the ROMANES valiantly receiued the first charge with such courage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithstanding, in the ende, as the ROMANES two years before that had bene overcome not farre from thence, with their Consul *Fulvius*: euen so likewise vnder the conduct of this *Fulvius* Viceconsul, the ROMANES legions were vterly overthrowen, and their Capitaine slaine, with the most part of his armye. The Consul *Marcellus* was at that time in the citie of SAMNIVM, who being aduertised of this great overthrow, desired to be euen with him: and though it seemed he came too late to helpe things past remedie, yet he brought his army into the contry of the LYCANIANES, whether he vnderstood *Annibal* was gone after his victorie, and came and camped directly ouer against his enemye, and soone after came to battell. The which the CARTHAGINIANES refused not, but gaue such a fierce onser on either side, that they fought it out till Sunne set, and no man knew who had the better, and so the night parted them. The next morning the ROMANES shewing againe in field in battell raye, made it knownen that the enemies were affrayd of them: For *Annibal* kept his men within the campe, and the next night following stole away without any noyse, and

Salapia, a city where Annibal fell in love.

The death of Fulvius Viceconsul.

A went into APVLLIA. *Marcellus* also followed him foote by foote, and sought to put all to hazard by some notable battell: for he bare him selfe thus in hand, that of all the ROMANES Capitaines there was none machable with *Annibal* but him selfe, either in counsell, wit, or pollicie: or els in martiall discipline, or warlike stratagemes. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any set battell with the enemye: for after he had made adue light skirmishes, because he would not trouble his souldiers any more in vaine, he bestowed them in garrison for the winter time. At the beginning of the next springe, procured partly by *Fabius* letters (who was one of the new Consuls for that yeare,) and partly also through his owne disposition: he brought out his garrisons sooner then they were looked for, and came with his army against *Annibal*, who lay at that time at CANVSIVM. Now it chanced, that through the bearenes of both their camps, and the good desire they both had to fight: in fewe dayes they fought three seuerall times. The first battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner with like hope of both sides, and that it could not be iudged which of them had the better: they both of purpose retired into their campe againe. The second day *Annibal* was conquerer, after he had slayne almost two thousand seven hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to flight. The third day, the ROMANES to recouer the shame and dishonor they had lost the day before: they were the first that prayed they might fight, and so *Marcellus* led them out to battell. *Annibal* wondring at their valiantnes, sayd vnto his people: that he delt with an enemy that could neither be quiet Conqueror, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloody and cruell then any that was before: because the ROMANES did their best to be reuenged of their losse, and the CARTHAGINIANES on the other side were mad in their mindes, to see that the vanquished durst prouoke the vanquishers vnto battell. In the ende, the ROMANES being sharply reprocured, and also perswaded by *Marcellus* to stick to it valiantly like men, that the newes of their victorie might come to Rome, before the newes of their overthrow: they sue in among the presse of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thrise broken their enemies, they made them all flee. At the selfe same time *Fabius Maximus* tooke the citie of TARENTVM againe, almost after the selfe same sort it was lost. This being reported vnto *Annibal*, he sayd: the ROMANES haue also their *Annibal*. The next yeare following, *Marcellus* and *Crispinus* were chosen Consuls, who preparing to put them selues in readines for warre, they led both the armies against the enemy. *Annibal* dispayring that he was not able to resist them in battell, he sought all the wits he had to deuise some way to intrappe them by subtiltie, where he could not overcome by batell. So *Annibal*'s head being occupied thus, there was offered him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to passe, then he looked for. Betwene both camps, there was a pretty groue, in the which *Annibal* layed certain bands of the NYMIDIANES in ambushe, to intrappe the enemies passing to and fro. On the other side, the Consuls by consent of them all, thought it best to send to view this groue, and to keepe it if neede required: least in leauing it behind them, the enemies should come, & so be vpon their backs afterwards. Now before they removed their armye, both the Consuls went out of their campe, with a small company of horsemen with them, to view the situation of this place: and so going on very vndiscreetly, and worse appoynted then became men of their authoritie & place, they vnfortunatly fell into *Annibal*'s ambush. So, when they saw them selues in a momēt compassed about on euery side with enemies, that they could not goe forward, and were also fought withall behind: they defended them selues the best they could, rather by compulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So *Marcellus* was slaine fighting valiantly: and *Crispinus* the other Consul also very sore hurt, who hardly escaped the enemies hands. *Annibal* being aduertised that *Marcellus* was slaine, who was the chiefe man of all the ROMANES capitaines, that had most hindered the happy successe of his victories, and had besides troubled him most: he presently went and camped there where the battell was fought, and when he had found *Marcellus* body, he gaue it honorable pompe and funeral. Hereby we may see how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are esteemed of all men: considering that the cruell and F most mortal enemye, gaue honorable buriall to so noble and excellent a Capitaine. The ROMANES in the meane time seeing one of their Consuls dead, and the other Consul very sore hurt: they drew straight to the next mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit *Cri-*

Diuers consuls of the Romanes with Annibal.

Annibal's words of Marcellus.

Marcellus, Crispinus, Consuls.

Annibal layed ambushe for the Nymidians.

The death of Marcellus.

The power of magnanimitie.

Spinus had sent to the next townes of the mountaines, to advertise them that *Marcellus* his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ringe he sealed his letters withall; wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in *Marcellus* name. *Crispinus* Messenger came but newly vnto *SALAPIA*, when letters were brought also from *Annibal* in the behaile of *Marcellus*, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The *SALAPIANS* knowing his craft, they sent his Messenger away, & carefully looked for *Annibals* coming. About the fourth watche of the night, *Annibal* came to the cite of *SALAPIA*, where of purpose had put all the *ROMANES* that had fled, in the vanguard, because that they speaking the Latin tongue, might make them beleue that *Marcellus* was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffred six hundred of them to come in, they shut to the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the armye, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the cite. Thus *Annibal* being in a marvelous rage he had misfed of his purpose: he removed thence, and went into the contry of the *BRUTIANS*, to ayde the *LOCRIANS* that were befegged by the *ROMANES*, both by sea and by land. After all these thinges, at the earnest request of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant fouldiers, *Marcius Linius*, & *Claudius Nero*: who hauing deuised the army betwixt them, went vnto their severall charge and prouinces. *Claudius Nero* went into the contry of the *SALENTINIANS*, and *M. Linius* into *GAYLE*, against *Hasturbal* *BARCEINIAN*, who was come ouer the Alpes, & made haste to ioyne with his brother *Annibal*, bringing with him a great army both of footemen and horsemen. Nowe it chaunced at the same time, that *Annibal* had receyved great losse by *Claudius* the Consul. For first of all, he ouercame him in the contry of the *LVCANIANS*, vying the like policies and fetches that *Annibal* did. Afterwardes againe, meeting with *Annibal* in *APVLTIA*, by the cite of *VENVSTIA*: he fought such a lusty battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the fildes. By reason of these great losses, *Annibal* sodainly went to *METAPONT*, to renew his army againe. So hauing remayned there a few dayes, he receiued the army from *Hanno*, the which he ioynd vnto his, & then returned vnto *VENVSTIA*. *C. Nero* lay not farre from *VENVSTIA* with his campe: who hauing intercepted letters of his enemies, he vnderstoode by them that *Hasturbal* was at hand with his armye. Thereupon, he bethought him selfe night and day, what policie he might vie to preuent the ioyning of two so great armies together as these. So after he had taken aduise of him selfe, he followed in sight, a dangerous determination: but peradventure necessary, as the time required. For, leauing the campe vnto the charge of his Lieutenant, he tooke part of the armye with him, and making great iorneyes, came to *PICENVM* (being the marches of *ANCONA*) so that on the sixth day he came to *SENA*. There both the Consuls ioynd their forces together, and setting vpon *Hasturbal* by the riuier of *Metaurum*, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were six and fifty thousand of the enemies slayne on that daye: so that they almost had as great an ouerthrow, as the *ROMANES* had receiued before at the battell of *CANNES*. Now *Claudius Nero*, after this famous victorie, returning as speedily vnto *VENVSTIA* as he went thence, he set vp *Hasturbals* head, where the enemies kept their watche: and did let certain prisoners goe, to carye newes to *Annibal* of this great ouerthrow. For afterwardes it was knowne, that *Annibal* knew nothing yet of *Claudius* secret enterprise, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had made. Wherefore I can but wonder, that so fustill a Capitaine as *Annibal*, could be deceived by *Claudius*, considering both their campes lay so neare together: so that he first heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and all his armye, before he vnderstoode any thing of the Consuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now *Annibal* hauing not onely receiued a generall, but also a particular great losse by the death of his brother: he sayd then he plainly saw the chaunge & alteration of the *CARTHAGINIANS* good fortune, and shortly after remoued his campe, and went thence into the contry of the *BRUTIANS*. For he knew that this great ouerthrow giuen by the riuier of *Metaurum*, was a marvelous incouragement to the *ROMANES*, and would also be a great logge in his way, for the successe of all this warre. This notwithstanding, he gathered together all his power he had left in *ITALY*, after so many great battells and conflicts, and so many cities taken: and mainteyned the warre with an inuincible courage. But the most straungest thinge in *Annibal*

Marcius Linius, and C. Nero Consuls

Senae, a cite of Apulia, Metaurum fl. M. Linius, C. Nero Consuls, where C. Nero set up Hasturbals head, 16000. of his men.

The chaunge and alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune.

A was this, that through his authoritye as wife doer, he kept all his army in peace and amitie together, being a meeting of *SPANIARDS*, *AFRICANS*, *GAYLES*, and of diuers other nations; and neuer man heard that there was any brawle or tumult amonge them. Howbeit the *ROMANES* them selues, after they had inuonne *SICILIA*, *SARDINIA*, and *SPAYNE* againe, they could neuer utterly ouersome him, nor driue him out of *ITALY*, before they had sent *Scipio* into *AFRICK*: who making warre with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he brought them to such great extremities, that they were driuen to send for *Annibal* home, out of *ITALY*. *Annibal* at that time, (as I haue sayd before) was in the contry of the *BARBARIANS*, making warre by inuades and sodaine inuasions, rather then by any fought battell: saying that once he had a battell fought in haste betwixt him and the Consul *Sempronius*, and immediately after he came and set vpon the same *Sempronius* with all his armye. At the first battell, *Annibal* had the victorie: but at the second, *Sempronius* ouercame him. Since that time, I can finde in no Greek nor Latin Author, that *Annibal* did any famous acte in *ITALY*, worthy memorie. For beinge sent for into *AFRICK* by the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he left *ITALY*, sixteen years after this *AFRICK* warre was begonne, greatly complaining of the Senate of *CARTHAGE*, and of him selfe also. Of the Senate, because that all the time he had bene in his enemies contry so long, they had allowed him so little money: and so scantred him besides with all other thinges necessary for the warres: And of him selfe, because that after he had so often ouercome the *ROMANES*, he had alwayes delayed time after the victorie, and had giuen the enemy libertie to gather force againe. It is reported also, that before he imbarked andooke sea, he set vp a triumphing archer or pillar, by the temple of *Iuuo Lacinia*, in the which were briefly grauen his publick victories, both in the *Punick* and *Graek* tongue. So when he was departed out of *ITALY*, the wind serued him well, that in few dayes he arrived at *LEPTIS*, and landing all his army, he first came to *ADRYMENTVM*, and afterwardes vnto *ZAMA*. There receiuing aduisement how the affaires of the *CARTHAGINIANS* prospered: he thought it best to deuise some way to end this warre. For this cause he sent vnto *Scipio*, to pray him to appoynt him some conuenient place where they might both meete, and take together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly knowne, whether *Annibal* did this of his owne head, or by commaundement from the Senate. *Scipio* refused not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appoynted, there met two famous generalls of mighty nations, in a great plain together, either of them hauing his Interpreter, to talke together of diuers matters touching peace and warre. For, *Annibal* was altogether bent to peace: because he saw the affaires of the *CARTHAGINIANS* were worse & worse every day: that they had lost *SICILIA*, *SARDINIA*, and *SPAYNE*: because the warre was brought out of *ITALY* into *AFRICK*: because *Syphax* (a mighty king) was taken prisoner of the *ROMANES*: and also because that their last hope consisted in the army he had brought into *ITALY*: and also because that the *CARTHAGINIANS* had so small a power left (both of strangers, and also of Citizens) that there were scarce men enough to defende the cite of *CARTHAGE*. So he did his best to perswade *Scipio*, with a long oration he made, rather to agree to peace, then to reloue of warre. Howbeit *Scipio* that liued in hope to bring this warre to a good end, he would not seeme to giue care to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either side, in the end they brake of, and made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battell striken by the cite of *ZAMA*, in the which the *ROMANES* obayned victorie. For first of all, they made the *CARTHAGINIANS* Elephants turne vpon their owne army, so that they did put all *Annibals* horsemen out of order. And *Lelium* and *Admissus*, who made both the wings, increasing their feare, gaue the horsemen no leysure to gather them selues in order againe. Howbeit the footemen fought it out a long time, & with a marvelous great cotage: in so much that the *CARTHAGINIANS* (trusting in their former victories) thought that all the safetie and preservation of *AFRICK*, was all in their hands; and therefore they layed about them like men. The *ROMANES* on the other side had as great hartes as they, and besides, they stood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing in deece did the *ROMANES*: great seruite to helpe them to the victorie: and that was, *Lelium* and *Admissus* returned from the chase of the horsemen, who rushed in to the battell of the enemy with great

The people of Annibals great wisdom in his great warre.

The left battell Annibals fought in Italy. It was with Sempronius, in the which he ouercame Annibal.

Annibal sent for to returne into Africk, after he had wonne 16. years in Italy.

Annibals arches of triumph, Annibal departed out of Italy.

Annibal and Scipios meeting, or talke.

Scipios victory of the Carthaginians, at the battell of Zama.

surge; and did put them in a maruelous feare. For at their coming, the CARTHAGINIANS harts were done, and they saw no other remedie for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slayne that day about twenty thousand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more prisoners. *Annibal* their generally, after he had tarried to see the ende of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwardes when he was sent for to CARTHAGE, to helpe to saue his contry: he perswaded the Senate not to hope any more in warres, but did counsell them, that setting all besides a party, they should send vnto *Scipio* the ROMAN Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condition. When the ROMAN Ambassadors had brought the capitulation and agreement vnto CARTHAGE of the articles of peace, it is reported that there was one *Gisco*, who mistaking to heare talke of peace; he made *annoy*, and perswaded all he could to renew warre against the ROMANES. Wherefore *Annibal* perceiving that diuers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to see such beautes, and men of no vnderstanding, so dare to speake of such matters, in so daungerous a time: he cast him downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his oration. So when he sawe that the Citizens, and all the whole assembly, thought this too presumptuous a part of him, & vnmeetie altogether for a free citie: he him selfe got vp into the pulpit for orations, and sayd, Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of CARTHAGE, & brought vp all his life time in warres, be ignoraunt of the lawes and ordinances of the citie. After that, he spake so wisely to the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediately moued by the authoritie of so great a person: they all agreed to accept the conditions which the vanquisher, & the necessitie of time offered them. The articles out of doubt were very extreame, and such as the vanquished are wont to receiue with all extremitie by the conquerors. But besides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were bound to pay the ROMANES an annuall tribute, vntill a certain time were runne out. So when the daye came that the first pention was to be paid to the ROMANES, and that euery man grudged when the subsidey was spoken of: some saye that *Annibal* being offended, with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGINIANS; he fell a laughing. And when *Hannibal* had reproued him because he laughed in such a common calamitie of all the citie, he answered: that it was no laughter nor reioycing from the hart, but a scorning of thei fond teares; that wept when there was lesse cause (and onely because it touched euery private mans purse) then before, when the ROMANES tooke from the CARTHAGINIANS their shippes, armor, and weapons, and their spoyles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gaue lawes and ordinances vnto them that were vanquished. I know some Authors write, that *Annibal* immediately after he had lost the battell, fled into ASIA, for that he was affrayde they would deliuer him into *Scipios* hands, that perhaps might demand him of them. But whether that was done sodainly, or some time after the battell was lost at ZAMA, it makes no great matter: considering that all the world knoweth, that when he sawe things brought to extremitie, he presently fled into ASIA vnto king *Antiochus*. So is it most true, that king *Antiochus* receiued him with great curtesie, and vsed him very honorably: in so much as he made him of counsell with him all in all, both in private and publick caufes. For the name of *Annibal* caried great reputation with all men besides that, he had a common and mortal hate to the ROMANES, which was a pricking spur to moue warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hower into that contry, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set warres at libertie against the ROMANES. So he tolde him, that the onely way to make warre, with the ROMANES, was to goe into ITALY to leauy ITALIAN souldiers, by whome onely that victorious contry of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred shippes, sixteene thousand footemen, and a thousand horsemen onely. With this small army he promised to inuade ITALY, and that he would maruelously trouble the ITALYANS, whome he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very found of his name onely: because of the late warres he had made there, so frese yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke hart againe vnto him to renew the warres of AFRICA, if the king would licence him to sende men vnto CARTHAGE, to stirre vp the BARCINIAN faction, whome he knew hated the ROMANES to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his request, he called *Arifon*

The flying of
Annibal.

Annibal
could not
behold to
beare
footes
talk of
warre.

Annibal in
his misery,
fled vnto
king
Antiochus into
Asia.

A TYRIAN vnto him, a fine suttell fellowe, and meete for such a purpose: to whome he made large promises, and perswaded him to goe to CARTHAGE to his friends, and to cary them letters from him. Thus *Annibal* being a banished man, and fled out of his contry, rayled warre in all partes against the ROMANES. And surely his counsell had taken good effect, had king *Antiochus* rather followed his aduise, as he did at the first, then the vaine perswasions of his fine Courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred *Annibal* great enemies. For they being affrayd that by his counsells he should growe in great fauor with the king (for he was a wise and politike Captaine) and that thereby he should beare great sway and authoritie: to prevent it, they lacked no deuise to bringe him in disgrace with the king. And it so chanced at that time, that *P. Villius*, who came Ambassador vnto EPHEVS, he had often conference with *Annibal*. Hereuppon his priuie enemies tooke occasion to accuse him, and withall, the king him selfe became so ielous of it, that from thence forth he neuer more called him to counsell. At the selfe same time also, as some doe report, *P. Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN (who was one of the Ambassadors sent vnto king *Antiochus*) talking familiarly with *Annibal*, prayed him amongst other things to tell him truly, whome he thought the worthiest Captaine of all others. *Annibal* answered him. First he thought *Alexander*, king of MACEDON the chieft: next vnto him, *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES; and thirdly, him selfe. Then *Scipio* AFRICAN smyling, asked him: what wouldst thou saye, *Annibal*, if thou haddest ouercome me? Truly sayd he, then I would be chieft my selfe. This answer pleased *Scipio* maruelous well, because he saw he was neither dispised, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peereles, by some secret flattery of *Annibal*. After these things, *Annibal* found occasion to talke with king *Antiochus*, and beganne to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, and to bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the ROMANES: whereby he so satisfied the king, that he was againe receiued into his grace and fauor, which he had almost vtterly lost. Thereuppon the king was determined to haue made him Admirall of his armye by sea, the which he had put in readines for ITALY, and also to make prooue of his great corage and seruice, whome he knewe to be a worthy man, and a mortall enemy to the ROMANES. But one *Thoon*, Prince of the ETOLIANS, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or els for that his fancy was such: he altered the kinges minde, and cleane changed his purpose, the which was a matter of greate importance for the warre he pretended to make. For he gaue counsell vnto *Antiochus*, that he should goe him selfe into GRECE, and direct his owne affayres: and that he should not suffer another to cary away the honor & glory of this warre. So king *Antiochus* shortly after went into GRECE, to make warre with the ROMANES. Within fewe dayes after, when he consulted whether he should make league with the THESSALIANS, *Annibals* opinio was specially asked: who spake so wisely touching the state of the THESSALIANS, & the chieft matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gaue their consents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they should not neede much to care for the THESSALIANS, but rather to make all the meanes they could, to get king *Philip* of MACEDON to take their part: or els to perswade him to be a Newter, and to take neither parte. Furthermore, he gaue counsell to make warre with the ROMANES in their owne contry, & offered him selfe to ayde him the best he could. Euery man gaue good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather comended, then followed. Wherefore euery man maruelled, that such a Captaine as he, that had so many yeares made warre with the ROMANES (who had in manner conquered all the world) should then be so light set by of the king, when it specially stood him vpon, to haue such a mans help & coufel. For, what captaine liuing could a man haue found more skilful or politike, or meter to make war with the ROMANES, then him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the first beginning of this warre: but shortly after, disdaining at their counsell, he confessed that *Annibal* only saw what was to be done. For after the ROMANES had obtained victory in the war he made in GRECE: *Antiochus* fled out of EUROPE into EPHEVS, where making mery, & there following pleasure, he hoped to liue in peace, little thinking the ROMANES would come with any army into ASIA. Now, these flattering courtiers still fed his humora: perpetual plague to kings & Princes, that suffer them selues to be flattered, & are contented to be deceiued, because they giue good eare to that that pleaseth

Enuy, the
common
plague
and poison
of Princes
Courtes.

Scipio AFRICAN
comes with
Annibal at
EPHEVS.
Annibals
indgements
of the most
famous
Captaine.

Annibal com-
mends king
Antiochus to
make warre
with the
ROMANES.

King
Antiochus
judges
men of
Annibal.

them. But *Annibal*, who knewe the power and ambition of the ROMANES, perfwaded the king A to hope for any thing rather then peace, and bad him truft to it, that the ROMANES would neuer ftay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in AFRICK, and EVROPE. *Antiochus* perfwaded by the authority of fuch a man, ftraight commaunded *Polyxenidas*, a very feruiceable man, and skillfull in fea feruice, that he fhould goe meeete with the army of the ROMANES that was comming thither. Then he fent *Annibal* into SYRIA, to leauy a great number of fhippes together, and afterwards made him, and *Apollonius*, (one of his fauored Courtiers) generalls of this armye by fea: who notwithstanding that *Polyxenidas* was put to the worft by the ROMANES, they went and fet vpon the RHODIANS, that were confederats with them. *Annibal* in this battell affaying *Eudamus* the Captaine of the RHODIANS, that led the left wing: he had already compaffed in the Admirall galley, and doubtles had obtaigned the victorie, but that the other wing came in to refcue, after they had followed *Apollonius* in chafe, and tooke the victorie from him, that was his owne. After this battell by fea, which had no great good fuccesse: we doe not find that *Annibal* did any thing worthy memorie. For king *Antiochus* being overcome, befides other condicions, the ROMANES offered him: they desired that *Annibal* (the mortall enemy of their contry) fhould be deliuered vnto them. *Annibal* forefeeing this long before, he fodainely ftale from *Antiochus*, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrowen. So, after *Annibal* had wandered vp and downe a long time, he fled at length vnto *Prusias*, king of BITHYNIA, for fuccor. Nowe he did not fo much truft to his friend fhippe, but bicaufe he fought for the meeeteft place he coulde come by, as alfo for the fafeft, the which he moft defired: confidering that the ROMANES had the moft part of the fea and land in their fubiection. Some fay, that after king *Antiochus* was overcome, *Annibal* went into CRETAVnto the GORTYNIANS: and that the rumor ranne immediately, he had brought a great mafle of gold and filuer with him. Wherefore being affrayd leaft the CRETANS fhould offer him fome violence, he deuifed this fhifte to fcape the danger. he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and fent them into the temple of *Diana*, faying that he was maruelous carefull for them, as though all his treafure had bene there. On the other fide he had hid all his gold in images of braffe, the which he had left carefly lying on the ground in the houfe. In the meane time, whileft they watched the temple carefully, that thefe earthen pots fhould not be caried away without their priuitie: *Annibal* hoysed fayle, and fled into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the fea fide, which the contry men call LIBYSSA, of the which by fome mens faying, there ranne an olde oracle and prophecy in this fort.

The land of Libyssa shall cover vnder morouide

The valliant corps of Annibal, when he is dead and colde.

There *Annibal* lay, not fpending his time idly, but paffing it away in exercifing of the mayrners, riding of hories, and trayning of his fouldiers. Some Authors alfo do write, that at that time *Prusias* made warre with *Eumenes*, king of PERGAMYM, who was a confederate and friend of the ROMANES: and that he made *Annibal* his Lieutenant generall of his army by feawho affaying *Eumenes* with a new found and vnknown deuife, wanne the victory of the battell by fea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that *Annibal* had gorten an infinite number of fnakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begonne, and they bufily tending their fight: he threw thofe pots with fnakes into the enemies fhippes, and that by this fearefull and ftraunge deuife he made them flee. Now whether this was true or not, the olde chronicles do make no manner of mention, but only *AEmilius* and *Trogus*. And therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the diffention betwixt thefe two kings, (*Prusias*, and *Eumenes*) being brought to ROME: the Senate fent *T. Q. Flaminius* Ambaffador into ASIA, whole name was famous for the noble victories he had obtaigned in GREECE, to the ende (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt thefe two kings. *Flaminius* being come vnto king *Prusias*, he was marueloufly offended, and fory in his mind to fee *Annibal* yet aliue, (that was the mortall enemy of the ROMANES) after the coquefts of fo many nations, & the facking of fo many people: therefore, he was very earnestly in hand with king *Prusias* to deliuer him *Annibal*. *Annibal* from the fift beginning miftrufled king *Prusias* in confancancy very much, and therefore had digged diuers

Annibal made generall of Antiochus army by fea, together with Apollonius.

Annibal fled to Prusias king of Bithynia.

Annibal, king Prusias generall by fea, againft Eumenes, king of Pergamum. A ftraunge deuife of snakes put in earthen pots, and throwen into the enemies fhippes. Titus Quinctius Flaminius fent Ambaffador into Asia.

A diuers vaults in his houfe, and made feuen feuerall vents to flic out at, if he were fodainely taken. The report of *Flaminius* coming did encrease his fufpition the more, for that he thought him the greateft enemy he had in ROME: both generally for the hate he bare vnto all the ROMANES, as alfo particularly for the remembrance of his father *Flaminius*, that was flayne in the battell fought by the lake of Thralymene. So *Annibal* being full of care and grieue (as it is reported) he found deuifes to efcape, the which ftood him to no purpofe againft fuch a great power. For when the kings gard which were fent to take him, had copafed his houfe about *Annibal* thought to flic at their fift coming, and to faue him felfe by the feccereft vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the gard, then he determined to rid him felfe out of the ROMANES handes, by deftroying him felfe. So, fome doe report, that he was ftrangled by one of his men, whome he had commaunded to helpe to difpatche him. Others write againe, that he had droncke bulles bloud, and when he had droncke it, dyed, as *Clitarachus*, and *Stratocles* doe falſely report of *Themiftoles*. Howbeit *Titus Livius*, that famous Hiftoriographer writeth, that *Annibal* called for the poyfon he had ready for fuch a mifchiefe, and that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he fayd: Come on lets rid the ROMANES of this payne and care, fith their fpirit and malice is fo great, to haften the death of a poore old man that is halfe dead already. The ancient ROMANES aduertifed *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES, who came with enſignes displayed to the very walls of the citie of ROME, that he fhould looke to him felfe, and beware of poyſoning: and the ROMANES nowe doe make a friends forgetting his kingly ftate and faithfull promife, viley to betraye his poore gheft. After he had fayd, bitterly curſing king *Prusias*, he poyſoned him felfe, being three ſcore & tence year old, as ſome writers doe teſtifie. His body was buried in a tombe of ſtone by *LIBYSSA*, on the which was engrauen no more but this: *Here lyeth Annibal*. The ROMANES being aduertifed of his death, euery man fayde his opinion, as his fancye ferued him. Some greatly blamed *T. Q. Flaminius* crueltie, who to make him felfe famous by ſome notable acte, (as he thought) made a poore olde man put him felfe to death, that was in manner halfe dead by age, and befides, was paſt doing the ftate of ROME any more hurt, they being Conquerors in manner of all the world. But ſome againe on the other fide, commended *Flaminius* for it, & fayd it was a good deede of him, to rid the ROMANES of their mortall enemy: who thought he had but a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wife counſell, and great experience in warres, to intife king *Prusias* to make warre, and to moleſt all ASIA befides with newe warres. For at that time, the power of the king of BITHYNIA was fo great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, *Mithridates* king of the ſame BITHYNIA, did maruelouſly moleſt the ROMANES both by fea and by land, & moreover fought battells with *L. Lucullus*, and *Cn. Pompey*, famous Captaines of the ROMANES. And ſo the ROMANES might alfo be affrayd of king *Prusias*, and ſpecially hauing *Annibal* his Captaine. So ſome iudge, that *Q. Flaminius* was ſpecially ſent Ambaffador vnto king *Prusias*, ſecretly to praſtife *Annibals* death. Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that *Q. Flaminius* was not ſo delirious to haue *Annibal* fo ſodainely put to death, as he would haue bene glad otherwiſe to haue brought him againe to ROME, that had done ſuch miſchiefe to his contry: and this had bene a great benefit for ROME, and much honor alſo vnto him felfe. Such was the death of *Annibal* the CARTAGINIAN, a famous man doubtles, & highly to be commended for martiall prayfe, ſetting his other vertues aſide. So we may eaſily iudge, of what power and force his noble mind, his great wiſdom and corage, and his perfect skill of martiall diſcipline was in all things. For in all the warre the CARTAGINIANS had ſo vehemently, and with ſuch great preparation enterpriſed: they neuer thought them ſelues overcome, till *Annibal* was ouerthrowen at that great battell by *ZAMA*. So it appeareth, that all their ſtrength and ſkill of warres began, & alſo ended, with *Annibal* their Captaine.

Annibal poyſoned him ſelfe, being 70 years old. Annibals tombe by Libyssa.

The praife of Annibal.

EEEE E

THE LIFE OF Scipio African.



The passage
of Scipio.

Publius Scipio a PATRICIAN of the family of the Corneli, who was the first ROMANE Capitaine against whom *Annibal* fought in ITALY was the father of *Cornelius Scipio* afterwards surnamed *AFRICANUS*, the first so called, because he had conquered that nation. The same *Scipio*, after he had obtained many great victories in SPAYNE, and done notable feates of armes: was in the ende slayne with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and incouraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest daunger and fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother *Cn. Scipio* also ende his life, much after one selfe manner, and was slayne valiantly fighting. So these two Captaines, besides the same they achieved by their noble deedes, left behind them great prayse of their faithfulness, modestie, and courage: the which made them not onely wished for of their fouldiers that were then living, but also of all the SPANYARDS besides. *Cn. Scipio* had a sonne called *P. Cornelius Nasica*, one that had bene Consul and had also triumphed: who being but a younge man, was thought the meekest man of all the citie of ROME to receyue the mother of the goddess. This *Publius* had two sonnes, the so famous *Scipio*: of the which the one was called *ASIAN*, because he conquered ASIA: and the other *AFRICANUS*, because he subdued AFRICA at that famous battell of ZAMA, where he overthrew *Annibal* and the *CARTHAGINIANS*, as we sayd before. Whose life we purpose nowe to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (so famous by all the Graeke & Latyn Authors) the greater by our story as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deedes, & moral vertues, so that all Princes & noble Captaines in reading it should behold the lively image of perfect vertue, which may moue an earnest desire in the to follow the example of *P. Cornelius Scipio*'s life, who from his childhood gaue great hope & shew of a noble nature, & excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, under the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the second warre with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, the campe being but leuenteene yeare old, & in a very short time grew so toward, & forward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all manner of paynes like a soldier, that he was great commendation of his own father, & besides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit, & noble courage: that it made him beloued, & also feared of his

The first conference of
P. Cor. Scipio
being but leuenteene
yeare olde.

SCIPIO AFRICAN.

1137

A his enemies. For this *Scipio* was present at the battell of the horsemen, where *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul fought with *Annibal*, by the river of Thefin: & some writers doe affirme, that *Cornelius* the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemy, had not his sonne *Scipio* saued him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was so young. After that also, at the battell that was fought by *CANNES*, to the great losse, & in maner vtter destruction of the Empire of ROME, when the ten thousand men that fled to *CANUSIVM*, had all together with one consent reserued the gouernment of the army vnto *Appius Pulcher*, that had bene *Edilis*, and vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, that was yet but very young: the same *Scipio* shewed then by his deedes, what noble mind and courage was in him. For when he saw certain young men consil: together betwene them selues to forsake ITALY: he thrust in among them, & drawing out his sword, made them all sweare they would not forsake their contry. These, and such like deedes done by him with a liuely corage & noble mind, being then but a young man: wanne him such fauor with the ROMANES, that not respecting his young yeares, nor their auncient cust, they called him forward, & laid offices of great charge & gouernment vpon him. In so much that when he sued for the office of *Edilis* before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his sute, because he was so younge a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, & so was presently chosen *Edilis* with the most voyces. So after his father & Vncle, (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene slaine one after the other in SPAYNE, & that the ROMANES were in consultation to appoynt some worthy captaine in the roome: they could finde no man that durst vnder take this so daungerous warre, considering the losse of two so great captaines before. Wherefore the whole assably being called to choole a Viceconsul, all the other Princes & peeres of the Realme being silent at so worthy a motion: *Scipio* onely of all the rest, being but foure & twenty yeare old, stood vp in the middle of the th, & said, with a good hope & confidence he would willingly take the charge vpon him. He had no sooner offered this promise, but he was presently made Viceconsul of SPAYNE, with the wonderful good will & fauor of the people, who gaue him all their voyces. Howbeit the Senators afterwards considering better of the matter, against what captaines & natiōs he should make warre: they thought it vnpossible so younge a man could performe so waighy a charge. Wherefore mens minds were wonderfully chaunged againe on the sodeine, as if the wibes of the people had repented them of their voyces & election. *Scipio* perceiving it, called an assembly presently, & made such an oration of his age, and discipline of warres, that euery man that heard him wondered at him, & the people began againe to renew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not onely a noble corage in him, being induted with many singular vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, & very comly of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance: all which things together, are great meanes to winne him the loue and good will of euery man. Moreover, euen in his gesture and behavior, there was a certaine princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline, being ioyned vnto those his rare gifts of mind and nature: it was to be doubted, whether his ciuill vertues made him more acceptable vnto straungers, then wonderful for his skill in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples hearts with a certain superstitious feare, because he did daily (after he had take the mans E gowne) vse to goe vp to the Capitoll, & so into the church without any company: in so much that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret things in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that *Numa Pompilius* was taught by the Nympe *AEgeria*. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of *Scipio*, as in olde time they had of *Alexander* king of MACEDON, to wete: that oftentimes there was a snake scene in his mothers chamber. But let these things go. *Scipio* departing out of ITALY with ten thousand footemen, & a flecte of thirty galleys, euery one of the hauing fise owers to a bank he sailed into SPAYNE, & in few dayes arriuing at EMPORIA, he landed his men, and marched by land to TERRA CON. There he kept a counsell, and many Ambassadors of the cities their confodorats came thither, who being curteously receyued, returned to their lodgings with such answer as they liked. After this, *Scipio* being carefully bent to prosecute the warre, he had taken vpon him, he thought it best to ioyne the remayne of the olde bandes with his army, which had bene saued through the manhood and valiantnes of *Lucius Martius*. For after

P. Scipio reserued his father from being taken of the enemies.

Senators dissent to Scipio, being but a young man.

Scipio Viceconsul at 24 yeares of age.

Scipio's great mind and goodly personage.

Scipio's journey into SPAYNE.

The valiant
nest of Lucius
Martius a
Romane
knight.

both the *Scipios* were slayne, and both *SPAYNES* almost lost, and the *ROMANE* legions also ouerthrowen and put to flight: *L. Martius* a *ROMANE* Knight, hauing gathered together the remnant of both armies, resisted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed vp with glory of the victorie they had gotten, and with great valiantnes, and vnspokeable industry he main-
teyned warre in *SPAYNE*, against three Captaines of the *CARTHAGINIANS*. Now *Scipio* being comen to this army that lay in garrison for the winter time, euery man did certainly perswade them felues that the warre should prosper: and when they sawe him, they remembered their old Captaines, inasmuch that there was neuer a fouldier could haue his fill, with looking vp on this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the fouldiers for their noble courage, not dispayring for the calamitie of their contry: he greatly honored *Lucius Martius*, so shewe, that who so trusteth in his owne vertues, neede not enuy the glory of another man. So winter being past, he rooke the old and new bands out of the garrisons, and first of all determined to goe and lay siege vnto new *CARTHAGE*. For of all the cities of *SPAYNE* it was the wealthiest, and none more meete to make warre both by sea & land, then that. Moreover, the captaines of the *CARTHAGINIANS* had bestowed in this citie all their munition, and greatest treasure: and left a strong garrison, both in the citie, and castel. But the Captaines them felues were de-
uided in diuers contries, to the end that they three might kepe the whole region from spoile, least of all looking then that *CARTHAGE* should be beleeged. So *Scipio* hauing put all in readi-
ness, he came to beleegge new *CARTHAGE* with all his army both by sea and land. This seemed to be a maruelous hard enterpryse, and would continue long, both because the citie was very strong of it selfe, and also for that the men within it were so coragious: that they did not onely thinke them felues able to defend the citie, but their hearts serued them also to make salyes out vpon the enemye, and to skirmish with them, euen to the very trenches of the *ROMANES* campe. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a man can not attaine by force, he may winne by industrie. Now *Scipio* knew, that the lake or mer which is not farre from the walls of *CARTHAGE*, did ebbe and flowe with the tyde, and that it was passable by forde on that side where they might easiliest come to the walles: So, he thinking to imbrace this occasion, and that he could not possibly meete with a better deuise to take *CARTHAGE* when he saw his time, he set his meyn battell ray, and hauing deuided them into seuerall squadrons, gaue a more desperat assault vnto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he chose out a band of the valiantest men he had, and commaunded them to wade ouer the lake, and to scale the walles on that side, where they within the towne made least accompt of it. So, these fouldiers that were commaunded to giue this attempt, after they had passed ouer the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watche or garde, because the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other side of the citie. Therefore they easily getting vp on the wal, came and assailed the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of the garrison, percey-
uing they were vnwares fallen into that great daunger: they immediately forsooke the walles, and seeing them felues charged on euery side, berooke them to their legges, and fled. The *ROMANES* pursued them so hottely, that they wanne the citie, and sacked it: where they found a wonderfull great spoyle, and abundance of all things necessary for warre. *Scipio* greatly prayed his fouldiers, & did reward them, for that they had done so valiant seruice. Howbeit when he should come to giue the scaling crowne of the wals, vnto the first man that got vp vpon the wall: there were two fouldiers at such variance for the matter, that all the army was in dan-
ger of diuision and mutinie vpon that occasion. Theruppon *Scipio* called his men together, and in open assembly told them, that he knewe they both got vp on the wall together, and so gaue them both a scaling crowne: & by this means their tumult was presently pacified. Afterwards he sent vnto all the cities of *SPAYNE*, the hostages that were found in the city, which were a maruelous number: the which wanne him great fame for his curtesie and clemency, whereby he allured many nations to yeld them felues vnto the *ROMANES*, and to forsake the *CARTHAGINIANS*. But one thinge aboue all the rest, chiefly increased his prayse, and wanne him great loue and good will, as a myrror and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady taken prisoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in *CARTHAGE*: whome he carefully caused to be kept, and preserved from violence and dishonor. And afterwards when he knew that

Scipio be-
sieged new Car-
thage in
Spainne.

Scipio wanne
the citie of
new Carthage
by assault.

The great
clemencie of
Scipio.

A that he was married vnto *Lucius*, Prince of the *CELTIBERIANS*: he sent for her husbande that was a verie young man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntoucht, or dishonored. *Lucius* not forgetting his noble curtesie vnto her, did let all his subiects vnderstand the great bounty, modestie, and rare excellencie of all kinde of vertues that were in this *ROMANE* Generall: and shortly after he returned againe to the *ROMANES* campe, with a great number of horsemen. The three Captaines of the *CARTHAGINIANS* (*Mago*, *Hafdrubal* *BARCINIAN*, and the other *Hafdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*) knowing that the losse of new *CARTHAGE* did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other strange nations, as also by the coniecture diuers made of the successe of this warre: they first practised to dissemble the losse of it, and then in speech to make light of it as much as they could. *Scipio* hauing ioined vnto him diuers
B nations and Princes of *SPAYNE*, (among the which were the two lide kings, *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*) vnderstanding where *Hafdrubal* *BARCINIAN* lay: he marched towards him with his
C amie, to fight with him, before *Mago* and the other *Hafdrubal* came to ioine with him. *Hafdrubal* *BARCINIAN* lay in campe by the riuier of *Besula*, & was verie desirous to fight, trusting wholly to his strength and army. But when he heard that *Scipio* was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of pretie strength. The *ROMANE* legions followed him, and gaue him no res-
pite, but pursued so neere, that they came and assaulted his campe at their first coming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the assault of a citie. The *CARTHAGINIANS* trusting to the strength of the place, and drinen vnto it of necessitie, (the which maketh cowards most desperat) they valiantly resisted their enemies the best they
D could. The *ROMANES* in contrarie maner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out lustily like men, and the fight was so muche more cruell, for that it was in the sight of their Generall *Scipio*, and of all the amie besides: insumch that their valiant seruice there could not be hidden. Therefore they neuer gaue ouer the assault, vntill that hauing done their ver-
E tuermost endeuor, they got vp vpon the rampers, and entred in diuers places into the enemies campe, and made them flee. *Hafdrubal*, Captaine of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, saved him selfe by flying, with a few with him, before the *ROMANES* entred into their fort. After this battell, *Scipio* according to his maner, caused all the spanish prisoners to be brought before him, and then gaue them libertie to depart, without paying of ranfome. Among the prisoners, there was a young gentleman of the kings blood, and nephew vnto *Masimissa*, whom when he had
D vied verie honorably, he sent vnto *Masimissa*, with great and rich gifts: to shew thereby, that a Generall of an army should be as bountifull & full of ciuill vertues, as otherwise skilfull & ex-
pert in martiall discipline. For the ende of warre is victorie: the benefite whereof consisteth in bounty, and clemencie. From thence commeth the glorie and all other praifes due to Cap-
taines: as it happened in those things whereof we now treat. For a great number of *SPAN-
YARDS* being present, wondering at the great clemencie of the Generall of the *ROMANES*, they
E coule doe no lesse but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But *Scipio* brake that word dead straight, the which was no common found to the *ROMANES* estates, and there-
fore he would by no means allow that title, which he knewe to be hurtfull to the noble men of his contrie, and also vnmeet for the libertie of the *ROMANES*. He onely prayed the *SPAN-
YARDS*, that if they had any mind & desire not to shew them felues vnthankfull to him, that
F then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of *ROME*. So whilst these things were done by *Scipio*, the other two Captaines of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, (*Mago* and *Hafdrubal*, the sonne of *Gisco*) after they vnderstoode of the ouerthrowe of their men by the riuier of *Besula*: they made all the speede they could to ioine together, and shortly after came and met with *Hafdrubal* *BARCINIAN*, to consult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and considered all things, they concluded thus: that *Hafdrubal* *BARCINIAN* should goe into *ITALIE* to his brother *Annibal*, where the warre was greatest: and that *Mago*, and the other *Hafdrubal* should remaine in *SPAYNE*, should sende for aide from *CARTHAGE*, & should not fight with the *ROMANES* vntill all their forces looked for were as-
sembled, and so might make a great and puissant armie. When *Hafdrubal* was gone into *ITALIE*, *Hanno* was sent from *CARTHAGE* in his place. But practising in his iorney to make the *CELTIBERIANS* to rebell, *M. Syllanus* came and set vpon him by *Scipios* commaundement,

Mago, Haf-
drubal Bar-
cinian, Haf-
drubal Gisco,
the three fa-
mous Cap-
taines of the
Carthaginians.

Besula.

Scipioes libe-
rallitie to his
enemies.

Scipioes meere
for a General.

Scipio called
king, by the
Spaniards.

Hafdrubal
first says Ade-
be to his bro-
ther Annibal
with an army.

Hannu, the
chiefe of the
conterie fa-
ction vnto
Hafdrubal
Baccharion,
ouercomen in
battell, and
caue prifoner.

and was fo fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him prifoner. Nowe there was a citie which the contrie men called O R I N G E, the which was verie wealthie, and meete to renewe the warre. *Lucius Scipio* was fent thither with parte of the armie to befiege it: but finding it a verie strong Ictuation, and too well manned to take it at the firft affault, he emburronned the towne, and within few dayes tooke and lacked it. Winter came on a pace, and the time of the yeare made them both to retire into their gartillos for the winter. So *Scipio* hauing had fo good fortune in this warre, he went vnto TARRACON: *Mago*, and the other *Hafdrubal*, the sonne of *Giffo*, went to the fea fide. The next fommer, warres growing more bloody and cruell then before in the lower SPAYNE, the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS met, and ioyned battell by the riuier of Befula, and fought fet battells. After they had fought a long time together, *Scipio* at length got the victorie, & made the enemies fle: (of the which there were flaine a great number in the field) and geuing them no leaſure to gather together againe, and to make head againſt him, he fought with them, and followed the chafe fo hottely, that *Hafdrubal* and *Mago* were driuen to leaue the maine land, and to fle to GADES, after they had loſt all their armie. In the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble courage, and verie wiſe, called *Mafiniſſa*, who finding meanes to haue ſecret conference with *Syllanus*, he was the firſt man that offered him friendſhippe, either being brought to it through *Scipio*'s liberalitie, or elſe becauſe he thought the time was come, that it was the ſureſt way to take part with the ROMANES, which were the conquerors. It is that *Mafiniſſa* that afterwards, (through the goodnes of the ROMANES) became the great and mighty king of NUMIDIA, and in deede he was diuers wayes a profitable frende vnto the ROMANES. Furthermore, the ſelfe ſame yeare, (which was the fourteenth of the ſeconde warre with the AFRICANS) SPAYNE was the firſt nation and people of the vpland men dwelling in the hart of the realme, that was conquered vnder the happie conſult of the Viceconſul *Scipio*: howbeit it was the laſt realme that was made a province long time after, by *Auguſtus Caſar*. Now *Scipio* not contenting him ſelf with the great victories he had obtained, in verie ſhort time in SPAYNE (for he had an imagination & good hope alſo to cōquer AFRICK) he thought that his beſt way, to make all the meanes he could poſſible to get *Syphax*, king of the MASESYLIANS, a friend to the ROMANES. Wherefore after he had felt the kinges minde, perceiving that he was well inclined to make league with the ROMANES: he preſently ſet all his other affaires aſide, and failed into AFRICK with two gallies onely, at five owers to a bancke. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo came *Hafdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giffo* thither, from GADES: ſo that both theſe valliant & luſty Captaines came of purpoſe to the king, enuying one the other, to craue the kinges good will, vnto their contrie and common wealth. *Syphax* welcomed them both into his Court, and did viſe them verie honorably and curteouſly, and appointed that they ſhould both eate at one table, and lye in one ſelfe chamber, becauſe the one ſhoulde not thinke his entertainment better then the other. It is reported, that *Hafdrubal* wondering at the magnanimity and great wiſedom of *Scipio* that was preſent, he conſidered with him ſelfe the great danger the citie of CARTHAGE and all AFRICK beſides was in, through that mans meanes: for he ſaw him yet a young man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continuallie obtained ſuch victories, and therefore conſidering the luſtie youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it was vnpoſſible to perſwade him to embrace peace, rather then warre. Beſides, he was affraid alſo that *Syphax*, moued by the perſonage and authoritie of him that was preſent, would take parte with the ROMANES: and in deede his minde gaue him rightlie, for ſo it happened. For though *Syphax* at the firſt ſhewed him ſelfe indifferent to them both, and had moued talke to end the warre betwixt the ROMANES and the CARTHAGINIANS: yet afterwards when *Scipio* tolde him he coulde conclude no peace without conſent of the Senate of ROME, here he offered *Hafdrubal*, and inclining to *Scipio*'s requeſt, he made league with the people of ROME. So *Scipio* being returned againe into SPAYNE, him ſelfe partly by force, and partly alſo by *L. Martius* meanes, conquered LLITVRGIUM, CASTULO, and certaine other places that refuſed to yeeld them ſelues vnto the ROMANES. And to the end nothing ſhould be lacking for all kinde of ſports and pleaſures, after he had ſo fortunatelie obtained ſo many famous victories: when he was come to newe CARTHAGE, he cauſed the ſenſers to prepare them ſelues to fight with

Mafiniſſa
offers him
friendſhippe
vnto the Ro-
manes.

Syphax king
of the Maſe-
ſylians.

Hafdrubal
indgement
of *Scipio*.

Syphax, king
of the Maſe-
ſylians, partly
brought with
the Romanes.

A great pompe, where there were many great eſtates, not only to ſee that paſſime, but alſo they them ſelues to handle the weapons in perſon. But amongſt other SPANYARDS of noble houſes, there were two called, *Corbui*, & *Orſia*, which were at liſt together for the kingdom: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being flaine by the others hand. The fight was verie lamentable & grievous to the beholders: but the death of him that was flaine, troubled them much more, for they were both couſin germaines. After all this, *Scipio* hauing his mind full occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then thoſe which he had alreadie brought to paſſe: he fell ſicke. His ſickenes being caried through all SPAYNE, and as it happened often, his diſeaſe being reported to be muche greater and dangerous then it was in deede: thereupon, not only the nations of SPAYNE beganne to riſe in hope of change, but the armie ſelfe alſo of the ROMANES, the which he had left at SVERO. Firſt of all, martiall diſcipline was corrupted, through the abſence of the Generall. Afterwards alſo, the report of his ſickenes, and danger of his life being ſpred abroad in the armie, raiſed ſuche a rebellion among them: that ſome of them liſt regarding the authoritie and commandement of the head Captaines of the bands, they draue them away, and choſe two meane ſouldiers for their Captaines, who preſumptuouſly tooke vpon them the name geuen vnto them by men of no authority, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundells of rodde and axes to be caried before them. Such follie doth furie and vaſe ambition oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other ſide, the SPANYARD ſlept not, and ſpecially *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who aſpiring to the kingdom of SPAYNE, came to *Scipio* when he was conqueror, after he had taken newe CARTHAGE. But afterwards, being offended to ſee the power of the ROMANES increaſed daily, they fought occaſion to make ſome alteration. So after they had heard, not onely of *Scipio*'s ſickenes, but alſo how he was at deathes dore, and did beleue it: they preſentlie leauied an armie, and went and made warre with the SVBSSITANS which were confederates of the ROMANES. But *Scipio* being recovered againe of his ſickenes, like as vpon the falſe rumor of his death euery man beganne to riſe: euen ſo after the truth was known in deede of his recoverie, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durſt proceede any further in their rebellion. *Scipio* being more ſkilfull in martiall diſcipline, then acquainted with ſedition and rebellion: although he was maruelouſly offended with the ſouldiers that had committed this follie, yet in the end, leaſt following his anger, men ſhould haue thought him to haue executed all boundes of reaſon in puniſhing of them, he referred all vnto the counſell. The moſt parte of them gaue aduiſe, that the authors of the rebellion ſhoulde be puniſhed, and all the reſt pardoned: for by this meanes ſayd they, the puniſhment ſhall light vpon a few that haue deſerued it; and all the reſt ſhall take example by them. *Scipio* followed that aduiſe, and preſently ſent for all the ſeditious bandis to come to new CARTHAGE to receiue their pay. The ſouldiers obeyed his commandement; ſome of them making their fault leſſe then it was; as men doe often flatter them ſelues: others alſo truſting to the Captaines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreme in puniſhment: For *Scipio* was wont to ſay, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMANES citizen, then to kill a thouſand enemies. The rumor ranne alſo, that *Scipio* had an other amicitie, the which he looked for to ioine with them, and then to ſet vpon the kings, *Mandonius* & *Indibilis* who made warre with the SVBSSITANS. Theſe ſouldiers departing from SVERO, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto CARTHAGE. Howbeit the next day after they were come to the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armor and weapons being taken from them, they were environned with all the legions armie. When the ROMANES Generall ſitting in place of iudgement, ſhewed him ſelfe before all the company in as good health & good diſpoſition of bodie as euery he was in all his youth. Then he made a harp & ſweete oration, full of grievous complaints in ſomuch as there was not one of all the ſouldiers that were warned, that durſt caſt up their eyes, or looke their Generall in the face: they were ſo aſhamed. For their confeſſions did accuſe them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and ſences from them, & the preſence of their gracious Captaine, made them bluſh as well as were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherefore there was a generall and ſorrowfull ſilence of all men. So after he had ended this oration, he cauſed the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be

The conſpiracy
naſt fight of
two couſin
germaines.

The rebellion
of the Roman
ſouldiers a-
gainſt their
Captaine, in
Scipio's ſick-
neſſe.

Mandonius
& *Indibilis*, two
kings of
SPAYNE.

Scipio's wiſe
dome ſuppreſ-
ſing his anger.

Scipio's great
wiſedome in
punishing the
offenders.

Scipio's care
of his con-
trarie
men.

Scipio did not
the authors of
the rebellion
at death.

brought forth before the whole assembly, who, after they had bene whipped according to the manner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearful and lamentable sight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, *Scipio* made all the other souldiers to be sworn againe, and then went and proclaimed warre against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. For they considering with them selves, howe the ROMANES souldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leaued an army of twentie thousand footemen, & two thousand horsemen, and came downe with them against the ROMANES. *Scipio* having intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, & that other nations could rebel: he departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great speede as he could to meete with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemy, nor also to refuse the battell if it were offered them. Howbeit it chaunced by the enemes of both camps, that within few dayes, they being prouoked by the ROMANES, came downe & set their men in battell ray, & ioyned battell with *Scipio*: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloody & cruel. But at length the SPANYARDS seeing them selves compassed in behinde, and being driuen to fight in a ring to defend the enemy on euery side, they were overcome: so that the third parte of them scarcely saved them selves by flying. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis* seeing them selves utterly vndone, & that there was no hope nor remedy left: they sent Ambassadors vnto *Scipio*, humbly to pray him to receiue them to mercy, and to pardon them. But *Scipio* knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMANES, yet thinking it more honorable to overcome the enemy by curtesie and clemency, then by force: he did pardon them, and only commaunded them to geue him money to pay his souldiers. In the meane time *Masiniſſa* came from GADES, & landed: because he would him selfe in person confirme the friendship he had offered *Scipio* in his absence, by the means of *M. Syllanus*, and also speake with him face to face, whom he iudged to be a worthy man, for the famous victories he had obtained. And in truth *Masiniſſa* was not deceived in the opinion he had of the valliantes & vertues of *Scipio*, but found him the selfe same man whom he before had imagined him to be in his minde: the which but seldom happeneth so notwithstanding. For besides the great rare giftes of nature that *Scipio* had aboue all others, there was in him also a certaine Princely grace and maiestie. Furthermore, he was marvellous gentle & courteous vnto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to winne euery man. He was verie graue in his gesture and behaviour, and euery ware long heare. *Masiniſſa* being come to salute him, when he sawe him, he had him in suche admiration as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes of him; nor haue his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him maruellously for sending his Nephewe vnto him, and promised him that his deedes shoulde confirme and witnesse the friendship agreed vpon betwene them: the which he euery after inuiolable kept vnto the ROMANES, euen to the hower of his death. So all the nations of SPAYNE became subiect to the Empire of ROME, or at the least their confederates: whereupon those of GADES also following the example of others, came and yielded themselves vnto the ROMANES. This is a verie auncient nation, and if we may credit the reports of it: as CARTHAGE WAS IN AFRIKE, and THERE IN BOEOTIA, so WAS GADES vpon the sea, a Colony of the TYRANS. *Scipio* after he had conquered all SPAYNE, and driuen out the CARTHAGINIANS, considering that there remained nothing more for him to doe: he left the gouernment of the prouince vnto L. *Leptinus*, and to *Masiniſſa* *Acidinus*, and returned to ROME. When he was arrived at ROME, the Senate gaue him audience out of the cite, in the temple of *Bellona*. There, when he had particularly told the of the things he had valiantly & fortunately brought to end: & further, that he had overcome foure Captaines in diuers foughten fields & also put to flight foure armies of the enemies, & driue the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAYNE, & that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdured to the ROMANES, the Senate gaue iudgement, that all these things were worthy of a noble triumphe. But because neuer man yet was suffered to enter into ROME in triumphe, for any victories he had obtained, whilest he was only but Viceconsul, and had not yet bene Consul: the Senators thought it not good, and *Scipio* him selfe also made no great sure for it, because he would not be an occasion to bring in any newe custome,

Amable thing
to overcome
the enemies by
clemencie.
Masiniſſa
cometh vnto
Scipio.

A Princely
Maiestie in
Scipio
personage.

The antiquitie
of those of
Gades.
Scipio noble
deedes.

Scipio re-
turne out of
SPAYNE to
ROME.

and to breake the olde. So when he came into the cite, he was afterwarde declared Consul, with the great good will and consent of the whole assembly. It is reported that there neuer came such a world of people to ROME, as were there at that time, not only for the assemblies sake, but more to see *P. Cor. Scipio*. Wherefore, not the ROMANES only, but all the straungers also that were there, all their eyes were vpon *Scipio*, and sayd both openly and priuately: that they should send him into AFRIKE, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, at home in their owne contrie. *Scipio* also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske aduise of the people, if the Senate would be against such a wortheie enterprise. For amongst the peres and Senators, there were some that vehemently inueyed against that opinion, and among the rest, *Fabius Maximus* speciallie, a man of great fame and authoritie. *Scipio* went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to overcome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to driue *Annibal* out of ITALIE, but that only: and that all other counsell were in vaine, and vnprofitable. After this matter was long debated in counsell, *Sicilia* was appointed vnto *Scipio*: and the whole Senate gaue him commission to go with all his armie into AFRIKE, if he thought it meete and profitable for the common wealth. The decree of the Senate being published, euery mans minde ranne of so great enterprises, that they perswaded them selves AFRIKE was alreadye their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit *Scipio* saw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this iorney, because of the pouertie of the common treasure, and for lacke of young men: the flower and choyce of the which was utterly gone, by the former great losses and ouerthrowes *Annibal* had geuen them. Howbeit to satisfie euery mans expectation of him, he made all the possible speede he could, to prepare things necessarie for the warres. So diuers people of THYSCAN, and of the VMBRIANS, offered to helpe him to their best power: some of them gaue him timber to builde his shippes, others holpe him with armor, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kinde of vittells and munition for his armie. The shippes being built, and all the armie by sea put in readines, in the space of fise and fortie dayes, a thing incredible to many: *Scipio* departed out of ITALIE, and sailed towards SICILIE. But when he came to take muster of his armie, he speciallie chose those that had serued long time in the warres, vnder the conduct of *M. Marcellus*, the which were all esteemed for verie expert souldiers. And for the *Sicilians*, he partly wanne them by curtesie, and partly by compulsion compelled them to geue him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he ment to make in AFRIKE, when the time of the yeare should serue for it. Among other things, it is reported that *Scipio* chose out of diuers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the sayd prouince, and commaunded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, euery man with horse and armor. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commaundement: the Consul bad them chooe whether they would followe him in the warres of AFRIKE, or else deliuer vp their armor & horse, to as many other ROMANES as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the warre, *Scipio* appointed three hundred other young ROMANES in their places, whom he had brought out of ITALIE with him vnarmed, because he would mount and arme them at the *Sicilians* cost, as in deede it chaunced. Afterwards, they did him great seruice in AFRIKE, in many great battells. Now time was come on for *Scipio* to put his armie in garrison for the winter time, when he came to SYRACUSA, taking order not only for the preparation of warre, but also for the affaires of SICILIA. There when it was tolde him by complaint of diuers, that there was a great companie of ITALIAN souldiers in that cite, who would not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the warres, but kept them still in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enioyned them by speciall commaundement to make restitution to the SYRACUSANS: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senates commaundement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hartes of SICILIA, and was reported to be a iust and vpright Consul. In the meane time he was aduertised by *Caius Lelius*, that returned out of AFRIKE with great spoyle: howe King *Masiniſſa* was very desirous of his coming thither, and that he instantly prayed him he would come into AFRIKE, as soone as he could possible; so it were without the preiudice of the common wealth. Moreouer, that diuers nations and people of AFRIKE had the like de-

Scipio made
Consul.

Scipio prepa-
red his armie
and went by
sea, in 45
dayes.

*Scipio*es polli-
cie in Sicilia.

fire: who hating the government of the CARTHAGINIANS, desired nothing more, then some good occasion to rebell. Nowe this iorney was not deferred through *Scipios* fault or negligence, considering that such a Captaine could hardly be founde that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of SICILIA, and the oportunitie he had to recouer LOCRES againe, did himer that he could not bring his purpose to passe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenant *Pleminius* disorder grieved him much: because that hauing left him at LOCRES, he fell to all sortes of insolencie, as to deslowe women, and to spoyle the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruelously offended with these iniuste troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subiect to the government of so vile & wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of LOCRES being arriued at ROME, and exhibiting their complaintes in open Senate of the great wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* did them: the noble men tooke the matter so grieuouly, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same *Pleminius*, but also against *P.C. Scipio* himselfe. Whereupon *Scipios* enemies hauing gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offered the LOCRIANS, with the licentiousnesse of *Pleminius*, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had suffred all these things more negligently, then became the office or duty of a Consul. They added thereto moreover, that his army he had in SICILE was altogether vnruely & vnseruicable, & regarded not the ordinances of the campe: and that the Captaine him selfe was carelessse, & altogether geuen ouer to pleasure and idleness. But aboute all others, *Fabius Maximus* was his heauy enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modesty and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of SICILIA, and to dismishe him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, & extreme. Wherefore following *Quintus Metellus* counsell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into SICILIA, to make diligent inquiry, whether the accusations objected against *Scipio* were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they should command him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into ITALY. And on the other side, if they found that he was vniuistly accused, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies & detractors: then that they should send him to his arinie, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambassadors were arriued in SICILIA, after they had made diligent inquiry according to the articles of their commission: they could not finde that *Scipio* was faultie in any thing, sauing that he had too lightly passed ouer the wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* had done vnto the LOCRIANS. For *Scipio* was verie liberrall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding courteous and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they saw his army, his shippes, and all his other furniture and munition for warre: it is reported that they wondred so much to see the great abundance and good order taken for all thinges, that when they returned to ROME, they greatly commended *Scipio*, and reiecting all the accusations of his accusers, they did promise the Senate and people of ROME, assured hope of victory. So when all these home troubles at ROME were taken away, there chaunced other outward troubles a broad that grieved him much. For the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* came and told him that their maister had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, & was become friend to *Hafdrubal*, whose daughter he had married: and therefore that he wished him if he ment to do his contry good, to make no attempt vpon AFRIKE, for he was determined to reckon the CARTHAGINIANS friends his, & also to set vpon them whom the CARTHAGINIANS account their enemies. *Scipio* quicklie returned the Ambassadors againe vnto *Syphax*, because the effect of their coming should not be blown abroad in his campe: & gaue them letters, in the which he praised king *Syphax*, that remembering his league and faithfull promise, he should beware he attempted nothing vnworthy the name of a ROMANE, and faith of a king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told the, that the Ambassadors of king *Syphax* were come into SICILE, to complaine of his long tarying, as *Masiniissa* had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his iorney to goe into AFRIKE, and thereupon commaunded all his souldiers to put them selues in readines, and to provide all things necessary for their iorney. The Consuls commaundement being published through all SICILE, there repaired immediatly vnto *Lilybea* a multitude of people

P.C. Scipio
accused.

Q. Fabius
Maximus,
a great ad-
versary vnto
Scipio.

Scipios ma-
ster.

King *Syphax*
reneweth frī
the Romanes.

A people, not only of those that were to saile into AFRIKE, but of others also that came to see the fleet & army of the ROMANES: because they neuer saw an army better furnished, nor set out with all things necessary for warre, nor better replenished with souldiers, then that. So *Scipio*, all things being ready, imbarcked at LILYBEA with so earnest a desire to passe ouer the sea, that neither owens nor wind did content his minde. Yet he was brought in few daies sailing, to the promontory or mountaine called *Fayer*, and there he put all his men a land. The newes of his arriual flying straight to CARTHAGE, all the city was presently in such a vprore, that sodainly they sounded the alarom, and garded the gates & walls, as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from *M. Regulum* time, vnto that present day, it was almost fifty yeares space since any ROMANE Captaine euer entred AFRIKE with force of armes. And therefore it was no maruell though they were affrayed, and grew to vprore. The name of *Scipio* did encrease their feare the more, because the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captaine marchable with him. *Hafdrubal* the sonne of *Gisgo* had the name at that time of a lusty Captaine, whom they knew had notwithstanding bene ouercome, and driuen out of SPAYNE by *Scipio*. Howbeit putting all the hope & safety of their contry in him, & in king *Syphax* that mighty king: they neuer left intreating the one, nor perswading the other, to come & helpe the affaires of AFRIKE, with all the speede they could possible. So, whilst they two were preparing to ioyne both their armies together, *Annibal* the sonne of *Hamilcar*, being appointed to kepe the next contry adioyning to it, came against the ROMANES. *Scipio* after he had destroyed the contry, & enriched his army with great spoyle: he camped by the city of VITICA, to see if it were possible for him to win so noble and wealthy a city, and being besides so commodious for the warres both by sea and land. At the selfe same time *Masiniissa* came to the ROMANES campe, and was inflamed with a vehement desire to make warre against king *Syphax*, by whom he had before bene driuen out of his kingdom & inheritance. *Scipio*, that had knowen him in SPAYNE, a young Prince of an excellent wit, and quick & valliant of his hand: he sent him to discouer the army of the enemies, before the CARTHAGINIANS could gather any greater power, and willed him to vse all the deuise and meanes he could possible to intise *Hanno* to fight. *Masiniissa* as he was commaunded, began to prouoke the enemy, and drawing him out by litle & litle, he brought him where *Scipio* lay with all his legions armed, looking for a good hower to fight. The armie of the enemies was nowe wearied, when the ROMANES came to set vpon them with their freshe army. *Hanno* at the first onset was ouercome, & slaine, with most of his men: and all the rest fled, and disperfed them selues here and there, where they thought they might best scape. After this victory, *Scipio* returning backe againe to besiege the city of VITICA: the sodaine coming of *Hafdrubal* and king *Syphax*, made him to leaue of his enterprise, for that they brought with them a great army both of footemen & horsemen, and came and camped not farre from the ROMANES. *Scipio* perceiuing that, raised his siege immediatly, and came and fortified his campe vpon a hill, from whence he might go & fight with the enemy, and molest them of VITICA, and also keepe his shippes safe that roade at ancker. Howbeit the time of the yeare being comen, that both armies were to dispose their men in garrisons for the winter season: he determined to send vnto king *Syphax* to feele his minde, and to make him leaue the friendshipp of the CARTHAGINIANS if it were possible. For he knew well it was his marriage with *Sophonisba*, that through her flattering perswasions had brought him to that furie, that he had not only forsaken the friendshipp of the ROMANES, but also ment to destroy them, contrary to his faith and promise: and that if he had once satisfied the heate of his loue with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. *Syphax* hauing vnderstoode *Scipios* message sent him, he answered, that in dede it was time not only to leaue the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but also to geue vp all thought of warre: and so promised, that he would be a good meane to make peace. *Scipio* gaue good eare vnto it, and caught holde of an excellent fine deuise. He chose the valliantest souldiers in his army, apparelled them like slaues, and made them waite vpon the Ambassadors, and gaue them instructions what they should doe. These fellows, whilst the Ambassadors and king *Syphax* were in talke together about the articles and conditions of peace, and that the consultation helde longer then it was wont to doe: they went and walked vp and downe through the enemies campe, to see all the wayes and entries into

The ready &
faithfull good
will of *Masiniissa*
to the
Romanes.

Hanno over-
come and
slaine.

Sophonisba,
king *Syphax*
wife.

Scipios craft.

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it, according vnto *Scipioes* instructions. After they had done this diuers times, they came againe to *Scipio*. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, *Scipio* seemed to make preparation for warres, (as being out of hope of any peace) & to make his army ready by sea, preparing engines of batterie to returne to besiege *Vtica*, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumor through all the contry, to perswade his enemies that it was true: howbeit hauing called the Captaines & pery Captaines of his army together, he made them priuy to his intent & enterprise. He told them that both the enemies camps lay not farre a lunder, of the which, the one of them had all their tentes & cabbons of wodde: and the building of the other campe was all of reedes, so that they were both easie to be burnt. Whereupon hauing sent for *Masiniſſa*, and *Caius Lalius* to come vnto him, he gaue them charge about midnight to geue alarm vnto *Syphax* campe, and to set it a fire: and that he him selfe on the other side, would set vpon the *CARTHAGINIANS* campe. They two obeying *Scipioes* commaundement, performed his will without delay, & came at the hower appointed the to assaile the *NVMIDIANS* campe, and so did set the houses of reedes afire, which tooke fire in such sort, as the flame was immediately rounde about the campe. The *NVMIDIANS* at the first, thinking the fire had comen by misfortune, ranne thither straight vnarmed to quench it. But when they found them selues among the legions of the *ROMANES*, and that there was nothing but killing downe right, seeing them selues so compassed in on all sides, they saw their best remedie was to flie. On the other side also, where *Scipioes* army was: the *CARTHAGINIANS* campe was almost all burnt, an the enemies put to flight with such cruell slaughter, that some wyters affirme there were slaine that night about fortie thousand men, as well *CARTHAGINIANS* *NVMIDIANS*. This great ouerthrow and slaughter being caried to *CARTHAGE*, did put the citizens there in such a feare and terror, that some thought best to send for *Annibal* out of *ITALIE*: and others gaue aduise to make peace with *Scipio*. Howbeit the *BARCINIANS* faction which was rich and wealthy, & alke together against the peace makers: they so preuailed, that they leaued a new power to begin warre againe. King *Syphax* and *Hafirubal*, hauing leaued a great multitude of foote-men and horsemen againe, renewed their armie sooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitch their campe directly ouer against the enemies. *Scipio* hauing vnderstanding of that, would not tary, but determined to geue them battell, whilest his men were in good hart, and willing to fight. So it chaunced at the first, by the neerenes of both their camps, that there were certaine skirmishes: but in the end, the armies came to ioyne battell, and the *ROMANES* fought with such corage & terror, that at the first onset, they made the *NVMIDIANS* & *CARTHAGINIANS* flie, and slue the most part of them. *Hafirubal* and *Syphax* (scaped, by flying out of the slaughter. *Scipio* sent *Masiniſſa*, & *Caius Lalius* with the light horsemen to geue them chase. *Syphax* being comen into *NVMIDIA*, & from thence into his owne realme & kingdom he leaued an army in haft, of all sorts of people, & came to meete with *Masiniſſa* & *Caius Lalius*, and was not affrayed to geue them battell. But it was a fond parte of him, considering that he was nothing like so strong as his enemy, neither for nuber of fighting men, nor yet in likelyhood of fouldiers. For neither the fouldiers, nor Captaines of his army were matchable with the fouldiers & Captaines of the *ROMANES* campe: & therefore king *Syphax* was easily ouercome by such skilful fouldiers, & moreover was him selfe taken in battell, with many other great noble men, whom *Masiniſſa* would hardly haue looked for: & the they were brought vnto *Scipio*. At the first there was a maruelous ioy amog the, when it was told that king *Syphax* should be brought prisoner vnto the cape: but afterwards when they saw him bound, they were all sorry to see him in such pityfull state, remebring his former greatnes & regall maiesty. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had bene but a litle before, what wonderful great wealth he had, & also the power of so great a realme & kingdom. Howbeit *Scipio* the *ROMANES* Consul, receiued him very courteously, & gently asked him what he ment to change his mind in that sort, & what moued him to make warre with the *ROMANES*. Then the king remebring his former friendship & faithful promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the loue he bare to his wife *Sophonisba*, who only had procured him to deale so dishonorably with the *ROMANES*: howbeit, that he had so smarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreme misery,

A maruelous
great slaughter
of the
Carthaginians.

Syphax, king
of the Maſe-
ſſians, over-
come, & taken
in battell.

A fery, to see that his mortall enemy *Masiniſſa* was also taken with that fraile and mild humor, wherewith he before was possessed. For after *Syphax* was ouercome and taken, *Masiniſſa* went vnto *CYRTHA*, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found *Sophonisba* there, with whom he fell in fancy: who after he had finely wrapped him in with her deconſolable teares and kindnes, he promised her also to deliuer her out of the *ROMANES* handes, & bicause he might the better performe his promise made, he tooke her to his wife, & married her. VVhere *Scipio* was informed of these things, it grieved him maruelously. For it was knowne to all men, that *Syphax* was ouercome vnder the conduct, & through the *ROMANES* meanes: and therefore all that was belonging to *Syphax*, was at the disposition of the *ROMANES*. Wherefore if *Masiniſſa* had without *Scipioes* consent, vnderaken to defend *Sophonisbaes* quarrell; then it appeared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, & the maiesty of the people of *ROME*. Furthermore, his filthie lust did agrauate his fault the more, the which seemed to him more intollerable, by how much the continency of the *ROMANES* Consul was the greater, the which *Masiniſſa* saw daily before his eyes, and might haue bene a paterne and example vnto him. For *Scipio*, besides many other proofes and shewes of his vertues, in all places where he obtained victory, he alwayes kept the women vndressed, which were taken prisoners. So, *Scipio* being much offended with *Masiniſſa*, (though he shewed it not before company) receiued him very louingly at his returne to the campe: yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproofed him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a severe Captaine. Whereupon *Masiniſſa* went into his tent and wept, & could not tell what way he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiving that it was vnpossible for him to keepe promise with *Sophonisba*, which grieved him to the hart: he sent her poyson, & a message withall, the which she dranke immediately, & so willingly made her selfe away. Furthermore, the *CARTHAGINIANS* after they had receiued such wonderfull great losses and ouerthrowes, one after another, perceiving that their affaires were brought to suche a straight and extremitie, that they were no more to looke after the enlarging of their dominions, but only to consider which way they might keepe their owne contry: they sent for *Annibal* to come out of *ITALIE*. Who returning with great speede into *AFRIKA*, before he did any thing else, he thought good first to talke with *P. Scipio* about peace: either bicause he was affrayed of the good fortune of this young man, or else for that he mistrusted he could not otherwise helpe his contrie and common wealth, which he saw decaying, & like to be destroyed. Wherefore a place was appointed, where they might meete according to his desire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end, *Scipio* offered *Annibal* such conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the *ROMANES* were not wearie of warre, and that *Scipio* him selfe being a young man, had better hope to obtaine victorie, then great desire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being left aside, they brake of their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthie Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared them selues to battell, either to geue or take away in short time from their comorthe weales, the feignorie and Empire of all the worlde. The place where they employed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the crie of *ZANUS*: in the which the *ROMANES* being conquerors, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the ende brake so fiercely into the foortemen, that they ouerthrew all the armie. It is reported that there were slaine and taken by the *ROMANES*, about fortie thousand *CARTHAGINIANS*. *Annibal* fled out of the fury of the battell, & saved him selfe, though that day he shewed him selfe like a valiant and famous Captaine. For at this battell he had sent his armie in better order then euer he had done before, and had strengthened it, both with the commodity of the place, and reliefe besides: and euen in the verie furie and terror of the battell he so bestowed him selfe among his fouldiers, that the enemies them selues did command & praise him, for a noble Captaine. After this victory, *Scipio* meeting with *Fernina* king *Syphax* sonne, that brought aide to the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he put him to flight, and came and brought his army to the walls and haue of *CARTHAGE*, thinking (as in dede it fel out) that the *CARTHAGINIANS* would sue to him for peace. For, as the *CARTHAGINIANS* before had bene very good fouldiers, & ready to make warres: so were they now become timorous & faint hearted,

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The great
of Cyrrha,
where he fell
in love with
Sophonisba,
king Syphax
wife.

Sophonisba
poisoned her
selfe, through
the mallice
of Masiniſſa.

Annibal first
for into Italye,
to receiue
the affaies.

Battell at Za-
nus, and Sci-
pio's victory
of the Cartha-
ginians.

There he
met Scipio
the Consul.

especially when they saw their Generall *Annibal* overcome, in whom they chiefly reposed all their hope and trust, for defense of their contrie. Wherefore they being (as I have sayd) out of hart, sent Ambassadors vnto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accustomed clemencie he would graunt them peace. Nowe was great lute made at *Rome*, to haue the gouernment of the prouince of *Africke*, and one of the newe Consuls made hast to come and make warre, with full charge and preparation as was meete for his dignitie and calling: and therefore *Scipio* doubting that an other should care away the glorie for ending of so great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the *CARTHAGINIAN* Ambassadors requestes. So, the capitulatio of the articles of peace was offered vnto the *CARTHAGINIAN*s, according to the conquerors mind: and besides all other things, the whole fleet of all their shippes and gallies (in the which consisted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole fleet was burnt, it was such a lamentable sight vnto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if *CARTHAGE* had bene destroyed and rased to the very ground. For as some doe write, there were five hundred shippes burnt of all sortes. These things therefore should make vs all beware of humane frailtie, the which we often forget in our prosperitie. For they that before perswaded them selves to conquer the world, after they had wonne so many great battells and victories of the enimie, and in manner conquered all *ITALIE*, and so valiantly besides besieged the city of *ROME*: were in short time after brought to such misery and extremity, that all their power and force being overcome, they had left them no more but the walls of *CARTHAGE*, and yet they were not sure to keepe them, but through the speciall grace and fauor of the enimie. After these things were done, *Scipio* by decree of the Senate, did not only restore king *Masiniissa* to his realme againe, but also adding therunto the best part of all king *Syphax* contrie, they made him one of the mightiest kings of all *Africke*; and afterwards he gaue honorable gifts vnto euery man as he had deserued. In fine, after he had set all the affaires of *Africke* at good stay, he brought his army backe againe into *ITALIE*: at what time there came to *ROME* a world of people, to see so great and famous a Capitaine, returning from such wonderful great victories. So he entred into *Rome* with pompe of triumphe, *Terentius Cales* following of him with a harte on his head, because that through his fauor and frendship he was taken out of bondage. *Polybius* wryeth, that king *Syphax* was led in triumphe: howbeit some say he dyed before *Scipio* triumphed. In deede diuers say that did triumphe, some before him during the warres of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and others afterwards in the warres of *MACEDONIA* & *ASIA*, they made greater shew of plate, both of gold and siluer in their triumphes; and led also a greater number of prisoners: howbeit one only *Annibal* that was overcome, and the glorie of so great a warre ended, did make the triumphe of *P. Scipio* so excellent and famous, that it farre passed all the golde and magnificent pompe of all others triumphes. For after *Africke* was conquered, no nation then was ashamed to be overcome by the *ROMANES*. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and open passage to increase and enlarge the Empire of *ROME*, both in *MACEDONIA*, and also in *ASIA*, and in other parts of the world besides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may rightly call *AFRICAN*), after the conquest of *Africke* being returned to *ROME*, he lacked no temporall dignities nor honors. For in the counsell holden for the election of Censors, although there were diuers others of the noblest houses of *ROME* that sued for that office: yet he him selfe, and *AELIUS PERPETA* were preferred before all the rest, and after they were created Censors, they did gouerne in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwards the Censors that followed them, did still one after an other choise *Scipio* *AFRICAN* Prince of the Senate: the which dignitie was wont to be geuen to them only, that obtained the type of all honors; through their great conquests and benefits done to their contrie. Shortly after, he was againe chosen Consul with *Sempronius Longus*, the sonne of that *Sempronius* whome *Annibal* overcame in that great overthrow, at the battell by the riuer of *Trebia*: They two were the first (as it is reported) that deuided the noble men and Senators from the people, in the shewe place to see pastime. This separation was verie odious to the people of *ROME*; and they were maruelously offended with the Consuls for it: because they tooke it, that increasing the honor of the state of the Senators, they thereby also discountenance and abase them. Some say also, that

Five hundred
shippes of the
CARTHAGINIANS,
burnt by *Scipio*.

Scipio re-
turne to
Rome.

Scipio with
triumph in
Rome, for
the *CARTHAGINIANS*.

Scipio, and
AELIUS PERPETA
were chosen
Censors.

Scipio Prince
of the Senate.

Scipio and
Sempronius Longus
chosen
Consuls.

Scipio

A Scipio *AFRICAN* afterwards repented him selfe that he had taken away the olde custome, and brought in a newe. At that time there fell out great variance between *Masiniissa* and the *CARTHAGINIANS* touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate sent *Scipio* thither with two other commissioners: who after they had hearde the cause of their quarrell, they left the matter as they founde it, and would proceede no further in it. And this they did, because that the *CARTHAGINIANS* being troubled with ciuil warres at home, should take vpon them no other warres abroad, neither should haue leasure to attempt any alteration otherwise. For the *ROMANES* had great warre with king *Antiochus*; the *CARTHAGINIANS* was there with him, who still stirred vp the olde enemies against the *ROMANES*, and practised to raise vp new enemies against them, & in all things to counsell the *CARTHAGINIANS* to cast away the yoke of bondage, which the *ROMANES* had brought them into vnder the title of peace, & to proue the frendship of the kings. Howbeit shortly after, the *ROMANES* hauing obtained victorie, and driuen king *Antiochus* out of *GREECE*: they intended also to conquer *ASIA*: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio* *AFRICAN*, as a man that was borne to ende warres of great importance. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio*, and *Caius* *Lalius* were Consuls; & either of them made lute for the gouernment of *ASIA*. The matter being consulted vpon, the Senate stood doubtfull what iudgement they should geue, betwixt two so famous men. Howbeit, because *Lalius* was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater estimation: the Senate beganne to take his parte. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio* *AFRICAN*, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, prayed the Senate that they would not dishonor his house, & tolde them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was besides verie wise; and that he him selfe also would be his Lieutenaut: he had no sooner spoken the wordes, but the Senators re- ceiuied him with great ioy, and prelenidie did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordeined in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* should goe into *GREECE* to make warre with the *MACEDONIANS*, and that from thence he should goe into *ASIA*, if he thought good, to make warre with king *Antiochus*: and also that he should take his brother *Scipio* *AFRICAN* with him, because he should goe against *Annibal*, that was in *Antiochus* armie. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio* *AFRICAN*, the which he first shewed from his youth vnto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwards also vnto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, considering the great things he had done? For, notwithstanding he was that *AFRICAN* by name that had overcome *Annibal*, that had triumphed ouer the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and excelled all others in praise of martiall discipline: yet of his owne good nature, he made him selfe inferiori to his younger brother, because he might haue the honour of obtaininge the gouernment of that prouince from his fellowe Consul *Lalius*, that was so well beloued, and of so great estimation. *Lucius Scipio* the Consul brought great honor to his contrie by that warre, for that he followed the sounde and faithfull counsell of his brother. For first of all goinge into *GREECE*, he tooke truce for sixe monethes with the *MACEDONIANS*, through the aduise of his brother *AFRICAN*; who counseled him, that setting all things a parte, he should straight goe into *ASIA*, where the warre was ryft. Afterwards also he wanne *Prusias* king of *BITHYNIA* from *Antiochus* frendshippe, who before was waing vp & downe, doubtful which side to take, and all through his brother *AFRICAN* meanes and practise. So the authoritie of the *AFRICAN* was verie great, and all those that would obtaine any thing of the Consul, came first to the *AFRICAN* to be their meane and intercessor. Nowe when he came into *ASIA*, *Antiochus* Ambassador, and *Heralides* *BYZANTINE*, came vnto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly tolde their message, perceiving that they could not obtaine reasonable condicions of peace: they priuately talked with *Scipio* *AFRICAN* as they were commaunded, and practised the best they could to make him king *Antiochus* frende. For they tolde him, that *Antiochus* would sende him his younger sonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he would be willinge to make him his companion in the gouernment of all his realme, only reseruing the name and title of the king. Howbeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no lesse in faithfullnesse and bountie, then in many other vertues, after he had answered them to all other matters, he tolde them, that if his sonne should take him for a maruelous frendlie gifte: and that for a priuate good time,

The cause
consisted of
Scipio.

The naturall
loue of *Scipio*
AFRICAN to his
brother *Lucius*.

The fidelitie
and loue of
P. Scipio to
his countrie.

FFFFF iij

The African
wife, & child-
ren.

Diuers opini-
ons touching
the death of
P. Scipio.
Statues of the
two Scipios
and Ennius
the Poet, by
the gate Ca-
pena at Rome.
Scipio Afri-
can dyed at
Linternum.

The Epitaph
of Scipio A-
frican.

Scipio Afri-
can 54 years
old at the
time of his
death.

The power of
virtue.

told him againe, that he should not haue married her without consent of her mother, though A he could haue bestowed her vpon *Tiberius Gracchus*. This answer liked *Scipio* marvellous wel, when he saw that his wife was of his mind, touching the marriage of their Daughter. I knowe it is thought of some, that it was attributed to *Tiberius* the sonne, and to *Appius Claudius* his father in lawe. For *Polybius*, and other auncient writers affirme, that *Cornelia*, the mother of *Caius* and *Tiberius Gracchus*, was snatched vnto *Gracchus* after the AFRICANS death. For *Scipio* AFRICAN was married vnto *Aemylia* the Daughter of *L. Paulus Aemilius* Consul, that was slayne at the battell of CANNES. By her he had two Daughters, of the which the eldest was married vnto *P. Cornelius Nasica*, and the younger vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, either before, or after the death of his father. Nowe touching his sonne, there is litle mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We haue spoken of his younger sonne that was taken by king *Antiochus*, and afterwards frankly sent vnto his father: of whome notwithstanding afterwards I find no mention in writing, sauing that some say he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of *Cicereus* his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in writing also, that the younger AFRICAN was adopted by the sonne of *P. Scipio*. *Cicero* in his booke intituled *Cato Maior* sayth, how weak (sayd he) was the sonne of *P. AFRICAN* that adopted thee his sonne? And in his sixth booke *de re pub. Aemilius* the father exhorteth *Scipio* his sonne, to follow iustice and piety, as his grandfather *Scipio* AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of *P. Scipio* AFRICAN, writers doe diuersly varie: for some say that he dyed, and was buried at ROME. And for prooff thereof they doe bringe forth the monument which was set vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which stood three statues or images, two whereof were the images of *P.* and *Lucius Scipio*, and the third was of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And surely that which *Cicero* wrote, seemeth to confirme it true: our *Ennius*, sayd he, was marvellously beloued of AFRICAN the great, and therefore it is thought that he was buried in *Scipios* tombe. Other authors write also, (and surely they agree best with the common report) that *Scipio* AFRICAN dyed at LINTERNUM, and that there he was buried at his owne appoyment: because his contry fo vnthankfully acknowledging his seruice, should do him no honor at his death: and that there they fet him vp a tombe, and his statue vpon that, the which afterwards was blowne downe by a tempest of wind, and the which *Linus* him selfe witnessed he saw. Furthermore, by CATO this Epitaph was grauen in a plate of copper, set in a marbell tombe.

The man that vanquish Annibal and conquerd Carthage to Rome,
And ke increast the Romanes both in Empire and renouune,
Lyes heere a beape of dust and earth his undermeash this stone:
His deedes, his prouesse, and his life, are altogether gone.
Vnto whom nether Europe could cruish stand, nor Africk in time past,
(Rebold mans frailtie) heere he lyes in litle roome as last.

Now touching the time of his death, hauing made great searche for it, I haue found in certaine Graeke Authors, that the AFRICAN liued foure and fifty yeares, and dyed shortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Capitaine, and worthy of all commendation for martiall discipline, and besides excelled in all other vertues: the which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, he was neuer lesse idle, then when he tooke his ease: neither more solitary, then when he was alone. For some times he would withdraw him selfe out of the assembly, & from all mens company, and thought him self safe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deedes was so great, that wheresoeuer he went, all sortes of people would come and see him. The common report went, that when he was at LINTERNUM, there came certaine rousers vnto him to see fo famous

a man, and to kisse that so faithfull and victorious
a hand. For vertue hath great force and
power with all sortes of people:
because it doth not onely make
the good, but the euill also
to loue and honor it.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF Annibal with P. Scipio African.



OW let vs compare *Annibal* and *Scipios* deedes together, as touching their ciuill discipline. First, if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifest that both of them haue bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they haue not onely bene comparable with the noblest Kinges and Princes in their time (being also in that age, when warres florished most) but with those also that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they hauing great and heavy enemies in their contry, (who fought to overthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly geue thorough with so great matters, and to obtayne such happie and famous victories in strange and foreigne warres. Therefore passing ouer all other matters, what a doe had *P. Scipio*, before he could obtayne to be sent into AFRICE, to make warre with the CARTAGINIANS? *Fabius Maximus*, and other noble men of the citie being greatly against it? Again, what enemy had *Annibal* of HANNO, who was Prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now, they both hauing overcome such great troubles at home, did notwithstanding bringe things to end worthy perpetuall memorie: not by chance, as it happeneth vnto many, but through their indutrie, great wisdom, and counsell. So, diuers doe wonder greatly at *Annibals* courage and noble mind: who after he had sacked the citie of SAGUNTUS, came boldly from the furdest part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great army of footemen and horsemen, and came to make warre with a great state and common wealth, the which his predecessors alwayes dreaded: and after he had wonne many battells, and slayne sundry Consuls and Captaines of the ROMANES, he came and camped hard by the citie of ROME it selfe, and practised strange kings and farronations to make warre with the ROMANES. He that was able to doe so great things as these, might can not otherwise thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Capitaine. Others also speaking of *Scipio*, doe greatly praise and commend him for the foure Chiefaimes he ouercame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated, and purto flight in SPAIN, and also for that he ouercame and tooke that great king *Syrax* prisoner. In fine, they come to praise that famous battell in the which *Scipio* ouercame *Annibal* at ZAMA. For if *Fabius* (sayd they) were praysed because he was not overcome by *Annibal*: what estimation will they make of the AFRICAN, that in a pitched battell ouercame that so famous & dreadful Capitaine *Annibal*, and also did ende to daungerous a warre? Besides al this, the *Scipio* did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy in plaine field. Where *Annibal* in contrary manner did alwayes vse craft and subtilty, and was full of stratagemes & policie. And therefore all Authors, both Graeke and Latyn, doe count him very fine and furell. Furthermore, they greatly commend *Annibal* for that he maynteyned his army of the sun-

dry nations, so long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMANES: and yet that there was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other side they blame him againe, because he did not follow his victory, when he had ouercomen the ROMANES at that famous battell of CANNES: and also because he spoyled his souldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of CAMPANIA and APULIA, whereby they were so changed, that they seemed to be other souldiers then those that had ouercomen the ROMANES, at the sundry battells of TREBIA, THASYS MENE, and CANNES. All writers doe reprove these things in *Annibal*, but specially his crueltie. For amongst other things, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwards to burne them alive? What shall a man say of them whome he cruelly put to death, in the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, when he departed out of ITALY? For *Scipio* AFRICAN on the other side, if we shall rather credit the best authors that write, then a number of other detractors and malicious writers: we may say he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely liuely and valiant in fight, but also courteous and mercifull after victorie. For oftentimes his enemies proued his valiantnes, the vanquished his mercy and clemency, & all other men his faithfulness. Now therefore, let vs tel you what his continency & liberalitie was, the which he shewed in SPAYNE vnto a young Lady taken prisoner, and vnto *Lucius* Prince of the CARTHAGINIANS: doth it not deserue great prayse? Nowe for their priuate doings, they were both virtuously brought vp, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, *Annibal* was very familiar with *Socilius* LACEDÆMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with *Ennius* the Poet. Some saye also, that *Annibal* was so well learned in the Græke tongue, that he wrote an historie in Græke touching the deedes of *Mantius Vols*. Now truly I doe agree with *Cicero*, that sayd in his booke *de Oratore*, that *Annibal* heard *Phormio* PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, discoursing very largely of the office and duty of a Chieftaine and generall, and of the martiall lawes & ordinaunces: and that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philosopher, he should aunswer in no very perfit Græke, but yet in Græke, that he had seene many old doting fooles, but that he had neuer seene a greater doted then *Phormio*. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, & *Annibal* had a sharpe tawnting wit in his aunswers. When king *Antiochus* on a time prepared to make warre with the ROMANES, and had put his army into the field, not so well furnished with armor and weapon, as with gold and siluer: he asked *Annibal*, if he thought his army sufficient for the ROMANES? yea (Sir) quoth he, that they be, were the enemies neuer so courteous. This may truly be sayd of *Annibal*, that he obtayned many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the destruction of his contry. *Scipio* in contrary manner did preserve his contry in such safetie, and also did so much increase the dominions thereof, that as many as shall looke into his desert, they can not but call ROME vnthankfull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (preserver of the cite) should goe out of ROME, then that they would repress the fury and insolency of a few. And for myne owne opinion; I can not thinke well of that cite, that so vnthankfully hath suffred so worthy and innocent a person to be iniured: and so would I also haue thought it more blame worthy, if the cite had bene an ayder of the iniury offered him. In fine, the Senate (as all men doe report) gaue great thanks vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, because he did defend the *Scipios* cause: and the common people also following the AFRICAN, when he visited all the temples of ROME, and lest the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shewe how much they did loue and honor the name of the *Scipios*. And therefore, if we should iudge the Citizens hats and good wills by those things, men would rather condemne them for cowards, to haue suffered such outrage, then vnthankfull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were very few that consented to so wicked a deepe, and all of them in manner were very sorry for it. Howbeit *Scipio*, that was a man of a great minde, not much regarding the malice of his enemies: was content rather to leaue the cite, then by ciuill warres to destroy it. For he would not come against his contry with ensignes displayed, neither would he sollicite strange nations and mighty kings to come with force, and their ayde, to destroy the cite, the which he had beautified with so many spoyles and triumphes: as *Martyne Coriolanus*, *Dabindes*, and diuers others did, by record of ancient histories. For we may easily perceive, how carefull he was to preserve the libertie of

Phormio Peripatetician reading *Thilo* *Sophist* in *Ephesus*.

Annibal with his army, vnto king *Antiochus*.

A OF ROME, because when he was in SPAYNE, he refused the title and name of king which was offered him, and for that he was maruelous angry with the people of ROME, because they would haue made him perpetual Consul and Dictator: and considering also that he commanded they should set vp no statue of him, neither in the place of the assembly, nor in the iudgement seate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honors afterwards were giuen by the Citizens vnto *Cesar*, that had ouercomen *Pompey*. These were the ciuill vertues of the AFRICAN, which were great and true prayles of continency. Now therefore, to deliuer you the summe and effect of all these things: these two so famous Captaines are not so much to be compared together in their ciuill vertues (in the which *Scipio* chiefly excelled) as in the discipline of warres, and in the glory of their famous victories. To conclude, their deaths were somewhat alike: for they both dyed out of their contries, although *Scipio* was not condemned by his contry as *Annibal* was, but would by voluntary banishment dye out of the cite.

*The ende of the whole volume of
Plutarkes liues.*



Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrollier, dwelling in
the Blacke Friars by Ludgate.